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THE  
**INDIAN ANTIQUARY,**

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, HISTORY, LITERATURE, LANGUAGES, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, FOLKLORE,  
&c., &c., &c.

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"VIEWS OF ARCHITECTURE AND SCENERY IN GUJARAT AND RAJPUTANA," &c.

76196

VOL. VI.—1877.

R 891.05  
I A



**Swati Publications**

**Delhi  
1984**



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## MISCELLANEA.

	PAGE		PAGE
Donation of Oriental MSS. to the Edinburgh University ...	107	Oldmies and Pankā ...	381
Translation of a Japanese Song ...	107	Dr. Haug's Oriental MSS. ...	378
Vedie Sanskrit ...	228	Hemachandra's Prākṛit Grammar ...	378
'Tāza he tian' ...	228	Hindu Sacrifice ...	307
Champs, by the Hon'ble Major-Gen. H. Yale, O.B. ...	228	Nānamā and Pāli Grammars ...	306
Is the Sultan the Khāif? ...	231, 308	Sanskrit Chair at Madrid ...	308
		Records of the Buddhistic Kingdoms, by A. Giles ...	308

## BOOK NOTICES.

	PAGE		PAGE
Musharrāh Fiqhī Bible, Nayā A'hdnāmā, by J.M.M. ...	85	Kittel's Ueber den Ursprung des Lingschultes in Indien ...	378
Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by W. B. ...	108	Talboys Wheeler's Travels in India in the seventeenth century, by Sir T. Ron and Dr. John Fryer ...	378
Carr Stephen's Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, by W. B. ...	145	Grower's Rāmāyana of Tulsi Dās—Book I. ...	309
Bellaw's Kashmir and Kashgar, and Drew's Northern Barrier of India, by W. F. S. ...	148	Markham's Narratives of the Mission of George Bogie to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasā ...	310
Garcin de Tassy's La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanie en 1876, by E. H. ...	160	Talboys Wheeler's History of India, Vol. IV. part I. ...	309
Pischel's Chakuntalā of Kālidāsa, by A. O. Bernell, M.C.S., Ph.D. ...	233	Jarrett's Nalopākhyānam, or the Tale of Nala ...	381
Wilson's Aboriginal Tribes of the Bombay Presidency, by W. F. S. ...	234	Jolly's Nārādīya Dharmasūtra, or the Institutes of Nārada ...	383
Dowson's History of India as told by its own Historians. The Posthumous Papers of Sir H. M. Elliot, K.O.B., continued, vol. VII. ...	234	Rām Dās Sen's Aitihāsa Rohasays ...	382

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE		PAGE
1 Valabhi Grant of Dhruvasena II. ... (3 pages) 14, 16		27, 28 Tiruppuvānam Śānta, No. I.—Sides 1-3 (3 pp.).	142
2 " " Śāntiya V. ... (2 pages) 18, 19		29 " " " Sides 9, 10, and No. II. (2 pp.).	143
3 Kadamba " of Kākanthavarman ...	23	30 Inscription on a Rock at Sahasrām ... on 155	
4 " " Myrāta ... (3 pages) 24, 25		31 Mugūth Edict of Aśoka ... facing 156	
5, 6 " " Ravivarma ... (4 pages) 26, 27		32 Grant of Mūlarāja of Aśhāvāla, A.D. 986 (3 pp.) 193, 193	
7 " " the reign of Ravivarma ...	28	33 Mathurā Inscriptions ... (2 pages) 218, 219	
8 " " Ravivarma ...	29	34 South-Indian Sepulchral Urns ...	279
9 " " Ravivarma ...	30	35 Fig. 1 Krishna conveyed across the Yamunā by Vasudera ...	349
10 " " Ravivarma ... (2 pages) 32		36 Fig. 2 Krishna nursed by Devaki ...	350
11 Inscriptions from the Caves of Junnar ...	33	37 Figs. 3, 4, from Niclas Müller; 5 from Lepsius; 6 from Moor's Pantheon ...	351
12, 13 Ancient Nāgarī Numerals ... on pp. 44, 45		38 Figs. 7, 8, 9, from De Rossi's Imagines, Ransen's Die Haidiken, and Mount Athos ...	352
14 Copperplate Grant of Vākpati Rāja of Dhāra, A.D. 974 ... to face p. 51		39 Sculptures in the Great Cave at Badāmī: 1 Vishnu; 2 Varāha ...	354
15 " " " (2nd plate) ...	52	40 " " " 3 Narasīṅga; 4 Vāmana ...	356
16 Śānta of Ilhoja, A.D. 1021—1st plate ...	53	41 " " " Figs. 5 and 6 ...	358
17 " " " 2nd plate ...	54	42 Group of Sculpture in Cave No. 1, Fig. 7 ...	359
18 Śāntanām of Vijayapāla deva, A.D. 1123-4 ...	56	43 Sculptures on the Roof of the Great Cave ...	361
19 Grant of Govinda III., Rājhor—Plate I. ...	65	44 Friets in the Verandah of Cave II. ...	364
20 " " " Plate II. (3 sides) 66, 67		45 " " " ...	366
21 Grant of the Western Chalukya, dated S. 653 ...	72, 73	46 Syrian Śāntanam ...	366
22 Copperplates of the Western Chalukya (3 pages), 76, 77			
23 " " " dated S. 612 (3 pages) 86, 87			
24 " " " S. 614 (3 sides) 88, 89			
25 Two Kāṅgā Inscriptions ... (2 pages) 109, 109			
26 Stone-Tablet Inscription at Kaṭṭagēri, S. 1018 ...	138		





# THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE HILL Fortress OF PĀWĀGADH, IN GUJARĀT, &c.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON.

GUJARĀT in former times included a considerable portion of what is now called Rājputānā,—Ābū, Sirohi, Dungarpur, and even Nāgor, being included in its limits; towards the south it comprised Sultānpur and Nandurbār, now part of Kāśmīr; while the sea-coast as far as and including Bombay formed part of its dominion. It included many first-class fortresses, amongst which the most famous were those of Junāgadh-Gīr in Sorath, Achalgarh on Mount Ābū, Idar in the Mahi Kānthā, and the subject of the present sketch. Of all these, that of Pāwāgadh was incomparably the strongest, so much so as to have been impregnable in latter times except by famine. I distinguish between latter times and the times when it was ruled by the Khichī Chohāns, because under these last-mentioned chiefs Pāwāgadh fortress hardly included the almost impregnable summit, and it is doubtful whether before the Muhammadan times buildings of any consequence existed there. In fact under its Chohān rulers the fortress occupied that lower portion of the hill commencing at the Barā Darwāzā and ending with the palace of Pātāl Rāwāl (as he is fondly called), which lies on an isolated portion of the hill some 1500 feet below the summit. And when we read of the siege of Pāwāgadh by Mahmūd Begadā, we must disabuse our minds of any idea that the upper plateau was invested,—for it was in those days probably not even fortified, being

defended, if at all, by a gate only. And it is under these circumstances alone that we can fully realize the conditions of the siege by Mahmūd Begadā, which otherwise would be incomprehensible, for no breach could be made in the stubborn rock, nor could guns be got into position; nor, if breaches be dismissed as out of the question, would it have been possible to escalate the place, save under circumstances which would imply the grossest negligence on the part of the garrison.

The earliest mention of Pāwāgadh is that of the time of Bhīm Deva I., of Āhilwādā, quoted from the bard Chānd by Mr. Kinloch Forbes at pp. 95 and 97 of the *Ris Mālā*, vol. I. There Rām Gaur the Tuār is styled 'Pāwā's lord.' The first authentic account, however, that we find of it is that, after the taking of Ranthambhor and Gadh Gāgrāw in Khichīwādā by the army of Sultan Alau'd-dīn Khiljī, a large body of the Chohāns emigrated to Gujarāt, and soon, whether by marriage or conquest, became the lords of Pāwāgadh and Chāmpānār and the surrounding country. The hill itself is called in the local *Māhātmya*, Pāwākachāl, and this name is preserved in an inscription found at Nāhāni Umarwān under Hālol, which is valuable as furnishing the genealogy of the Chohān rulers antecedent to the chief from whom Mahmūd Begadā conquered it. This chief is styled in the *Mīrāt-i-Sikandri*, one of the most accurate of the Persian histories of Gujarāt, Jēsīng

son of Gangādās, and the inscription in question attests the accuracy of the Muhammadan historians, and it may probably be conceded that now no reasonable doubt exists but that this was his correct name. The name by which he is familiarly known throughout Gujārat, viz. Pātāi Rāwāl, is probably merely a contraction of Pāwāpati Rāwāl, or the Rāwāl lord of Pāwā; and this view receives confirmation from the fact that Chohāns of this race, if asked their tribe, will tell you they are Pāwāpatīe, which name, indeed, has since the fall of Pāwā-gadh become the common name of their branch of the Khichi Chohāns. The inscription is as follows:—

॥ स्वस्ति संवत् १५२५ वर्षे माघशुद्धाष्टमी शनी  
अनुराधानक्षत्रे अष्टौह\* श्रीपावकदुर्गे महाराजश्री-  
जयसिंहदेव विजयराज्ये श्रीपृथ्वीराजप्रमुख चहु-  
आणवंशे घणा राजा होआ कुलतिलक रायश्री  
हमीरदेवकुले राजा श्रीरामदेव श्री चांगदेव श्री  
चाचिंगदेव श्रीसो† (one letter wanting, probably न)  
मदेव श्रीपाल्हाणसिंह श्रीजितकर्ण श्रीकूपराउल  
श्रीवीरधवल श्रीसवराज श्रीराघवदेव श्रीचिबक  
भूप श्रीमंगराजेश्वर तत्सुत पूर्वपुरुषो हरणधीर  
श्रीशक्तिभक्त नित्य सुवर्णधेनुदानकर्ता दिनशासन  
दातालजजदानी प्रतापी राजाधिराज श्रीजयसिंह  
देवतीण अंराजा आयसीआमणू यामि निजज-  
ननी श्रीकामदेवी निपुण्य निर्वाधिकूपर (words  
wanting) श्री रस्तुसर्वदा (words wanting) सीमहं  
धुलुक मोठाणी.

"Hail! In the Samvat year 1525, on the 8th day of the dark half of Māgh, on Saturday in the Anurādhā nakṣatrā, on this day, here in the fortunate fortress of Pāwā, during the victorious reign of Mahārāja Śrī Jayasingh Deva. Many rājās have ruled of the race of Śrī Pṛithvirāja, the chief Chohān. In the family of Rājāri Hamiradeva, the ornament of his race, was Rājāri Rāmādeva, (then followed) Śrī Chāngdeva, (then) Śrī Chāchingdeva, Śrī Sonamdeva, Śrī Pālhausingh, Śrī Jitkaran, Śrī Kumpu Rāwāl, Śrī Viradhaval, Śrī Savarāj, Śrī Rāghava-

deva, Śrī Trimbak Bhupa, Śrī Gangā Rājēśvara: his son, renowned for increasing the religious merit of his ancestors, the worshipper of the Śrī Śakti, the daily bestower of both cows and gold, and giver of annuities and elephants to Brāhmins, the illustrious king of kings Śrī Jayasingh Deva; he built this well for the spiritual benefit of his mother, Śrī Phāmādevī, in the village of Ayāsiāmanu [words wanting]. May it remain for ever! [words wanting] Mahtā Dhaluk Modāoi [words wanting]."

The Pṛithvirāja above mentioned is probably Pṛithvirāja, the famous hero of the *Pṛithvirāja Rāuan*, and Hamiradeva may probably be the celebrated Hamiradeva of Ranthambhor, which fortress was conquered by Alau'd-din Khilji in about A.D. 1300. This inscription is dated A.D. 1469, or about fifteen years prior to the conquest of Chāmpānār and Pāwāgnāb by Mahmūd Bagadhlā. The father of Jayasingh is called Gangā Rājēśvara, who evidently corresponds to the Gangādās of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandri*, as does Trimbak Bhupa to his ancestor Trimbakdās mentioned by the *Mirāt-i-Sikandri*. The *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* alludes to a Vir Singh who reigned at Chāmpānār in the reign of Ahmad Shāh. This would probably be Viradhaval, and the reigns of Savarāja and Rāghavadeva may have been short. This explanation would make the list of kings here given exactly correspond to what we hear of these chiefs in the Persian historians, and it connects the chiefs of Chohā Udayapur and Bārī not only with Hamiradeva of Ranthambhor, but also with the celebrated Pṛithvirāja, of whom Hamiradeva was an acknowledged descendant. The name of Jayasingh's mother is put Phāmādevī, but probably Kāmādevī.† The Śrī Śakti mentioned in the inscription alludes doubtless to the shrine of Kālkā, which crowns the summit of the loftiest pinnacle of Pāwakachāl. The fortress, too, is styled after the hill, Pāwak Durg. But it must not for a moment be supposed that the fortress taken by Mahmūd was that now called Pāwāgnāb on the summit of the hill; and, as previously mentioned, that portion of the hill was probably defended by a single gateway, and was only used as a retreat on an emergency. The palace of the chief is still

\* अष्टौह is an archaism for अष्टाष्ट.

† Since writing this I am informed by Mr. Sinclair, of

the Bombay Civil Service, that in some Marāṭhā inscriptions of the same period one of the chief archaisms is the cutting of k like ph.



shown on an abutting spur of the hill scarped by rocks at least a thousand feet in height, and only accessible by a narrow track from the main mass of the hill. Here are the remains of the palace from which the devoted garrison watched the construction of the Jāmāz Masjid at Chāmpāner, and here it was that Jayasingh himself and his minister fell wounded into the hands of the Gujarāt Sultān's army; neither he nor his minister would seem to have ever gone to the modern Pāwāgadh at all. Both the *Mīrat-i-Sikandri* and the *Tabakāt-i-Akhbari* give a very interesting account of the siege by Mahmūd.

But this was not the first time Chāmpāner and Pāwāgadh had been besieged by the banners of Islām. In A.D. 821, according to the *Tabakāt-i-Akhbari* and *Mīrat-i-Sikandri*, Ahmad Shāh unsuccessfully besieged the fortress. Ferishah places this siege in A.D. 822. In A.D. 853 according to the *Tabakāt-i-Akhbari*, and A.D. 855 according to the *Mīrat-i-Sikandri*, Sultān Muhammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, besieged the fortress, and invested it so closely that the garrison, had they not been relieved by a diversion made in their favour by the Sultān of Mālwa, Sultān Mahmūd Khilji, which caused the king of Gujarāt to raise the siege, might have been reduced to extremities. The Mālwa Sultāns appear always to have been allies of the Rāwals of Chāmpāner until the time of the bigot Ghīyās'u'd-dīn, who, though appealed to for help by Jayasingh in his extremity, through fear or bigotry neglected to aid him. It is clear that the fortress of Pāwāgadh, as it was in the time of the Rāwals of Chāmpāner, though proof against a sudden attack, was not calculated to stand a long siege by a superior force, and when an enemy once got a footing on the hill they could easily dominate the fortress and render it untenable; and, indeed, as will be seen hereafter, this is what eventually happened. After the conquest of the Girnār fortress and Junāgaḍh, Sultān Mahmūd Beyahā was always determined to conquer Chāmpāner, and though the conquest of Dvārakā, and the suppression of the disturbances created by the Jats and other turbulent tribes in Kachh and on the Sindh frontier, and other warlike operations, delayed him for some years, yet eventually he found no difficulty in picking a quarrel with Jaya-

singh, because in A.D. 887, during which year there was a scarcity in Gujarāt owing to a small fall of rain, Malik Asad, the Thānakār of Morāmli under the Sultān, having made a foray into Chāmpāner territory, was attacked, defeated, and slain by Rāwal Jayasingh, and two elephants and all his baggage also fell into the Chāmpāner obsestain's hands. Although the Rāwal had acted strictly in self-defence, and although the foray into his territory by Malik Asad was wholly unjustifiable, the Sultān was exceedingly enraged and determined to conquer Chāmpāner, and collecting a powerful army he advanced to Baroda. On hearing of the Sultān's arrival at Baroda the Rāwal became seriously alarmed, and sent ambassadors with most submissive messages and humble apologies, but the Sultān refused to listen to any overtures for peace, saying to the ambassadors, according to the *Mīrat-i-Sikandri*, "Except the sword and the dagger, no other message should pass between me and you." The *Tabakāt-i-Akhbari* represents him saying, "The sword of adamant will answer your message to-morrow." The Sultān then sent in advance Tāj Khān, Asaf-ul-Mulk, Behrām Khān, and Ikhtiyār Khān, and there were daily conflicts between the besieged and the army commanded by these nobles. Shortly afterwards the Sultān himself moved his camp to the vicinity of Chāmpāner and pressed the siege. After the siege had lasted about a year the Rāwal again made overtures of peace, offering to pay nine *mans* (or 300 lbs.) of gold if the siege were raised, but the Sultān declared that he would not leave the place until the fortress was conquered. The Rāwal now, seeing that no submission would avail him, sent his vazīr to Sultān Ghīyās'u'd-dīn of Mālwa, imploring aid, and promising to pay one lakh of *faukas* for every march made to his aid by the Mālwa army. Sultān Ghīyās'u'd-dīn at once marched from Mandā to Nālehah, a few *kos* distant from his capital, and purposed advancing on Chāmpāner *pid* Dohad. As soon as the Gujarāt monarch got news of his intention, he entrusted the conduct of the siege to his nobles, and himself advanced to Dohad to oppose Sultān Ghīyās'u'd-dīn. The Mālwa Sultān, however, alarmed at his advance, consulted the Muham-

madan priests as to whether it were lawful for him to succour an infidel when attacked by a true believer, and on their replying in the negative he returned to Mandu without striking a blow in defence of Châmpânôr. Sultân Mahmûd now returned to Châmpânôr and laid the foundations of the Jâmi'ân Mosque, to show the besieged that not only was their hope of aid from Mâlwa gone, but that until the fortress was conquered he would never depart. in spite of this, and though the garrison must have known that their surrender was now merely a matter of time, owing to the difficulty of introducing fresh supplies of provisions into the fortress, the Râwal continued gallantly to defend the place. At last the approaches came so near the walls that the soldiers of the approach, provided over by the Sultân in person, were able to overlook the walls and see what the garrison were doing. This statement, which is taken from the *Tubakât-i-Akbari*, distinctly shows that it is not the upper fortress that is here alluded to,—that fortress being surrounded on all sides by a scarp which is nowhere, save at the gate, much lower than two hundred feet of sheer rock; whereas near the ruins of the Râwal's palace on the lower spur it is quite possible that approaches might have been constructed which would overlook the defences. The soldiers observed that in the early morning the defenders were wont to disperse, to obey calls of nature and for other reasons, and that consequently at that time the batteries were badly manned. The siege had now lasted about two years, and, as the Sultân was exceedingly anxious to obtain possession of the place, he directed Kiwâmû'l-Mulk to scale the fort next day at first dawn. Kiwâmû'l-Mulk accordingly, with a body of picked men, entering the fort when the garrison were off their guard, attacked the Râjputs, and after much slaughter drove them within the citadel. The Râwal and his Râjputs now prepared the *jachâr*, or funeral pile, and continued to defend themselves. But during the previous cannonade several breaches had been made in the western face of the fortifications, and Malik Ayâz Sultânî, mounting one of these, suddenly arrived over the big gate. Sultân Mahmûd, observing this from his post, sent strong reinforcements. The Râjputs vainly tried to dislodge Malik Ayâz and his men from their position over the gate, by throwing there a large canister of

powder with a slow match attached to it. This, however, was, fortunately for the assailants, blown off the gate by the wind in the direction of the Râwal's palace, and there harmlessly exploded. It was now too late for any further advance, but the whole of the Muhammadan army remained under arms all night, while the Râjputs, lighting the *jachâr*, burned all their wives and children. They then separated into two bodies, a few hundreds flying to the upper fortress (*Pâwâgnâh*), while seven hundred Râjputs, bathing, determined to conquer or die. In the morning the gate was forced open, and a great slaughter ensued of the gallant defenders, and both the Râwal and his minister Dugarrâhi fell wounded into the hands of the Sultân, who handed them over to Mulûk Khân in order that their wounds might be dressed. It is said that when Râwal Jayasingh was brought wounded into the Sultân's presence he refused to do him obeisance, though urged to do so by his guards. This happened on the 2nd of Zilkâd A.D. 889, and on this day the Sultân named Châmpânôr *M u h a m m a d â b â d*. Three days after this the Râjputs who had fled to the upper fortress, being probably ill provided with provisions as well as demoralized by their defeat, surrendered.

Five or six months afterwards, in A.D. 890, when the Râwal's wounds were healed, he was sent for to the Sultân's presence and ordered to embrace Islâm, and on his refusal was slain, together with his minister Dugarrâhi. Râwal Jayasingh had two, if not three, sons. One of these, Râisinghji, who died before the siege of Châmpânôr, left two sons, *P r i t h v i r â j* and *D u n g a r j i*, the founders of the houses of *C h o t â n d a y a p u r* and *B â r i â* respectively. Another son, *L i m b â j i*, is said (*vide Bombay Government Selections No. XXIII., New Series, note to p. 146*) to have emigrated to Snarodia (wherever that may be), and the third embraced Islâmism. The *Mirât-i-Sikandrî* only mentions two daughters and one son, and says that the daughters were sent to the Sultân's harâm, and that the son was made a Muhammadan and entrusted to Saifu'l-Mulk to educate, who brought him up, and in the reign of Sultân Mozaffâr, son of Mahmûd, this youth was ennobled by the title of *Nizâmû'l-Mulk*. The Sultân now, making *M u h a m m a d â b â d* Châmpânôr his capital, built the fortifications of the town called *Jahân Panah*, and con-

structed numerous noble buildings. He further strengthened the fortress on the hill, both the lower and upper forts, and made them what they are, viz. almost impregnable.

The author of the *Mīrat-i-Sikandri* is most eloquent in praise of the different kinds of fruit grown at Chāmpāner, and especially of the mangoes, which appear to have been as famous in their time as those of Bombay in ours. But after the reign of Sultān Bahādar, Chāmpāner seems to have been not only relinquished as a capital, but to have rapidly become wholly deserted: for the same author, writing in Akbar's time, describes it as being then even quite waste. After a long description of the various fruits and flowers grown there, he says:—"They say that, besides fruit trees and flowers such as caused envy, there was so much sandal to be found in the neighbourhood of Chāmpāner that it was used by the inhabitants in building their houses, and it sullied them. O Purity of God! Is that this Chāmpāner which now is the lair of the tiger and lion? Its buildings have fallen into ruin, its inhabitants have given their property to the wind of destruction, its water is as it were poisoned water, and the climate is such that it rapidly enfeebles the human body, and in the place of each flower thorns are growing, and in place of each garden there is a dense interlaced jungle, and there is neither the name nor trace of sandal trees. However, the truth of this verse has been here shown.

'Everything on the earth shall perish.

And God does what He willeth.'

The same author describes the introduction of fountains into Gujarāt by a Kharasāni, and the laying out by him of a garden with fountains, artificial waterfalls, &c., with which the Sultān was very pleased. It seems that this man, anxious to keep the secret of his fountains unknown, employed only ignorant labourers, and would not allow any one to inspect the work while in progress. A carpenter of Chāmpāner determined to discover the secret, disguised himself as a labourer, and discovered how to make them. He then laid out a still finer garden, which pleased the Sultān even more than the first one, and on inquiring from the carpenter how he had learned the art of constructing fountains, the Sultān was so pleased at his recital of the stratagem he had practised, that he

bestowed on him large presents and a dress of honour. The writer goes on to say: "And that garden is well known and famous, and by the natives of Gujarāt this garden is called Hālol." Afterwards a village sprang up near this garden, which gradually grew into a town, and close to this town the unfortunate Sikandar Shāh and his equally ill-fated brother Latif Khān lie buried. It seems singular that, while the once proud capital of Gujarāt lies waste, the little village which sprang up near the carpenter's garden is still a flourishing town. Chāmpāner remained, as mentioned above, the capital of Gujarāt till the close of the reign of Bahādur Shāh, after which Akbarādāād resumed its former position and importance, which it has ever since retained.

Since its capture by Mahmūd, Chāmpāner, as well as Pāwāgadh, was so strongly fortified that the upper fortress both was and is almost impregnable; nevertheless, whenever it has since been besieged, it has invariably fallen, strange to say, with scarcely any resistance.

The *Mīrat-i-Sikandri* gives an animated description of the next siege of Chāmpāner and Pāwāgadh in A.D. 942 (A.D. 1535), when Humāyūn after defeating the Sultān Bahādur near Mandisar chased him to Mandar, and after capturing that fortress pursued him to Chāmpāner, whence Sultān Bahādur fled to Khambhāt, and thence to Div. Humāyūn followed the Sultān to Chāmpāner, where he gave up the lower town to pillage, and then pursued him to Khambhāt, but failing to overtake him returned to prosecute the siege of this fortress, which contained all the treasure of the Ahmadābād kings. The fortress, however, which was commanded by Bājā Narsingh Deva and Ikhtiyār Khān on behalf of the Sultān, held out gallantly. An enormous cannon, called the Bahādur Shāhi, the garrison were unable, on account of its weight and size, to take up to the fort, and they had only got it up halfway when Humāyūn's army arrived; they therefore drilled three holes in it and left it where it was. When Rāmi Khān, who, deserting Bahādur Shāh, had now taken service with his enemy Humāyūn, saw the cannon, he said he could repair it, and did so by pouring into the holes a mixture of several metals; and though now it took a little less charge of powder, and the range was somewhat diminished, it was still a very formidable weapon. Regarding this



the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandri* thus expresses himself:—"They say that the very first shot that Rûmî Khân fired with it cast down the gate of the fortress, and with the second shot he rooted up a great tree which was near the gate. In the mean time the garrison, seeing this, began to tremble. Now there was a Faringhi in the fortress, by name Saktâ, who had been made a Musalmân by Sultan Bahâdur with the title of Farang Khân. He said to Ikhtiyâr Khân, 'Since matters are thus, shall I fire a ball down the muzzle of that cannon?' Ikhtiyâr Khân said, 'If you can do what you say, I will enrich you beyond your wants.' The Faringhi at the first shot so struck that cannon that he broke it into pieces, and the garrison were delighted. Ikhtiyâr Khân, however, gave him but a small recompense, but Râja Narsingh Deva gave him seven *mans* of gold."

After this reverse Humâyûn was unable to make any impression on the fortress. Râja Narsingh Deva, however, shortly after this event died of his wounds, and, as he was the soul of the defence, the ardour of the garrison somewhat abated. But the natural strength of the fortress defied Humâyûn's utmost efforts. This strength has only to be seen to be appreciated, and so great is it that the following extract from the *Mirat-i-Sikandri* is scarcely an exaggeration:—"It is related that one of God's servants named Sayad Jalâl, who had also the title of Munâwarâ'l-Mulk Bukhârî, often used to say that the fortress of Châmpâner is such that if an old woman were but to hurl a stone from the top of the fort, all the men in the world could not continue the siege; wonderful was the good fortune of Humâyûn Bâdsbâh that so strong a fortress was so easily conquered."

The way in which the fortress was eventually conquered was this. The garrison, though they had, it is said, supplies of grain sufficient to last them for ten years, nevertheless one night sent down two hundred Kolis to bring up further supplies. These Kolis, incautiously going too near one of the outposts of the army, were captured and brought before Humâyûn, who ordered them to be put to death one after another. When seventy or eighty of them had been thus killed, one of the survivors said that if his life were spared, he would show the besiegers a road whereby to ascend the fortress, which was not

only unknown to the army of Humâyûn, but of which the garrison even were ignorant. The Emperor that very night sent some picked men under the guardianship of these Kolis, who were as good as their word, and took them by a road whereby they arrived at the foot of the fortress at an unguarded spot, and scaling the rock with some difficulty they climbed over the battlements,<sup>§</sup> and shouting Allah! Allah! furiously attacked the garrison, who were astonished and confounded at this sudden appearance of an enemy who had as it were dropped from the skies, and in their alarm some threw themselves over the walls of the fort, and some were slain; while others, amongst whom was Ikhtiyâr Khân, fled to the lofty citadel now crowned by Kalkâ's fane, which citadel was in those days called the *Ma'liyah* (so named from the Arabic *malikah*, a lord), because it, so to speak, dominated over the whole interior of the upper fortress. This conquest of the fortress took place on the 7th Safar A.H. 942 (August 1535), and two days afterwards Ikhtiyâr Khân also surrendered.

Eight years after this, viz. in A.H. 950, when Sultan Mahmûd II. became independent of Daryâ Khân's control, the latter, when expelled from Ahmadâbâd by the Sultan and Alam Khân, depositing his women and treasure in the Châmpâner fortress, fled to Burhânpur. The command of the fortress was entrusted to one of his devoted followers named Fataji, who, it is said, made a gallant defence. But the young king, emulating the courage of his great namesake, pressed the siege in person vigorously, and, though several men were slain by his side, he would neither leave the field, nor consent that the royal umbrella, which made him so conspicuous a mark, should be lowered. Such gallant conduct did not fail to make an impression on the garrison, who were out of heart both at fighting against their lawful sovereign, and at seeing that their leader had deserted them and fled to Khândesh. They made, therefore, but a half-hearted resistance, and the fortress was conquered; and Fataji, who fled to the *Ma'liyah* citadel, was captured and bound and brought before the Sultan, who sent him to be confined in the fort of Surat.

Afterwards, during the reign of the last Muzafar, when Gujarât was divided among the

§ They climbed the scarp by the aid of iron spikes which they drove into the rock.

nobles, Chāmpāner fell to the share of Changex Khān, who for a short time exercised almost kingly power. As soon, however, as that accomplished noble was assassinated by Jhujhar Khān Habsli, Chāmpāner was seized on by Shāh Mirrā. Previous to this, Chāmpāner had, during the inglorious reign of Ahmad Shāh II., fallen to the share of Sayyid Mahārak, who gave it to Alam Khān, but it remained in their hands only a short time.

When the emperor Akbar conquered Gujarāt the Mirrās were expelled, and Chāmpāner became an imperial possession. Pāwāgadh now received an imperial garrison, and remained in the hands of the house of Timur until a.d. 1727, when Kṛishṇājī, foster-son of Kantāji Kadam Bāndr, made a sudden attack upon Chāmpāner, and captured the fortress, the garrison being surprised, and from that time Kantāji's agents remained permanently in Gujarāt to collect his share of the tribute. Afterwards it fell into the hands of Sindhia, by whom it was handed over to the British Government on August 1st, 1853. It had in the mean time been taken, in 1803, from Sindhia by a small British force commanded by Colonel Woodington, but was, however, restored to him in 1804.

Under the Moghal viceroys Chāmpāner formed a separate charge or government (*sarkār*). The author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* thus notices it:—

"The fifth *sarkār* is that of Chāmpāner, which consists of thirteen *makhāls*, and a fortress named Pāwāgadh on the summit of a lofty mountain very rugged, which is nearly four *kos* in elevation, and in area the fortress is nearly half a *kos*, and it has several gates, and in one place there is an abyss sixty cubits deep, over which they construct a bridge of planks, and when occasion arises they remove them; they call this the *Pātīd pul* ("plank bridge"). And it (the hill) is a pleasant place with green trees, and it has both tanks and springs of water. Sultān Mahūd Begadhl during his own reign conquered it by force from Rāwal Pātāi, the *zamindār* thereof, and building a city which he named Muḥammad ābād at the foot of that hill, he established his capital there, and most of the Gujarāt Sultāns made that town their capital, as has been related in the above pages in

the history of each of them. The *bilādārī* of that place is subordinate to the *faujdārī* of Godhrāh, and it has fifty *sawdars* attached to it."

And in another place I find in the same author the following notice:—" (Mount) Pāwā is situated in the *sarkār* of Chāmpāner, and is three *kos* in height. It has both springs of water and tanks, and there is a stream behind one of the *kund*s there, and there are trees there both of known and unknown kinds, amongst which are some myrobalan trees. And the fortress is very strong, (and there is a palace for a residence constructed by the old *zamindārs*,) with twelve gates, and the road is most difficult of access. And near the eighth gate is a yawning abyss, over which they place beams like a bridge, and thus they ascend to the fortress, and when occasion arises they remove them; this place is known as the *Pātīd pul*. And the shrine of Bhawāni is on the summit of the rock, and above this temple is the shrine of Sadan Shāh, whom they consider a famous saint."

There is also this notice of the temple of Kālī:—" Kālīkā Bhawāni's temple is on the summit of Mount Pāwā, and on the top of that temple is a shrine which is that of Sadan Shāh, one of the people of God (*i.e.* Muhammadan), and the Brāhman consider that place one of the chief places of worship, and they tell wonderful stories about it. Large numbers of men come to worship there from places both far and near, and they also pay their respects to the shrine of Sadan Shāh." This shrine of Sadan Shāh is built on the spire of the temple, the top of which has been removed to make room for the shrine; it was probably done as a concession to Muhammadan fanaticism, and to ensure the protection of the rest of the temple. This temple of Kālī does not appear more than two hundred years old, and her old shrine is probably the roughly carved stone smeared with vermillion outside the precincts. The temple is evidently modern, in that it occupies the site of the old citadel, as well as from its style of architecture.

In the upper fort there are the remains of several Jaina temples carved with much spirit, though of no extraordinary excellence. There are the remains of a mosque near the Māchli Haweli, about midway up the hill, formerly the residence of Sindhia's Thānādār. In ascending the

¶ This bridge is still to be seen, and is still called the *Pātīd pul*.

hill one first comes to the Medī and the Medī Talāo. Here, they say, was a palace called the Medī; and here, as everywhere, were fortifications. Then further up comes the Barīā Darwāzā and the principal fortifications, very strong, and with a terrible ascent for troops in the face of a determined enemy. Next, one arrives at the plateau of the Mīchhi Haweli to the right of the gate, and as one issues forth on the ascent of the hill, just before reaching the Mīchhi Haweli, there is a curious sort of palace or summer-house in three stories, called the Champāvati, or Champā Rājīnā Mahāl, which is said to have been the residence of a favourite queen. It was, however, I think, meant for the ladies of the zanānā to sit in and witness a grand hunt, as it overlooks a deep valley, and is perfectly secure, while it commands an extensive view. Almost opposite to this is a spring of very good water, called the Pānch kund. From this point the hill is covered with lines of fortification defending every practicable spot. From hence one ascends, past the Mīchhi Haweli and a tank near it, to three large domes called the Mahāī kotār, or 'mize granaries,' and from here one sees before him the isolated spur with the old ruined palace of Jayasingh Dava. On this spur are the remains of the palace, and covered-in tanks of water, and on the extreme point is a small shrine of Bhadrā-Kālī (or 'the favourable, propitious Kālī'). From this spur one can form an idea of the difficulty of taking the fortress, even supposing that troops could reach this point, as the whole of this plateau is commanded by the gate and batteries by the Pātāl pul; and as there is only one narrow path whereby to ascend, advance would be almost impossible. Even supposing this gate won and the Pātāl pul crossed, and another gate close to the main gateway forced, the troops would have to run along a narrow path for about a hundred yards exposed to the full fire of the garrison, to find themselves in front of a strong double gateway. On entering these two gates one faces the great rock on which Kālī sits in state; and on turning to the right, one arrives, after a walk of a few hundred yards, at the domes or kotār, which overlook a tremendous precipice. Between these domes and this gate, following the fortifications, come tanks of out-stone, and it is evident that water was also

stored in other places, and there is still another tank even higher still, at the foot of the stone steps which lead to the Mātā's temple.

With a very little trouble, and with but moderate expense, this upper fortress might be transformed into a very comfortable sanitarium; all that is wanted is the repair of, and additions to, the beautiful domes now standing. Already one of the lower domes has fallen, and unless the upper domes are speedily repaired they will fall too. Dr. Arnott, in 1839, reported on the advantages of the spot; and during the past year Lieutenant Gibbs, R.E., of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, specially reported on the subject to the officer commanding at Baroda, in a very interesting report.

Were the fortifications repaired the cost would of course be greater, but it would be a healthy spot, and one of the strongest fortresses in India. The only disadvantage that the place possesses as a sanitarium is that the wind is so violent in the hot weather that no buildings other than domes could stand it unless very strongly constructed. Colonel Wallace, when Resident of Baroda, once built a small bungalow on the hill, but it has long since had its roof blown away into the Barīā jungles, and even the walls are considerably out of the perpendicular; but if Government were to build verandahs to the domes,† and one or two out-houses, and improve the water supply, the residents of Baroda would doubtless gladly pay a small rent for the occupation of the domes during the hot season.

In the Chohān annals Pāvāgaḍh occupied a prominent place. Their principal hero is, of course, Prithirāja of Delhi, then Hamirādava of Ranthambhor, then Pātāī Rāwal of Pāvāgaḍh, Kānāḍ Deva of Songaḍh Jhālur, and Achaldās of Gāgrāwn. The more famous of these will be found mentioned in the verses quoted at p. 99, vol. III. of the *Indian Antiquary*. It will be observed that of the five Rājput heroes therein praised three were Chohāns, viz. Hamirādava of Ranthambhor, Pātāl (poetical license for Pātāī, the name by which Rāwal Jayasingh of Pāvāgaḍh is usually known), and Kānāḍ Deva, the Songaḍha Chohān of Jhālur. Of the remaining two, Chānd Rāo is poetical license for Rāo Chāndā, the Rāthod ancestor of the present Chief of Jodhpur, and

† There were formerly verandahs, now fallen down.



Dudo was the Bhāti chief of Jemalgadh or Jemalmer. Pāvāgadh, therefore, together with Ranthambhor and Jhākor, is one of the sacred places in the legends of the tribe, and shines out prominently in the history of this gallant race,

and its memory is fondly cherished by all Chohāns, and especially by the houses of Chotā Udayapur and Devagadh Bāriā, who are of the branch called Pāvāpati, or lords of Pāvā.

### FURTHER VALABHI GRANTS.

BY G. BÜHLER.

(Continued from vol. V. p. 212.)

The first of the three Valabhi grants now published was found in the ruins of Valabhi by Kohis who dug for old bricks. I acquired it in January 1875. The second was found at Botād, in the Bhannagar territory. It was kindly forwarded to me for deciphering by Messrs. Percival and Gaurishankar Orha, the Joint Administrators of the Bhannagar State. The third grant was found by Mr. Raoji Viṭhal, formerly special Political Assistant in charge of Lunavādī (Ravākāṭhā), in the Bāja's palace at Luṇā vādī. I owe its loan to the kindness of Major J. W. Watson, Acting Political Agent, Ravākāṭhā.

#### A.—The Grant of Dharasena I.

The grant of Dharasena I. is written on two plates 3½ inches by 16½. The rings with the seal have been forcibly half torn half cut out, whereby semicircular pieces of the surface of the lower portion of the first and of the upper portion of the second plate, originally situated round the left-hand ring, have been lost. This accident makes some letters in the first lines of the second plate very faint and indistinct. They can just be traced with a strong glass. The second plate has also lost a piece low down on the right-hand side. Both plates were covered, when I bought them, with thick layers of sand and verdigris. A prolonged immersion in lime-juice cleaned them. But the first plate is nevertheless not easily readable, and is unsuited for photography. The second gives a tolerable photograph.

The letters of the plates show a predilection for round forms like those of Guhasena, and resemble the latter in their thickness. The grant is dated from a 'camp of victory,' the location of which is not certain, as the name of the village appears to be mutilated. The beginning of the name is Bhadropātta.

The *versicolli* gives the usual list of rulers from Bhatārka to Dharasena I. the son of Guhasena. It offers only one addition to our

knowledge of the history of Valabhi. Dharasena I. calls himself (Pl. II. l. 1) *maḥārī-manta*, 'the great feudal or provincial chief,' as well as 'mahārāja,' and shows thereby that down to his times the rulers of Valabhi paid homage to a lord paramount. In my article on the grant of Dhruvasena I. of Śaivāt 216, I pointed out that this mahārāja was certainly a vassal of some greater king, and that Dhruvasena's boasted coronation had not raised him much above that position which his predecessors, the two Senāpatīs or generals, occupied. Dharasena's confession confirms my view about Dhruvasena I., and permits the inference that his grandfather Dharapatta and his father Guhasena likewise did not enjoy independence. I will now express my belief that eventually we shall find it proved that the Valabhi dynasty was at no period free from vassalage, except perhaps during the reign of Dharasena IV., who calls himself 'king of kings, *chakravartin*, emperor, and supreme lord.'

I should not wonder if further finds of inscriptions, and further investigations regarding the position of the villages granted by 'those of Valabhi,' entirely destroyed the legend of the power and greatness of the kingdom, which, first started by Colonel Tod, has since been adopted by most Indian historians and antiquarians.

The grantee is the "monastery called that of Śrī Bappapāda, which had been built by the Āchāryya Bhadanta Sthiramati, and was situated in Valabhi." (Pl. II. lines 3 and 4.) There can be, I think, no doubt that this *cikāra* is the one which Hiuen Tsiang ascribes to the Arhat 'Oke-lo. His remarks on this monastery are as follows: (*Memoirs*, vol. II. p. 164):—"At a little distance from the town (Valabhi) there is a great convent which was erected in older times by Arhat 'Oke-lo. It is there that the Bodhisattvas Gaṇapati and Sthiramati fixed their abode, and

composed various treatises which have become famous and widely known."

The *Sthiramati* mentioned in our grants and by Hiwen Thsang is, no doubt, the famous pupil of Vasubandhu, who composed commentaries on the writings of his master.\*

The objects granted are two villages,—*Mahēśvaradāsonaka*, in the *āharanī* of *Hastavapra*, and *Devabhadripallikā* in the *dhālī* of *Dhāriketha* (pl. II. l. 3). '*Hastavapra*' occurs in the grant of *Dharasena I.* dated 307† as *Hastakavapra*, and has been identified with the modern *Hāthab*, which Colonel Yule has since conjectured to be the Greek *Astakampion*. *Mahēśvaradāsonaka* is probably *Mahādevapura*, which lies to the south-west of *Hāthab*. *Dharasena's* grant reads distinctly *hastavapradharanyām*, and thus confirms my emendation of the reading '*haranyām*,' and my statement that '*āharanī*' must have denoted a territorial division.

The purpose for which the two villages were granted is, as usual in the case of grants to Buddhist monasteries, to defray the cost of the worship of the *Divine Buddhas*, of clothing, food, and medicines for the reverend *Bhikshus*, and of the repairs of the monastery. (Pl. II. l. 4.)

As regards the date of the grant, I now read it as 269 Chaitra, dark half 2. In the interpretation of the second sign ‡ I follow Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, who, in my opinion, has succeeded in clearing up the difficulties regarding the signs for 40-70, with the help of a number of *Kshatrapa* coins in his possession.†

As regards the language of the grant, the incorrect phrase *hastavapradharanyām mahāśvaradāsonakagrāmā dhārākhetasthalyām cū devabhadripallikāgrāmāu*, instead of '*dāsonakagrāma* and '*pallikāgrāma*,' shows that the writer habitually spoke *Prakrit*, and possessed but an imperfect knowledge of *Sanskrit* grammar.

In conclusion I may add the explanation of the word '*divira*' which occurs in the title of the writer, *Skandabhāṭa*, "*śandhivigrahādāhiraṇḍhikṛtadivirapatiskandabhāṭa*." (Pl. II. l. 16.) In the *Petersburg Dictionary*, which is followed, as usual, by Prof. Monier Williams, *divira* is said to be a proper name, and the *Rājatarangīnī*, VI. 130, VII. 111, 119, is quoted as the authority.

\* Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 84.

† Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 304.

‡ A paper which gives the substance of his very remarkable discoveries on the ancient Indian numerals will appear

in the first passage the reading *divirāt* is merely a faulty reading of Mr. Troyer's edition for *divirāt*, which latter the Calcutt. edition and the *Śārada MSS.* give. The other two passages have been badly translated by Mr. Troyer. Otherwise it would have been recognized that a '*divira*' must be an official. The first, VII. 111, runs as follows:—

पुण देवमुखाख्यस्य दिविरस्य क्लान्तानि ।

आपूयिकायां वेश्यायां पुनश्चन्दमुखाभिः ॥

and the translation should be—

"Formerly a son, called *Chandramukha*, was born to a *Divira* called *Devamukha* by the courtesan *Āpūpikā*."

The second passage, VII. 119, is, I think, as follows:—

इत्थं संविषु योग्येषु क्षान्तिशीले च भूयती ।

केचिदुद्रेकमभन्दरदिविरदामराः ॥

and the correct translation:—

"Whilst the ministers thus were worthy (of their places), and the king of a forgiving disposition, some *Dards*, *Diviras*, and *Damasas* became overbearing."

In the land-grants *divira* or *divirapati* is always used as a title, especially for the officials who drew up the *śāsanas*. This position shows also that it denoted the holder of some office. Kshemendra, the author of the *Lokaprakāśa*, gives as a clue to the exact meaning of the word. Firstly, in *Prakāśa* III., he speaks of various classes of *diviras*, *ganjdiviras*, *nagradiviras*, *grāmadiviras*, *khaṇḍdiviras*; and the next word is *kāyastha*. Secondly, when beginning to give the forms for *kuṇḍis* and other bonds, he says, "I will now propound all written documents according to the details of each, in their proper order, for the benefit of the *Diviras*." Hence it becomes evident that these officials had to do with writing and accounts, and we may render the word by the modern '*kārkun*,' or writer and accountant. *Divirapati* *Skandabhāṭa* means, therefore, '*Skandabhāṭa* the chief clerk or secretary.' I am not able to find an etymology for the word in *Sanskrit*. Perhaps it may be connected with the Persian *dipi*, 'writing,' which occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions.

in the next Part of the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 42.

§ *Lokapra.* II. :—" *Śān vihhāgaṇa rakubhaṇa panyakasaṇa yakkhramam / divirādāh / kīrtthāya bhāṇjasthānamu chāṭayam*." ]

## TRANSCRIPT.

## Plate I.

- (<sup>1</sup>) स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारा [त्] भद्रोपात्त-वास [कात्] पस[प्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणां<sup>१</sup>] मत्तुलबल-  
सपञ्चमण्ड[ला] भोगसंसक्तसंग्रहारशतलब्ध[प्रतापः प्रता].
- (<sup>2</sup>) [पोषनत्] दानधानावर्जैर्गोपाजितानुरागानु[रक्तमौल] भूत[मित्र] श्रेणीबलावाराज्यश्रीः परम-  
माहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिर्भटार्कस्तस्य सुत [स्तत्पा] दारजा [रु] ण-
- (<sup>3</sup>) नतपवित्रीकृतसिराः शिरोवन्तशत्रुचूडामणिप्रभाविच्छुरितपादनस्फूर्तिदीधितिः दीनानाथरूपण-  
जनोपजीवमानविभक्तः परममा-
- (<sup>4</sup>) देश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनः तस्यानुज[स्तत्पाद] प्रणामप्रसस्ततरविमलमणिर्मन्त्रादिप्रणीतविधि-  
विधानधर्मा धर्मराज इव विनयविहित-
- (<sup>5</sup>) व्यवस्थापदतिरस्त्रिलभुवनमण्डलाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्याभिषेकमहावि-  
प्राणनावपुतराज्यश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः
- (<sup>6</sup>) श्वरः महाराजश्रीज्ञेयसिद्धः सिद्ध इव तस्यानुजस्वभुवनलपराक्रमेण परगजघटानीका-  
नामेकविजयी शरणैविणां शरणमवबोद्धा
- (<sup>7</sup>) आस्त्रार्थतत्त्वानां कल्पतरुरिव सुहृत्प्रणयिनां ययाभिलषितकामफलभोगदः परमभागवतः महारा-  
जश्रीधुवसेनस्तस्यानुजः
- (<sup>8</sup>) [तत्र] रणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रतिपौतावशेषकल्मषः सुविभुदस्वचरितोदकप्रक्षालिताशेषकलिकलङ्कः  
प्रसभानिर्जितवारातिः प्र
- (<sup>9</sup>)—[५] रमादित्यभक्तः श्रीमहाराजधरपट्टः तस्य सुतस्तत्पादसपर्यावाप्तपुण्योदयशैशवात्मभृति  
सङ्गुदितीयनाहरेव सम-
- (<sup>10</sup>) [दपर] गजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसलनिकषस्तत्पलापप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तसव्यपादनस-  
फूर्तिदीधितिः सकलस्मृति-
- (<sup>11</sup>) प्रणीतमागसम्पत्परिपालनप्रजाहृदपरंजनान्तर्यराजशब्दः रूपकान्तिस्रैय्यैर्बुद्धिसंपादिः स्मर-  
शशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधिनिदशगुह-
- (<sup>12</sup>) धनेशानतिशयानः शरणामत्ताभय[प्रदान] परतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफलः प्रार्थन्यधिक-  
त्यप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृ[प्रण]
- (<sup>13</sup>) विहृदयः पादचारीव[सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः] परममाहेश्वरो महाराजश्रीगुहसेनः तस्य  
सुतस्तत्पादनस[मयूखसंतान]
- (<sup>14</sup>) [विमृत] मान्दवीगलौघप्र[क्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रण] मिश्रतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानभोगसंपन्नपुलो-  
[भा] दिवाश्रितस्तरसमाभिगाभिकैर्गुणैः
- (<sup>15</sup>) सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्दरः प्रथमनरपतिसमविसृष्टानामनुपालयिता [ध]र्म-  
दायानामपकर्ता प्रजो-
- (<sup>16</sup>) पद्मातकारिणामुप[प्रवा]नां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधियासस्य संहतारातिपक्षलदर्मापरिभोग-  
दलविक्रमः विक्रमोपसंग्रा-

<sup>१</sup> Letters 11-14 doubtful. Line 1, read संपन्न. L. 4. "तत्त्वानां. L. 10, read सत्त्वनिकष. L. 11, insert गाम्योयं  
read मौलियमि. L. 12 read शेषसिद्धः सिद्ध. L. 7, read after भैरव.

## Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) भविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परमया [हेश्वरो] महासामन्तमहाराजश्रीधरसेनकुशली सर्वानेव  
स्वानायुक्तकद्राक्षिकमहत्तरचाट [भट] ---\*
- (<sup>2</sup>) धुवाधिकारणिकविषयपतिराज [स्यानीयोपरिक कुमारामाखहस्त्यशरोहादीनन्याभ्य ययासंबध्य-  
मानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्तानि-  
(<sup>3</sup>) दितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्ययनायात्मन भैहिकाभूमिकयथाभिलक्षितफलावप्तये बलभ्या  
माचार्यभदन्तस्थिरमतिकारितश्रीवप्पपादीय-  
(<sup>4</sup>) विहारे भगवता बुदानां पुष्पधूपगन्धदीपतैलादिक्रियेतत्सर्पणार्थं नानादिगन्धागतार्थभिक्षुसङ्घस्य  
च चीवरमिण्डपातलाभैरजादित्यं विहारस्य च ल-  
(<sup>5</sup>) ण्डस्फुटितविशीर्णप्रतिसंस्कारणार्थं हस्तप्राहरण्यां महेश्वरदासेनकयाम धाराखेटस्यन्यां च  
देवमद्रिपलिकामायौ सोदृक्कौ सोपरिकरौ सभा-  
(<sup>6</sup>) तभूतप्रत्यासथान्यभागभोगहरणादेयौ सौत्यसमानविष्टिकरौ सदशापरायौ समस्तराजकीया-  
नामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयौ भूमिच्छिद्रन्या [येन]  
(<sup>7</sup>) आचम्यार्काण्यवसरिच्छित्तिरियतिपर्वतसमकालीनौ उदकातिसर्गेण देवदायौ भिक्षुष्टौ यत उचितया  
देवविहारस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृष [तः]  
(<sup>8</sup>) कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशवो वा न कैश्चिद्वाघाते कर्तितव्यौ आगाभिभद्रनूपतिभिरस्मदृशजैरन्यैर्न्या-  
निग्रान्यैश्चर्याण्यस्थिरां मानुष्यं सामान्यं च [भूमि]  
(<sup>9</sup>) [दानफल] मयागच्छद्विरयमस्मदावोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च यथैनमाच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानः  
बानुषोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापा [तकैः]  
(<sup>10</sup>) [स्तोत्र] पातकैस्संयुक्तः स्यात् इत्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो  
मोदति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च [तान्येव नर-]  
(<sup>11</sup>) के वसेत् ॥ नहुभिर्बन्धुधा भूका राजभिस्सारादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा  
फलम् ॥ भनोदकेष्वरण्येषु [गुप्तकोटर-]  
(<sup>12</sup>) वासिनः कृष्णसर्पा हि जायन्ते धर्मदायापहारकाः ॥ भवन्तां परदन्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धराः । यवां  
ज्ञातस [हस्तस्य हस्तुः प्राप्नोति]  
(<sup>13</sup>) किन्निबन्धम् ॥ यानीह दारिद्र्यभयाभरेन्दैर्दानानि धर्मापतनीकृतानि । भिर्माल्यनान्तप्रतिमानि तानि  
को नाम [साधुः पुनराददीत]  
(<sup>14</sup>) लक्ष्मीनिकेतं यदपाश्रयेण प्राप्नो कोभिर्मत्तं नृपार्यै । तान्येव पुण्यानि विवर्द्धयेथा न हापनीयो  
सुपकारिपक्षः ॥  
(<sup>15</sup>) स्वहस्तो मम महाधिराजश्रीधरसेनस्य दूतकः सामन्तशीलादित्यः ॥  
(<sup>16</sup>) लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतदीक्षीरपतिस्कन्दभट्टेन । सं २९९ चैत्र व २ ॥

## B.—The Grant of Dhruvasena II.

The grant of Dhruvasena II. is written on two plates 10 inches by 12½ each. The rings

\* L. 1, aksharas 9-12 and 16-17 are extremely faint. L. 2, aksharas 11-13 and 15-18 are extremely faint. L. 3, aksharas 9-18 are very faint. L. 4, aksharas 11-18 are very faint, and some doubtful. L. 5, read "दास्यकथायो",

and seal are in their proper places. The plates are now extremely thin, and in some places pierced by small holes. It would seem that, as

"वज्रिकाभायो. L. 6, read हिरण्यो. L. 7, read कानीनद्व. L. 8, read भविष्यो रियर. L. 9, read भिक्षुमाने. L. 11, read भद्रकेश्य. L. 16, read विधि.



the surfaces were badly corroded and covered by verdigris, the sinner knocked off the upper layers. Fortunately a kernel of sound copper had remained in the centre, in which the strokes of the letters were visible. Nevertheless, when I received the plates, I doubted whether I should ever be able to make out the whole grant. But, when I had filled up all the strokes visible with white paint, I found, to my delight, that the whole was readable except a line or two, which could easily be restored by means of the published plates.

The grant is dated from Valabhi. The *valabhi* offers nothing new. But it ought to be noticed that the grantor, Dhruvasena II., called also Bāḷāditya, does not assume the title 'Mahārāja,' and that none of his predecessors receive any epithet but Śrī 'the illustrious.' It may be that the omission is due to an accident; but, considering the habitual grandiloquence of Indian princes, the case is suspicious, and it would not be surprising if it were found eventually that Dhruvasena II. had some cogent reasons for being silent about his magnificence.

The grant is (Pl. II. l. 11) "the community of the reverend Bhikṣu dwelling in the monastery erected by Guhaka, which was included in the precincts of the monastery built by prince Duddā, and situated in Valabhi proper."

Duddā and her sisters are known from the *Memories* of Dhruvasena I. † and of Guhasena. ‡ If she is here called *rajāt*, literally 'queen,' I presume that the writer means to indicate that she was of royal blood,—not that she was married to a king. For Dhruvasena I. calls her "my own sister's daughter." I am not quite

certain that I have got the exact meaning of *valabhi*, literally 'seated on the own surface of Valabhi.' It may mean, as I have rendered it, 'situated in Valabhi proper, i.e. within the walls.' But possibly the compound '*valabhi*' may have a technical meaning.

The purpose for which the grant was made is the same as that mentioned in the preceding *śāstā* of Dhruvasena II.

The object granted is (Pl. II. l. 13) the village Bhaṣanta in Kāṭhāpakaṭhaḥ in Saurāstra. Kāṭhāpakaṭha must be the name of a subdivision of Sorath. Regarding 'Saurāstra' it ought to be noted that the word is always used in the plural, *Saurāstrāḥ*, and that it is, therefore, really the name of the people who inhabited the country, just as 'Panchāḷāḥ,' 'Kāśmīrāḥ,' &c. The form Sorath is probably not a corruption of 'Saurāstrāḥ,' but of 'Saurāstrat' (mandalam). For Sanskrit as spoken by a Taddhita affix is regularly represented by Prakrit. Kāśmīra (Gopāli S. Desai, Deputy Educational Inspector of Kāśmīr), suggests to me that Bhaṣanta is probably the modern Bhaṣān, a village of the Sorath Prant, belonging to the Navāb of Jānsagḍh.

As regards the relation of Saurāstra to the kings of Valabhi, Hiuen Tsiang also states (*Memories*, vol. II. p. 168) that "this country is subject to the kingdom of Valabhi."

In the date, the year is Śaṃvat 310, and the month Kārttika. The day may be read either 'baḥa 5, i.e. baḥa (lōpakṣa), dark half 5,' or 'ba 15, dark half 15.' For on this plate the letter ha and the sign for 10 bear a very close resemblance.

#### Plate I.

- (1) स्वस्ति वलभीतः पद्मप्रणतामिषणा मेवकाणामनुचरसमपममहत्वाभोगमंसक्तप्रहाराशतलम्पप्रतः  
 (2) पात्यतापोपनतदानमानाज्जोपाधितानुरागादुक्तमौलभूतप्रणीवलावाप्रान्ताभियः परममाहे-  
 स्वरः श्रीमटाकादिवर-  
 (3) च्छिन्नराजैशान्वातापिचरणाविन्दप्रणतिप्रविभौताकोपकन्मपद्रौशवाव्यभूति ननुदितियनारुर-  
 नमदपरागजघटास्कोदन-  
 (4) प्रकाशितसन्निकपस्तत्रमाप्रणतागतिचूडारत्नप्रभाससक्तपादनसरस्मिर्हरितस्तुलस्मृतिप्रणी-  
 तनामैसम्यक्परिप-  
 (5) लनप्रजाहृदपरस्वनार्यराजसुन्दरो रूपकान्तिस्वैर्यगाम्भीर्यबुधिसंपत्तिः स्वरवाशाङ्गादिराजो-  
 दधिनिदशगुरुधनेमानतिपानद्वार-

† Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 106. ‡ Ibid. p. 174.  
 § 'Pakṣa' occurs in the sense of 'month' or 'lunar' on the Chitkuta plates of Ashoka pretty frequently.

† L. 1. read 'मिषणा'. L. 2. read 'प्रा'. 'चोपरा'.  
 L. 3. read 'वस'. 'सुवक'. 'परिप'. L. 5. read 'रत्नान्वा'.



- (<sup>6</sup>) णागताभयप्रदानपरतया विणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफल प्रार्थनाधिकार्यप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्र-  
णयिहृदयः पादचारोः\*
- (<sup>7</sup>) व सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रभोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुरुसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनस्वमगूखसंतान-  
विमुक्तजान्दवीजलैघ-
- (<sup>8</sup>) प्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिस्तसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपद्भूलोभादिवाश्रितस्तरभसमागामिकैर्गुणै-  
स्सहजशक्तिभि-
- (<sup>9</sup>) क्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्देरः प्रथमनरपतिप्रमतिमृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्मदायानामपाकर्ता  
प्रजोप-
- (<sup>10</sup>) घातकारिणामुपलब्धानां दशयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिकास्तस्य संहृतागातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदसावि-  
क्रमो विक्रमोपस-
- (<sup>11</sup>) [प्रा] मविमलपथिकश्री परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातस्मकलजरादान-  
न्दनाख्यदुतगुणसमुदयस्य-
- (<sup>12</sup>) [मि] तगममदिङ्गुणलस्तसरशतविदशतौभासनायमण्डलामद्युतिभापुरान्तपीठोऽप्युदगुसमनैरय-  
महाभार-
- (<sup>13</sup>) [स] ंविद्यापरापरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्वतस्तुभाषितलवेनापि सुखपपादनीपपरितो-  
पस्तमयलोकायाध-
- (<sup>14</sup>) गार्भार्ण्यद्वयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभनः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधना-  
धिगतोदयकीर्ति-
- (<sup>15</sup>) देवमानुषरोधोज्ज्वलतरिकृतार्थसुखसंपदपसेभानिरुद्धधर्मादित्याद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः  
श्रीशिलिदित्यस्तस्या-
- (<sup>16</sup>) नुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः स्वपमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरुणात्यादरवता समाभिलषणीयमपि राजलक्ष्मी  
स्कन्धासक्ता परममद्र इव धु-
- (<sup>17</sup>) र्यस्तदाता[सं]पादनैकारसतयैवोद्गहन्नेदमुत्तरतिभ्यामनायासितसन्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावनसंपदशकृत-  
नृपतिशतशिरो-
- (<sup>18</sup>) रन्च्छायोपगूढपदपीठोपि परावताभिमानरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेका परिग्रज्य प्रख्या-  
तपरुषाभि[मनैर]-
- (<sup>19</sup>) व्यक्तमिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनाभोदविमलगुणसंहति प्रसभ[सिंघ]दित्त-  
मकलकलविलसितगतिनी[च]-
- (<sup>20</sup>) मनाधिरातिभिरसौषैर्देवैरनामृष्टान्युत्तमहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिविवेकशि-  
तिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयग्राह[प्र]-
- (<sup>21</sup>) काशितप्रवीरपुरुषपयमसंख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरप्रहस्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानुध्यातः  
सकलविद्याधिगम[विहित]
- (<sup>22</sup>) निखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोपातिशयस्सन्वसंपदात्यागौदार्येण च विगतानुसन्धानाशमहितारातिप-  
क्षमनैरयाक्षधङ्कु-

\* L. 6, read "कलः". L. 7, read "स्तत्पादः", जमीय. L. 10, read दक्षयिता. L. 11, read पार्थिवयोः. L. 12, read विमयशोः. रामपीठो, महाभार. L. 13, read "गुणैः". L. 14, read "स्व-  
नैरयः". L. 15, read "उज्ज्वलतरिकृता". L. 16, read स्कन्धासक्ता

L. 17, read सत्तैः. L. 18, read यैः. पौरुषा. L. 19, read व्यागतिभिः. संहतिः. कलिविलसित. L. 21, read परममाहेश्वरः. L. 22, read संमहितः.

THE ORIGINAL SLIP





- (<sup>25</sup>) स्तम्भगुप्तलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितगञ्जरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरप्यकृतिः [यमभ्र]-  
 (<sup>26</sup>) य विनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपता [काहरणप्रल्लोदधनाहुविभ्रंसित]-

Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) निखिलप्रतिपक्षपक्षोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्डला-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) भिनन्दितशासनः परममाहे-श्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सचरितप्रतिज्ञायित-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) सकलपू [र्वेनरपतिर] तिद्वस्साधानामपि प्रसाध[यि]ता विसयाणं मूर्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः  
 परिषद्गुणानु-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) रागनिर्भर[चित्त]तिर्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिर[यि]गतकलाकलापः कान्तिमा-  
 भिवृतिहेतुरकलङ्कः x कुमुद-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) नायः प्राग्वप्रतापस्यगितदिगन्तरालप्रचन्निस्तभ्यान्तराशिस्ततोदितस्तविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परपन्न-  
 यमर्त्यवन्त-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) मतिनृतिप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागमपरिपूर्णं विदधानस्सन्धिबिग्रहसमासानिश्चपनिपुणः स्थानेनुरू-  
 यमादेश-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) ददहृणवद्विषानजनितसंस्कारस्साधूनां राग्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोद्धभयोरपि निष्णात प्रकृष्टवि-  
 क्रमापि क-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) हजामुदुहदयः श्रुतवानप्यमर्कित x कान्तोपि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदप्योभि निरसिता दोषवनामुदय-  
 समयस-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) मुपगतितजननानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्णितप्रथितवालावित्थित्वितीयनामा परममाहे-श्वरः  
 श्रीधरसे-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) न x कुशली सङ्गनेव यथासम्पन्नमानक समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्त्रविदितं यथा मया मार्तपिभोः  
 पुण्याप्ययनाय  
 (<sup>11</sup>) बलभीस्वतलसन्निविष्टरामीदुद्धाकारितविहारमण्डलन्तर्गतगोहककारितविहारनिवासार्थ्यभितुसङ्काप  
 चौरपरिण्डपातश [य]  
 (<sup>12</sup>) नाशानगलानप्रत्ययभिधन्यप्रतिस्काराय वृद्धानो य भगवता पूजास्तानगन्धधूपपुष्पदीपतैलाद्यन्यै  
 विहार-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) [स्व]लण्डस्फुटितप्रतिसंस्काराय धादमूलप्रजीवनाय सुराष्ट्रे कालापकपथके धसन्तधामः  
 सोदङ्कस्मो-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) परिकरः सभूतवातप्रत्यायस्तथान्यहिरण्यदेयस्तदशापराधस्तोयद्यमानविष्टिक सर्वराजकीयाना-  
 महस्तप्रक्षेपणीय-  
 (<sup>15</sup>) पूर्वदत्तदेवनामदेयं रहितः भान्द्रार्काण्यवसतसरिपर्वतसमकालीनः आर्य्यभितुसङ्कपरिभोग्य उद-  
 कातिस [र्ग]-  
 (<sup>16</sup>) न ब्रह्मदायोप्रमृष्टो यतोऽस्मैचितया देवामाहारस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रदिसतो वा न  
 कैश्चिदवासेषु

† L. 3, read 'दप्योदयः'. L. 5, read 'विशमाना'. L. 5, read 'प्रपञ्चितः परः'. L. 7, read 'दृष्टिः' 'ज्ञातादृष्टिः' निम्नातः. L. 8, read 'सौहृदप्योपि' दोषवता. L. 10, read 'सम्पन्नमानक'.

L. 11, read 'मण्डलान्तर्गतः'. L. 12, read 'नाशन' मतिसे-  
 स्काराय. L. 13, read 'हिरण्य' विष्टिकः पक्षेपणीयः. L. 15,  
 read 'ब्रह्मदेयरहितः' सिति. L. 16, read 'योनिषो'.

- (<sup>17</sup>) वसिष्ठव्यासाभिप्रदन्पतिमिरस्वर्दक्षजैरन्यैर्वा अनिसान्यैर्धर्माभ्यस्वरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं च भूमि-  
दानफलमवः  
(<sup>18</sup>) गच्छद्विरयमस्मदापोनुयन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यमेत्युक्ते बहुभिर्बन्धुषा मुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः  
यस्य यस्य  
(<sup>19</sup>) यदा भूमिस्तस्वतस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह दारिद्र्यभाषाचरेन्दैर्धनानि धर्मयतनीकृतानि निर्वान्तमा-  
न्यप्रतिमानि  
(<sup>20</sup>) तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीतः षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो विद्यति भूमिदः बाण्डेता चानुमन्ता  
च तान्येव नरके वस्ये  
(<sup>21</sup>) दूतकोन सामन्तशिल्पादिभ्यः ॥ लिखितमिदं सन्निविष्टराषिकृतदिविरपातिवज्रभादिना ॥ सं ३१०  
बान्धुयुगनर ९  
स्वहस्तो मम ॥ २

*O.—The Grant of Śīlāditya V.*

The grant of Śīlāditya V. is written on two plates of the largest size, 11 inches by 17½. The left-hand ring has been lost. The right-hand one, to which the seal is attached, is in its proper place. The latter is, even for Valabhi plates, excessively massive. It bears the usual cognizance and inscription.

The letters resemble in general those of the Baroda and Kāvi Rāshtrakūta plates. But they show some curious forms, which I have never met with before. Thus *da* is invariably represented by *ḍa*, which in the older inscriptions would be *dhra* or *phra*; for *laka* we find sometimes a sign which resembles *lka*; and for *sas* a sign resembling *ja*—*E*, or *lka*—*□*.

The execution of the plates is slovenly in the extreme. Not only does every line abound with mistakes, and whole lines have been left out, but frequently the engraver has not taken the trouble to connect his strokes, whereby the letters become rather doubtful. It would be impossible to read the plate if we had not numerous nearly identical inscriptions. The preservation of the plates is nearly perfect. There are only two small rents, one high up on the right-hand side, and one low down on the left-hand side of the second plate.

The grant is dated from "the camp of victory fixed at Godrahaka." Godrahaka may possibly be Godhrā, the chief town of the Pañch Mahāla. The word *Godrahaka* is formed from *Godraha* by the individualising or deter-

minative affix *ka*, and *godraha* means 'a lake for cows,' or 'the lake of the cow;' compare also *uḡgodraha* in Vālpāti's grant.\* Now this name fits Godhrā very well, which possesses a very large *talāo*. The name *Godraha* occurs also in Somadeva's *Kṛtīkāmudā*, IV. 57, where it is stated that the lords of Godraha and Lāṭa betrayed their master, Rāṇā Virādabhavala of Dhokā, and joined the kings of Marudaka who fought against him. In that passage *Godraha* can only refer to Godhrā. I do not feel so confident that it designates the same place in our plate. For it is quite possible that another Godhrā may have existed in Kāthiāvár, though I am not at present in a position to prove this.

The *senāśālā* carries us one step further than the Gondal plates translated by Rāceshhab V. N. Māndlik.† It appears that there was a fifth prince who bore the name Śīlāditya. Our *śāsana* (pt. II. ll. 20-22) gives the following description of this new king:—

"His (i.e. the fourth Śīlādityadeva's) son is the ardent devotee of Mahādeva, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Śīlādityadeva, who meditates on the feet of the supreme sovereign, the great king of kings, the supreme lord Bappa, who humbles the pride of all (*hostile*) armies, who is an abode of auspiciousness (*produced*) by great victories, (*who resembles*) Purnashottama, because his bosom is caressed by the embraces of Fortune,‡ because he is possessed of marvellous power by assuming the shape of a man-lion,\* and because

† L. 17, read विजयं. L. 30, read दक्षिणः वसेत्.

‡ Especially Pl. II. ll. 25-30.

§ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 231.

¶ Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune, is the wife of Vishnu—Purnashottama.

\* *Narasimha* is one of the incarnations of Vishnu. The king may be likened to a man-lion on account of his bravery. The compound *Narasimha* has to be explained differently in each case.



- (<sup>7</sup>) परमोद परममहेश्वरश्रीगुहसेनः तस्य सुतः तत्पादनस्त्रमयूषसंतानपिसृतजान्दवीजलौघम-  
हालितशेषकन्मपः प्रणयिज्ञत-॥
- (<sup>8</sup>) सहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपन्नपलोभादिवाभृतः सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैः सहजशक्तीः शिक्षादिशेषवि-  
स्मापितः तधनुर्धरः प्रविम-
- (<sup>9</sup>) नरपतिसमतिमुष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्मदज्ञानामधिकता प्रजाघातकारिणामुपपन्नाना श्रमयिता  
श्रीसरस्वतीराकाधिनासस्य
- (<sup>10</sup>) सनादयविषलक्ष्मपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमः विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवत्रीः परममहेश्वरः श्रीधरसे-  
नः तस्य सुतः तत्पा-
- (<sup>11</sup>) दानुभ्यात सतलजगदानंदनाल्लुतगुणसमुद्रस्यगितसमपदिग्मंडलः समरशतपिमयशोभासनाधर्म-  
डलाम्भुसि मा-
- (<sup>12</sup>) मुरासपीठो व्यूहगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सबिद्यापारपरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सञ्ज्ञतः सुमावि-  
सलवेनापि
- (<sup>13</sup>) स्तोपपादनीयपरितोषः सममलोकागाधगाभीर्वहदयोपि सञ्चारितातिशयमुष्णकपरमकन्मणस्वभवः  
खिलीभूतकृत-
- (<sup>14</sup>) युगनृपतिपयविशोधनाधिगतोदयकीर्तिः धर्मानुरोधेज्जलतीरुताप्यसुखसंपदुयसेवानिरुद्धः धर्म-  
दित्यद्वितीनामा परममा-
- (<sup>15</sup>) देश्वरः श्रीखिलादित्यः तस्यानुगः तत्पादानुभ्यातस्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव मुक्तगुरुणादिआदरवता  
समभिलगनीयानामपि रा-
- (<sup>16</sup>) जलक्ष्मीरुक्मन्धासकपरममहाणा धुर्यस्त्रदातासंपादनैकरसतपोदावहनखेटमुखरतिभ्यामनापासित-  
सर्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावसंपदशकृतनु-
- (<sup>17</sup>) पतिशतशितोरन्ध्रयोपगूढपादपीठोपि परवशाभिमानसानालिङ्गितमनोव्रतिः प्रणविभेदः पारिस्त्र-  
ज्य प्रख्यातपौप्रयाभिमानेरप्य-
- (<sup>18</sup>) रातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनमोदविमलगुणसंज्ञति प्रसन्नविधितसकलक-  
लिखिलसितमतिर्नवजनाविद्रोहि भि-
- (<sup>19</sup>) रशोपेरोधैरनामृष्टान्मुक्ततिहृदय प्रख्यातपाकषः शास्त्रकौस्तुभालिशय गुणगणतिथविपलसित्तिपतिल-  
क्ष्मी स्वयंस्मयभाहप्रकाशितप-
- (<sup>20</sup>) वीरपुरुषप्रयमः संख्याधिगमः परममहेश्वरः श्रीस्वरप्रहः तस्य सुतः तत्पादानुभ्यातः सर्वविद्या-  
धिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःप-
- (<sup>21</sup>) रितोपातिशय सससंपत्त्यागैः शौर्येण च विगतानुसंज्ञानसमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथरयासाम्भूत-  
सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकः शास्त्रकला-

१ L. 7, read परमोदः विधुतः. L. 8, read संपदुपः, जन्मि-  
काविहोरः स्मापितः मयमः. L. 9, read धर्मदज्ञानाधुनकताः  
२ ममानाः हर्षयिताः रेकाधिवाः. L. 10, read हर्षतारातिपदा-  
नक्ष्मी. L. 11, read भ्यातः सकलः समुहः विजयः. L. 12,  
read सर्वविद्यापामः. L. 13, read सुखोपः गाधः स्वभारः.  
L. 14, read इपसेवानिरुद्धयोः. L. 15, read भ्यातः.

गुरुन्यादरः, १भीयामरि. L. 16, read 'सकलः' भद्र इव;  
'विह्वलः' स्वयं. L. 17, read सनातिः 'शेकाः  
मानेरप्य. L. 18, read धरतिः जनाभिधैरितोपे. L. 19, read  
'न्युक्तवहदयः' पौरुषः 'शायः' dele गुणः dele स्मयः. L. 20,  
read मयमयः. L. 21, dele प' in the beginning of the  
line; read 'तिस्रयः' 'निकृष्टाक'.







The image shows a single page from an old manuscript. The text is written in a dense, cursive script, likely from the 16th or 17th century. The paper is heavily stained and discolored, with two large circular holes punched through the left side. The text is written in a dark ink on aged, yellowish-brown paper. The handwriting is very close together, filling most of the page. There are some larger, more decorative initials or headings interspersed within the main body of text. The overall appearance is that of a well-used, aged document.

- (<sup>22</sup>) लोकचरितगद्गरविमाभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृतमप्रभ्योपि विनयशोकाविभूषणः समरशतजयपा-  
ताकहिरणप्रत्यलोदयः
- (<sup>23</sup>) गद्गदपण्डविभ्रंसितप्रतिपक्षदण्डयः स्वधनुप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमान सकलनृपतिमण्डलाभि-  
नेदिवशासनः परमायः
- (<sup>24</sup>) हेस्वरः श्रीधरसेनः तस्यानुजः तस्यादानुध्यातः सचरिततिशयित सकलपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुःआघ-  
नामभि प्रतापपिता विजयाणां भूतिमानिव
- (<sup>25</sup>) पुरुषाकारः परिहृदगुणानुगगनिर्भरचित्तशक्तिः मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरपिगतकलाक-  
लाप कान्तिरिहृदयगलाच्छनकुमु-
- (<sup>26</sup>) दनाय प्राज्यप्रतापास्यागतदिगंतराल प्रवसितध्वान्तराशिः सप्तोदित सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्य-  
यमयेवन्तमतिबहुतिप्रयोजनानुवन माग-
- (<sup>27</sup>) मपरिपूर्णं विदधानं संधिविहसमालनिभ्यपनिपुण स्थानमनुपदेशं ददत्तं गुणवृद्धिविधाजनित-  
संस्कारात्ताधूनां राज्यशालावुरीपं त-
- (<sup>28</sup>) न्ययोदभयोपि निष्पातः प्रकृतिविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगाव्वंतः कान्तोपि प्रकृषी  
स्विरसौहादोपि निरतिनादोपदोषतामुद-
- (<sup>29</sup>) यत्तमुपजनितजनानुरामपरिहृतिभुवनसमर्थतप्रथित बालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परमेश्वरः श्री-  
धरसेनः तस्य सुतः तस्यादकमलप्रणामधरणि-
- (<sup>30</sup>) कथणजनितहारिणलाञ्छनललाटचंद्रशकल शिशुभाव एव श्रवणनिहितमौनिकालंकारविभ्रमाम-  
लश्रुतविशेष प्रदानसालिलसालितामहस्ता-
- (<sup>31</sup>) विदः व्यास इव मृदुकरग्रहणादमंदीकृतानन्दविधिः वसुंधरायाः कामुकेव धनुर्वेद इव सभाविता-  
गमलक्ष्यकलाप प्रणतसमस्तसामन-
- (<sup>32</sup>) मण्डलोपमोलिभूतचूडामणिक्रियमनशासनः परमेश्वरः परमभद्राकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-  
श्चक्रवर्त्तश्रीधरसेनः
- (<sup>33</sup>) तस्मिन्तामहभ्रातृश्रीग्रीलीदित्यस्य शार्ङ्गपाणिरिकायजन्मनो भक्तिबन्धुरावपवः सतिष्वलेया तस्यादार-  
विदग्रतः.....
- (<sup>34</sup>) चरणनखमणिरुचा मंदकिन्त्येव नित्यमलितोत्तमांगदेशस्यागस्त्रस्यैव राजवेदोत्तिग्ममातृत्वानस्य  
धवलधवः
- (<sup>35</sup>) लिप्ता पयशां वलयेन मंडितककुभा नवसिधिरलितशेवालंरुपरि-
- (<sup>36</sup>) वेशमंडलस्या-

## Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) पर्योदश्यामशिश्वरचूचुककचिसमाविन्ध्यस्तस्तनयुगायाः शितेः पत्युः श्रीदेवभट्टक्याप्राज्ञः सति-  
सहतेर्भुविभा - - - - - गङ्गाचयशामुकनृतः सार्वकालिकमलसंजयः - -

\* L. 22, read 'विभ्रंसितप्रतिपक्षदण्डयः' ; पतापः L. 23, read 'सुनापातः' ;  
L. 25, read 'हृदयगतः' ; कलाः L. 26, read 'नयः' ; प्रतापः  
नगतः प. व. मित गतमोदितः 'नयः' प. व. L. 27, read  
विदधानः स्थानमनुपदेशं ददत्तं विधानजनितः तृपपतः  
L. 28, read 'पदानो' ; प. व. प्रस दण्डः L. 29, read  
परमेश्वरः धनुर्वेदः L. 30, read 'कान्तोपि कान्तः' ;  
शकलः मौक्तिकः विशेषः L. 31, read 'गवदः' ; नामन्तः  
कन्याया इवः कामुकः प. , सभावितासमन्तः ; कलापः

L. 22, read 'मंडलसंज्ञा' ; पतापः , पतापः परमेश्वरः  
(कान्तोपि) L. 23, read 'सुनापातः' ; The read does on  
the plate indicate that the 'पय' syllables have been  
left out. It is not by the engraver could not read his 'मल-  
संजयः' ; read 'संजयः' ; पतिवयः L. 26, read 'नित्यमलितः' ;  
L. 25, read 'मलसंजयः' ; पतिवयः (16) (16) ;  
+ Line 1, read 'सर्वकालिकमलसंजयः' ; सार्वकालिकमलसंजयः  
संजयः स्वयंभवादिभ्यः

- (<sup>1</sup>) श्रियमर्ष्ययन्त्राः कृतपरिमहः शौर्यप्रतिहतप्रतगदरपत्रसिप्रचण्डरिपुमण्डलमण्डलाभिवालंभवमानं  
शरदि प्रसभमाकृष्टशिलीमुखवाणासना [पादित] प्रसा-  
(<sup>2</sup>) धनाय पराभुवां विधिवदाचरितकरमहणः पूर्वमेव विधिववर्णोजलनभुतातिशिनोद्वसितभ्रवणमु-  
गलः पुनः पुनरुक्तेनेव रत्नालंकार-  
(<sup>3</sup>) पालङ्कृतश्रोत्रः परिस्फुरकरकसकटकीटपक्षतनुकिरणमञ्जिच्छिन्नदानसलिलनिवहावसकविसल-  
न्नवशैवलाकुःमिवाभपाणमु [इ-]  
(<sup>4</sup>) हन्तृविशालरत्नवलनाजलधिवलातदायमानजपरिष्वन्नविश्ववरः परममाहेश्वरश्रीधुवसेनः  
तस्याप्रजो परममहीपतिस्पर्द्धादोः  
(<sup>5</sup>) पनाशनधियेव लक्ष्म्या स्वयमतिस्पष्टचष्टमाश्रष्टाङ्गयष्टरितरुचिरतरचरितगारिमपरिकलित-  
मकलनरपरितरिप्रकृष्टानुरागसरम-  
(<sup>6</sup>) सवर्तीकृतप्रणतसमस्तसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमयस्वदित चरणकमलपुगलः प्रोदामदारदोर्दण्डद-  
लितद्विषदगर्दभ्यः प्रसर्प्यमटीयः प्रताप-  
(<sup>7</sup>) श्रेष्ठताशेषशत्रुवैशः प्रणपीपक्षनिक्षिप्तलक्ष्मीकः प्रेरितगदोक्षिप्तमुदर्शनचारः परिहृतचालक्रीडोनदः  
कृतदिजातिरेकविक्रमप्रसाधितपरिव्रीतलो-  
(<sup>8</sup>) कृतजलशय्योपूज्यपुरुषोत्तमः साक्षाद्वर्म्म इव सम्यग्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमाचारः पूर्वैष्यवीपतिभिः  
तृष्णालवुल्लेख्यन्यपद्धतानि देवव्रह्मदेयानि  
(<sup>9</sup>) तेषामप्यतिसकलमनप्रसरमूर्त्तिकलानानुमादनाभ्यां परिमुदिततृभुवनाभनन्दितोच्छ्रितोत्कृष्ट-  
पञ्चलधर्मध्वजप्रकाशितनिजवंशो देवद्विजगुरु-  
(<sup>10</sup>) न्यति यथार्हमनवरनप्रवर्त्तितमः होदुङ्गादिदानेन समनानुपजातसत्तापोपाजोदारकीर्त्ता परादन्तुरि-  
ननिविन्दादेकुक्त्वालः स्पष्टमेव यथाये  
(<sup>11</sup>) धर्म्मदिव्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीवर्म्मग्रहमनस्याग्रजन्मनः कुमुदपण्डवीविकासिन्ध्यां  
कलमोवतश्चन्द्रिकेयव कर्मा भवलिप्तसकलदिङ्म-  
(<sup>12</sup>) हलस्य स्वण्डितागुकाविलेपनापिडल्यामलविन्ध्यमालविपुलसयोधरायाः क्षिप्तः पशुः श्रीशोलादित्यस्य  
सूनुर्नवपालयकिरण इव प्रतिदिनसं-  
(<sup>13</sup>) वधमानकलाचन्द्रवालः केतरीन्द्रशिशुरिव राजलक्ष्मीसकलवनस्पत्नीभिचालकुर्वाणः शिखण्डिके-  
सन इवद्विपतां परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टा-  
(<sup>14</sup>) एकमहारजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवर्म्मशदानुध्यानपरमभट्टारकमहागजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-  
अशालादित्यदेवः तस्य सुतः परमेश्वर्य कोपा-  
(<sup>15</sup>) कृष्टनिम्नशपातविदलितारानिकरिकुम्भस्थलोलमन्यसुतमहाप्रतापनिलप्रपरिगतजगन्नेण्डललब्धस्थि-  
निः विकटनिजशोर्दण्डावल्लोचना सक

: L. 2. read भित्तसन्नासनाभ्यामनन . L. 3. read  
जवानः' निक्षेपे' . L. 4. read कटकीटदः' पक्ष-  
The . . . . . into the upper . . . . .  
from a MS. मैक' . L. 5. read वर्ययजुर्दिव' पुनःपुनःपुनः  
विधिवदः, स्पष्टमेव . L. 6. read यथाशनः' योऽष्टदोषयष्टि  
L. 7. read वशीकृत' स्थितितरण' योऽष्टदोषयष्टि  
राशिना, पश्यति' बालः' पक्षः, मेघः . L. 9. read पुनःपुनः  
चमः इवस्य' वृत्तमे' . L. 10. read सानवन' मादना-या

विश्वर' . L. 11. read मर्यादा' मर्यादा' . L. 12. read  
सिन्ध्या' कलमोवत' कलमोवत' . L. 13. read सौ' शैल' गया  
मानन' . L. 14. read कलमोवत' मर्यादा' मर्यादा' . L. 15. read  
कलमोवत' . L. 16. read कलमोवत' . L. 17. read कलमोवत'  
L. 18. read कलमोवत' . L. 19. read कलमोवत'  
L. 20. read कलमोवत' . L. 21. read कलमोवत'  
L. 22. read कलमोवत' . L. 23. read कलमोवत'  
L. 24. read कलमोवत' . L. 25. read कलमोवत'  
L. 26. read कलमोवत' . L. 27. read कलमोवत'  
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L. 36. read कलमोवत' . L. 37. read कलमोवत'  
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L. 52. read कलमोवत' . L. 53. read कलमोवत'  
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L. 78. read कलमोवत' . L. 79. read कलमोवत'  
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L. 82. read कलमोवत' . L. 83. read कलमोवत'  
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L. 90. read कलमोवत' . L. 91. read कलमोवत'  
L. 92. read कलमोवत' . L. 93. read कलमोवत'  
L. 94. read कलमोवत' . L. 95. read कलमोवत'  
L. 96. read कलमोवत' . L. 97. read कलमोवत'  
L. 98. read कलमोवत' . L. 99. read कलमोवत'  
L. 100. read कलमोवत' .

- (<sup>17</sup>) लभुवनाभोगभाजा मन्वास्तालिनविधृतदुग्धमित्युक्तपिण्डपण्डुरयशोवितानेन पिहिततपवः  
परमेश्वरः परमेश्वरक महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः
- (<sup>18</sup>) श्वरश्रीवपपादानुध्यानपरमेश्वरकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीश्रीलादित्यदेवः सन्तुष्टः  
प्रतापानुगमपणतसमस्तसामिन्तचूडामणिसू-
- (<sup>19</sup>) खनिचितरंजितपादारविन्दः परमेश्वरः परमेश्वरकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवपपा-  
दानुध्यान परमेश्वरकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीश्रीला-
- (<sup>20</sup>) दित्यदेवः तस्यान्मजः प्रशमिताशेषलदर्या विपुलजयमगलश्रयः श्रीसमालिङ्गनलालितवक्षा नमः  
पादनागसिद्धिद्विहोमितादुनि-
- (<sup>21</sup>) शक्तिः समुद्रतपिपक्षभूभृच्चिल्लगोमण्डलरत्नः पुनर्पोतमः पणतभूतपार्थिवकरीटमाणिक्यमूर्ण-  
तचरणनखमयूकमिताशेषदि-
- (<sup>22</sup>) जधूमसः परममाहेश्वरः परमेश्वरकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवपपादानुध्यानपरम-  
ेश्वरकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीश्रीलादित्यदे-
- (<sup>23</sup>) वः सर्वानेव समजापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया मानापिचोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोविद्वद्वय ऐहिकामु-  
ष्मिकफलावाप्यर्थे इहकवाम्भ्यतचानुविदसा-
- (<sup>24</sup>) मान्यपाराशरसगोत्रायाश्चैषणसत्राचारिब्राह्मणसंभुक्त्या ब्राह्मणडाटत्तपुत्राय त्रिलचक्रकवैभवे-  
वाग्रहावक्रनुक्रियाभ्युत्तारिणायै
- (<sup>25</sup>) सूर्योपरवितये वयोदकानदीतहे बहुबलकधामः तोदृङ्गः सपरिकरः सौन्दर्यमानविष्टिकाः सभू-  
तपातः सप्रपुन्द्यः
- (<sup>26</sup>) सदशाकरगपः सभोगभोगः सधान्यहिरण्यणयः सव्यंराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः भूमिच्छिददेव-  
सत्यदायव —
- (<sup>27</sup>) भूमिपदन्वायेनचन्द्रार्काण्यसरिस्त्रितिपर्वतसमकालीन पूजेकापौवाच्यभोग्यमुद्रकातिसर्गेश-  
व्रह्मदायव —
- (<sup>28</sup>) पतिपादितः यनेम्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृपतः कर्षयतोऽप्रमिश्रितो वा न कैश्चिदा-  
प्य ईर्ष्यत-
- (<sup>29</sup>) व्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिर्गोस्मिस्महंशजरन्वैर्जानित्यान्यभर्ष्यानास्थिरमानुष्यक सामान्यं च भूमिदायक-
- (<sup>30</sup>) लसदगच्छद्विरयमस्मदायानुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च ॥ उक्तं च बहुभिर्वपुषा भुक्ता राजभिः  
समगादिभिः यम्य-
- (<sup>31</sup>) स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फल ॥ यानीह दाग्निभयानरेनैर्धनानि धर्मोपतनीकृतानि निमग्न-
- (<sup>32</sup>) वान्तप्रविमानि तानि को नाम तापुः पुनमाददीत ॥ षष्टिर्वयसिहत्त्राणं स्वर्गं तिष्ठ-
- (<sup>33</sup>) ति भूमिदः आच्छांता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥ दूतकोन गच्छतशातिश्रीजन्तुः
- (<sup>34</sup>) लिखितंमिपं लम्पयत्तरुन सख्यामुनेनेति ॥ संवत् ४४१ ४४४४ कार्तिक श्र-  
३ (९) (३४) स्वहस्तो मम.

[ 1. 17, read 'स्तालन' ; परमेश्वरः ; तानन' ; परमे. L. 18, read 'देव. 1. 19, read 'समस्तभितः' ; परमेश्वरः. L. 20, read 'प्रशमिताशेषलदर्या' ; मगल' ; निका. समुद्रादिवारिहिराजविषय-  
भितादुत. L. 21, read 'नारक्ष' ; पणत, किराट. — मयूना. L. 22, read 'महाराजाधिराज' ; परमेश्वर. L. 23, read 'वाच्य' ; L. 24, read 'विद्वद्वय' ; संप्रणय. L. 25, read 'मया' ;  
diminished' ; वयोदका, last two letters may be 'यथा, ताह' ;  
perhaps intended for 'सदे' or 'कटे' ; read 'विष्टिका' ; सभूत-

वन्तपयि. L. 26, read 'सदशाकरगपः' ; रण्यदेवः ; भूमिच्छिदन्वा-  
येन. L. 27, The beginning of the line is the end of the first  
line, and the middle of detached strokes. Read 'तानको-  
का' ; ४४. L. 28, read 'वा' ; पतिपादित' ; सगामेधे' ; तित. L. 29, read 'समस्तभित' ; संप्रणय' ; मानुष्यक' ; L. 30, read  
'तया' ; L. 31, read 'मिर्म' ; L. 32, read 'पुनमाददीत' ;  
L. 33, perhaps 'मच्छयति. L. 34, read 'तमिदे' ; 'गुनुना'  
शशिशुमनेति.



## SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. P. FLEET, Esq. C.S.

(Continued from vol. V. p. 343.)

## No. XX.

This and the following six copper-plate inscriptions have been previously published by me in the *Jour. As. Soc. Ind.*, vol. IX., No. xxvii., pp. 229 *et seqq.* I now give revised transcriptions of them, with full translations.

The originals, which now belong to myself, were found some sixteen years ago in a mound of earth close to a small well called Chakra-*Irtha*, a short distance outside Halsi on the road to Nandigad, in the Bidri Taluk of the Belgaum District. They are all in the Cave-alphabet characters not yet developed into the Old Canarese characters, and in the Sanskrit language.

They record the grants of an old dynasty of Kadamba kings, and, in connexion with three more recently discovered copper-charters noticed below, they establish the following genealogy:—



This dynasty is known as yet only from the present inscriptions, though other branches of the Kadamba stock have been noticed by Sir W. Elliot and by myself. Kākusthavarmā was probably the first of the family to enjoy regal power; but, as allusion is made in lines 4-5 of the first of these inscriptions to an era dating from some victory over a hostile dynasty that took place eighty years before his time, the way must have been prepared for him by his father or grandfather. These kings were of

the Jain religion. Their capital was Palāśikā, —the modern Halsi itself\*; but we have also the mention of the city of Vaijayanṭi, or the modern Banawāsi, as a residence of Mrigodā.

The exact date of these kings cannot be determined at present, no reference to any known era being made in these inscriptions. But the type of the alphabet, and the contemporaneous allusions, enable us to allot them with tolerable certainty to about the fifth century A.D., and to decide that these must be the Kadambas whose power the Chālukya king Kirttivarman I. is said, in lines 4 and 5 of the Aihole inscription, No. XIII.† of this series, to have overthrown.

The application of the term 'Pauṣa year' to the third year of Mrigodā's reign in one of the Dhārwad plates, and of the term 'Vaiśākha year' to the eighth year of his reign in No. XXI. below,—and the mention of the eighth fortnight of the rainy season in one of Mrigodā's grants from Dhārwad, and of the sixth fortnight of the winter season in No. XXIII. below, indicating that, at the time of these grants, the primitive division of the year into three seasons only, not into six as now, was still followed,—probably contain the clue, which will enable us hereafter to determine the exact date of these kings with accuracy.

As I have intimated, three more copper-charters of the same dynasty were found about a year ago in the Dhārwad District. When I can see the originals, I hope to include them in this series. Meanwhile, I have seen transcriptions and translations of them by Mr. Pāṇḍarāṅg Venkātāś Chintāmanipōtkar, of the Educational Department. Two of them are dated in the third and fourth years respectively of Mrigodā of the above table, or as he is called in those plates, Mrigodāvaravarmā or Mrigodāvarman, and are issued at the city of Vaijayanṭi. We learn from one of them, that the Kadambas were of the

\* An Old Canarese 'p' is frequently changed into 'a' in the modern dialect. An intermediate form of the name, we have Palāśikā (*Jour. As. Soc. Ind.*, vol. IX., No. xxvii., p. 243, line 10); Lalāsi (id., p. 297, line 3),

and Palāśi (id., p. 270, line 11). Under the later Kadambas, feudatories of the Chālukya kings, Palāsi was the chief town of a district of twelve thousand villages.

† Vol. V. p. 67.



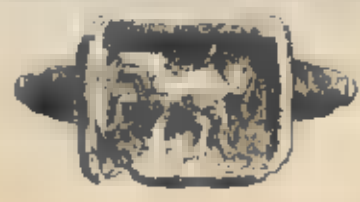
KADAMBA GRANT OF KAKUSHIVARMMA

1  
1. *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥  
॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥  
॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥

IIa  
2. *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥  
॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥  
॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥

IIb  
3. *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥  
॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥  
॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥

III  
4. *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥  
॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥  
॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥ *Śaṅkha* ॥



*Āṅgīraṇa gōtra.* The third is of the time of *Dēvavarmā*, the son and *Yuvārāja* of the Kadamba *Mahārāja Kṛishṇavarmā*, and is issued at (the city of) *Triparvata*. There is nothing at all in this inscription which indicates the date of *Kṛishṇavarmā* and *Dēvavarmā*, or the place to which they should be referred in the above genealogy. There can be little doubt, however, that they belong to this same branch of the Kadamba stock; rather than to the other branch, of which the genealogy, commencing with *Maṅgavarmanadēva*, followed by his son *Kṛishṇavarmadēva*, followed by his son *Nāgavarmanadēva*, and so on, is given by Sir W. Elliot. And, equally, there can be little doubt that this same *Kṛishṇavarmā* is the Kadamba king who is mentioned in Mr. Rice's *Markara* and *Nāgamaṇḍala* copper-plates, and whose sister married the Chōḷa king *Mādhava II.* The *Markara* plate being dated (? Śaka) 388, in the time of the son of *Mādhava II.*, and the

*Nāgamaṇḍala* plate being dated Śaka 409, in the time of *Koṅḡaṇi-Mahādhirāja*, who was subsequent to *Mādhava II.* by nine generations,—we have about Śaka 380 (A.D. 438-9) as the date of *Kṛishṇavarmā*. This will make him and his son anterior to *Kākusthavarmā* and his successors, according to the estimate that I have formed of the date of the latter.

The present inscription, No. XX., the earliest of the set, is the smallest and most shagbly; in some places the plates have been completely eaten through with rust. It consists of three plates, about 6½" long by 1½" broad, fastened together with a ring, the seal of which bears the figure of apparently a dog. The inscription, in this and the remaining six cases, begins on the inside of the first plate and ends on the inside of the last plate. It records the grant of a field at the village of *Khōṅḡrāma* to the General *Śrutakṛetty* by *Kākusthavarmā*, the Kadamba *Yuvārāja*.

#### Transcription.

##### First plate

- [1] नमः ॥ जयति भगवान्निर्मेदो गुणरत्नः प्र[धि]त[परम\*]कावणिकः  
[2] त्रैलोक्यावासकरी दयापताकीक्षिता यस्य ॥ परम-  
[3] श्रीविजयपलाशिकायाम् प्रजासाधारणा[द्या]नाम् ॥†

##### Second plate : first side.

- [4] कदावानाम् युवराजः श्रीकाकुत्स्थवर्मा स्वैजयिके भवतीति मे  
[5] संकसो भगवतामर्हताम् तर्कभूतशरणानाम् त्रैलोक्यनिस्तार-  
[6] कायाम् खेटशमे बद्धोदरदेव[म्] श्रुतकीर्ति[र्ति]मोनापतये ॥‡

##### Second plate : second side.

- [7] भान्ननस्तारणार्थम् दत्तवान् [॥] तयो [हि]नस्ति स्वदंष्ट्रः [प]रदंष्ट्रो वा  
[8] स पञ्चदशपातकसंयुक्तो भवतीति [॥] यो भिरसनीति तस्य सम्यक् ३३ गु-  
[9] णपुण्यवातिः [॥] अपि चोक्तम् [॥] बहुभिर्युगुपा दत्ता ॥¶

##### Third plate.

- [10] [रा]जभिस्तमसादिभिः यस्य यस्य य[दा भू]मिः तस्य तस्य तदा कलम् [॥]  
[11] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधरां शट्तिर्वसुधरा[ज]णी[णि]  
[12] नरके पच्यते नु तः ॥ नमो नमः [॥] कदापि नमः ॥

† Vol. I, p. 503.

‡ Vol. II, p. 165.

¶ Contrary to the rule of these seven plates, the original here has the vocative itself, and not the *upadhāniya*.

\* These three syllables are omitted altogether in the original; but they are required to make up both the metre and the sense.

† This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

‡ This mark of punctuation, also, is superfluous.

§ The corrected reading must be either *सर्वपापनाश*, &c., omitting the *ya* as inserted by mistake, or *सर्वपापनाश*, &c.

¶ This mark of punctuation, also, is superfluous.



*Translation.*

Reverence! Victorious is the holy one, Jinendra\*, who abounds in good qualities, and who is renowned as being extremely compassionate, the banner of his tenderness, which comforts the three worlds, is lifted up on high!

At the most glorious and victorious (city of) Palāśikā, in the eightieth year of his victory, Śrī-Kākuṭṭhavarman†, —the Yavārāja of the Kādambas, who enjoy the general good wishes of their subjects,—gave to the General Śrutakīrti, as a reward for saving himself, the field called Baddāvarakakṣōtra, in the village of Khṣṭagrāma, which belongs to the holy Arhats‡, who are the refuge of created beings and the saviours of the three worlds.

He inquires the guilt of the five great sins||, who injures this grant, whether he is born in his

own lineage or in the lineage of another; he, who preserves it, shall verily obtain the religious merit of all virtuous qualities! Moreover it has been said:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagarā; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruit of it! He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, who seizes upon land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

Reverence; reverence! Reverence to Rishabhah!\*

## No. XXI.

This inscription consists of three plates, about 8" long by 2½" broad, fastened by a ring, the seal of which bears the name of 'Śrī-Mṛigēśvarah.' It records how Mṛigēśvarah caused a Jain temple to be built at Palāśikā, and endowed it with a grant of land, in the eighth year of his reign.

*Transcription.**First plate.*

- [1] स्वस्ति [II] जयति भगवान्निज(जि)नेन्द्रो गुणहन्द्रः जयितपरमकारुणिकः त्रैलोक्यभासकरी  
[2] दयापताकोष्मिता यस्य [II] कदम्बकुलसंकेतोः हेतोः पुण्यैकसं-  
[3] पदाम् श्रीकाकुत्स्थनेन्द्रस्य मूर्तुर्भातुरिवापरः [II] श्रीभान्तिवर-  
[4] शर्मति राजा रात्रीवलोकनः खलेव शनिताकृष्टा

*Second plate : first side.*

- [5] येन लक्ष्मीर्दिग्बृहात् [II] तन्निप्रयज्येष्टतनयः श्रीमृगेश्वरराधियः  
[6] लोकैकधर्मविजयी दिजसामन्तपूजितः [II] मत्वा दानं दरिद्राणाम्  
[7] महाकरुणमिति यः स्वयं भयदरिद्रा(द्रो) वि शत्रुभ्यो दासराभवम् [II]  
[8] तुङ्गमङ्गुलोत्सादी पलवमलपानलः स्वार्थके नृपतौ भक्त्या

*Second plate : second side.*

- [9] कारयित्वा जिनालयम् [II] श्रीविजयपलाशिकायाम् पापनि(नी)यनिर्घन्यकूर्च-  
[10] कानाम् स्वैतपिके अष्टमे वैशाखे संवत्सरे कार्त्तिकरूपौर्णमाभ्याम्  
[11] मातृसरित आरभ्य सा शङ्खीसङ्गमात् राजमानेन जपो(य)त्रि(वि)ङ्काभिवर्त्तनं  
[12] श्रीविजयवैजयन्तीनिवासी दत्तवान् भगवद्रजो हृदयः [I] तन्नामासिः

\* Jinendra,—a Jain saint, a Buddha.

† 'Rundro'—see vol. IV., p. 204, note §. 'Guṇarundro' is evidently equivalent to 'guṇa-mahat,' which, though it is not an expression of frequent occurrence, we have had in No. XV. of this series, line 6, vol. V., p. 155.

‡ The classical spelling would be 'Kākuṭṭhavarman'; but 'Kākuṭṭha' is manifestly an established corruption of 'Kākuṭṭha.'

§ 'Arhat,'—lit., venerable,—a superior Jain saint or divinity.

|| Vis,—among the Jaina,—destruction of life, lying, stealing, unchastity, and immoderate desire.

§ No. 'the donor's.'

\* The first Arhat, the first of the twenty-four Jain Tirthankaras or sanctified teachers, of the present age.

† With this method of expressing the usual,—properly Anuvāsa here,—compare *Śrīyavakhaṇṭhaka* in line 8 of the Ashoka Inscription, No. XIII. of this series, vol. V., p. 159, and *Manavaṇṭhaka* in line 1 of the Bāhmi Cave Inscription, Ind. Ant. vol. III., p. 205, and *Sikha-sādhapāṇṭha* in line 6-9 of No. XXV. of this series, and witness Pl. I., line 3, of a Chālukya grant, published in the Jour. As. Soc., vol. X., No. III., p. 343, by Mr. K. T. Telang.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 इत्यनेनानुष्ठुप्तादिभिः श्रुतं  
 इत्यनेनानुष्ठुप्तादिभिः श्रुतं  
 इत्यनेनानुष्ठुप्तादिभिः श्रुतं  
 इत्यनेनानुष्ठुप्तादिभिः श्रुतं

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 इत्यनेनानुष्ठुप्तादिभिः श्रुतं  
 इत्यनेनानुष्ठुप्तादिभिः श्रुतं  
 इत्यनेनानुष्ठुप्तादिभिः श्रुतं  
 इत्यनेनानुष्ठुप्तादिभिः श्रुतं

116.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

117.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

FROM THE ORIGINALS





## Third plate.

- [13] दामकीर्तिभोजकः त्रिपन्तश्चायुक्तकः सर्वस्वानुज्ञाता इति [11] अपि च  
 [14] उक्तम् [1] बहुभिर्विमुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा  
 [15] भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [11] सदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्ता(त्ता) वाम(वा) यो हरेत वसु-  
 [10] न्धराम् षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि कुम्भीपाके स पच्यते [11] सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

## Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the holy one, Jindā, dāra, who abounds in good qualities, &c.!

The son of the king Śrī-Kākaśiṭha, who was the glory of the family of the Kadambas on account of his riches which consisted entirely of meritorious actions, was the king Śrī-Śāntivaravarma, who was, as it were, a second son, and whose eyes were like the blue lotus-flower, as if also were a woman of easy virtue, the goddesses of the fortunes of his enemies were enticed by him from their abodes.

His beloved eldest son was the king Śrī-Mṛigāśa, who was most eminent in piety among all mankind, and who was worshipped by the twice-born and by chasteins. Having reflected upon the saying that "The gifts of the poor have a rich reward," he, though poor himself in the sensation of fear, gave great fear to his enemies.

On the day of the full-moon of (the month) Kārttika, in the Vaiśākha year, the eighth of his victory, he,—who uprooted the family of Tāḍagagaṅga, and who was a very fire of destruction to the Pallavas,—while residing at the glorious and victorious (city of)

Vaijayanṭī, through devotion for the king (his father) who was dead, caused to be built a temple of Jina at the glorious and victorious (city of) Palāṭikā, and gave to the holy Arhats thirty-three *stūrtanā* (of land), from the river Mātṛpārit up to the sacred confluence of rivers called Lāḍṭyānāṅgaṃ, for the purpose of supporting the Kārśakāśa, who are naked religious mendicants. The specification (of the principal grantees) was:—Dāma-kīrtti, the *Bhājaka*; and Jiyanta, the minister and the general superintendent.\*

Moreover it has been said:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagarā, &c. He is tormented in the hell called Kumhīpāka for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c. May there be success!

## No. XXII.

This inscription consists of five plates, about 7½" long by 2½" broad. The device on the seal of the ring is almost entirely worn away, but seems to have been the same as the dog on the seal of No. XX. It records grants and endowments, for the celebration of the Jain religion, made by Ravi Varma and others.

## Transcription.

## First plate.

- [1] जयति भगवाज्जिनन्दो गुणदम्पयितपरमकारणिकः वैलोक्ष्या-  
 [2] शसकरी दयापताकोच्छ्रिता यस्य ॥ स्वधिमहासेनमातृगणानु-  
 [3] ध्या(ध्या)तानां मानव्यसमोवाणं हारितीपुत्राणां प्रतिकृतस्वध्या(ध्या)यच[र्चा]-

\* The meaning of the expression 'Vaiśākha year' is not apparent, 'Vaiśākha' being the name of a month, and not of any of the sixty-four years. It is however not originally the initial month of the solar year. Perhaps at the time of this inscription it was usual to speak of such a year as a 'Vaiśākha year' in order to determine its position, and not to firmly establish a method of computation that had been only loosely followed. One may even be that the year in which this grant was made was the first of the initial month of which was Vaiśākha, and the rest would follow, from the table given at p. 110 of the *First Table*, of vol. II of Theodor's edition of *Prasāda's* *Antiquities*, that the date of this inscription was 400 A.D. As noted in my remarks above, the contemporary historical allusions, and the style of the characters, point to about this time as the

date of Kākaśiṭha's and his successors. Curiously enough, I find that in one of the plates from Banavāsi the third year of Mañjū's reign is called in a similar way 'Pāṇḍya year'. But, by the *First Table*, the year commencing with the month Vaiśākha is 451.

† Another form of 'Jayanṭipura', an old name of Vaiśākha, modern Banavāsi, which was always a Kadamba capital.

‡ Apparently some Jain sect, they are mentioned again in No. XXV., line 12.

§ 'Bhājaka', name of a class of wandering priests in Jain temples. In No. XXII., line 6, we have again 'Bhājaka' and in No. XVIII., line 11, 'Bhājaka'.

\* From the amended and literal translation of No. XVIII., ll. 10-11, as detailed in the *Remarks* to vol. V.

## Second plate : first side.

- [4] पारगाणाम् स्वकृतपुण्यफलोपभोक्तृणां(णा)म् स्वराहुकीर्त्योपादित-  
 [5] तैश्चर्य्यभोगभाणिनाम् सद्धर्मसदम्बानां कदम्बानाम् ॥ काकुत्स्थ-  
 [6] वर्मनृपलब्धमहाप्रसादः(दः) संभुक्तवाञ्छुतनिधिश्चुतकीर्तिभोगः

## Second plate : second side.

- [7] ग्रामं पुरा नृपु वरःपुरुपुण्यभागी खेडाहुकं यजनदानदयो-  
 [8] पपन्नः ॥ तस्मिन्वर्ष्यति शान्तिवर्मावनीशः मावे धर्म्मार्थं दत्तवान्दा-  
 [9] मकीर्तिः भूमी विख्यातस्तत्सुतन्त्रीमृगेशः पित्रानुगतं धार्म्मिको दान-

## Third plate : first side.

- [10] मेव ॥ श्रीदामकीर्तिरुत्पुण्यकीर्तिः सद्धर्ममार्गास्थितशुद्धबुद्धेः ग्यापा-  
 [11] स्तुते धर्म्मपरो यशस्वी विशुद्धबुद्ध्या(द्वय)रूपुतो गुणाद्यः ॥ आचार्यैर्नन्धु-  
 [12] पेणदिः निमित्तज्ञानवारगैः स्थापितो भुवि यद्वशः श्रीकीर्ति-  
 [13] कुलवृद्धये [II] तःप्रसादेन लब्धश्रीः दानपूजाकिपोद्यतः गुरु-

## Third plate : second side.

- [14] भक्तो निर्नीतात्मा परात्महितकाम्यया ॥ जयकीर्तिप्रतीहारःपसादानुप-  
 [15] ते रवेः पुण्यार्थं स्थापितुर्मात्रे दत्तवान्गुरुखेटके ॥ जिनेन्द्रमहिमा  
 [16] कार्या प्रनितंकरसरं क्रमात् अष्टाहकृतमर्ष्यादा कार्त्तिक्यान्तद्वना-  
 [17] ममात ॥ शार्ङ्गिकाश्चतुरो मासान् यापनीयास्तपस्विनः भु[ञ्जीरन्तु]

## Fourth plate : first side.

- [18] पयान्याय्यम् महिमाशेषवस्तुकम् [II] कुमारदत्तप्रमुखा हि सूर्यः  
 [19] अनेकशास्त्रागमशिवबुद्धयः जगन्पतीतास्मृतपेधनान्विताः गणो  
 [20] स्प तेषां भवति प्रमाणतः ॥ धर्म्मेषुभिर्ज्ञानपदैस्तन्नागरीः  
 [21] जिनेन्द्रपूजा सततं प्रणेष्या इति स्थितिं स्थापितकन्नवीशः पला[शिका]-

## Fourth plate : second side

- [22] वा नगरे विशाले ॥ स्थित्याजया पूर्व्वनृपानुजुष्टया यत्ताम्रपत्रेषु नि-  
 [23] बद्धमादौ धर्म्मप्रमत्तेन नृपेण रक्ष्यं संसारदोषं प्रविचार्य्य  
 [24] बुद्ध्या [II] बहुभिर्बुद्ध्या भुक्ता राजभिस्तगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य  
 [25] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्

## Fifth plate.

- [26] वसुन्धरा पट्टि वर्षमहस्त्राणि नरके पच्यन्ते भृशम् ॥ मद्विदत्तं विधि-  
 [27] भुक्तं सद्धिश्च परिपालितम् एतानि न निवर्त्तन्ते पूर्व्वराजकृतानि च [II]  
 [28] यस्मिञ्जिनेन्द्रपूजा प्रवर्त्तते तत्र तत्र देसपरिवृद्धिः  
 [29] नगराणां निर्भयता तद्देशस्त्राभिनाञ्जोऽर्जा ॥ नमो नमः [II]

GRANT OF THE KADAMBA KING RAVIVARMĀ.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित्  
 कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित्  
 कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित्

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित्  
 कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित्  
 कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित् कदाचित्

GRANT OF THE KADAMBA KING RAVIVARMĀ.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 इत्युक्तं श्रीमद्भगवत्पुत्रं श्रीमद्भगवत्पुत्रं  
 श्रीमद्भगवत्पुत्रं श्रीमद्भगवत्पुत्रं

श्रीमद्भगवत्पुत्रं श्रीमद्भगवत्पुत्रं  
 श्रीमद्भगवत्पुत्रं श्रीमद्भगवत्पुत्रं  
 श्रीमद्भगवत्पुत्रं श्रीमद्भगवत्पुत्रं



GRANT OF THE KADAMBA KING RAVIVARMA.

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॥ इति श्रुत्वा राजा रविवरमा  
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॥ इति श्रुत्वा राजा रविवरमा  
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॥ इति श्रुत्वा राजा रविवरमा  
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॥ इति श्रुत्वा राजा रविवरमा  
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॥ इति श्रुत्वा राजा रविवरमा  
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॥ इति श्रुत्वा राजा रविवरमा  
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥



## Translation.

Victorious is the holy one, Jinendra, who abounds in good qualities, &c.!

In former times the *Bhūja* priest Śanta-kirtti, the best among men, who was the receptacle of sacred learning, who enjoyed the rewards of many meritorious actions, and who was possessed of the qualities of performing sacrifices and bestowing gifts and tenderness,—he who had acquired the great favour of Kākusthavarman, the king of the Kādambas, who meditate on the assemblage of the mother† of the lord Mahāsena; who are of the kindred of Mānavya; who are the descendants of Hāriti; who are thoroughly well versed in the system of private study and prayer that they have adopted; who enjoy the rewards of meritorious actions performed by themselves; who partake of the enjoyment of the riches acquired by the prowess of their own arms; and who are the abiding-places of the true religion,—enjoyed the village of Khāta.

When he died, (there was) the king Śantivarman†; and his son, the pious Śrī-Mrigēśa, who was renowned in the world, gave the grant (again), for the sake of piety, and according to the direction of his father, to the mother of Dāmakirtti.

The eldest son of Śrī-Dāmakirtti, who was widely renowned for his meritorious actions, and whose pure intellect adhered to the path of true religion, was the doorkeeper Jayakirtti,—who was intent upon religion; who was famous; who was possessed of a pure intellect and limbs; who was first in good qualities; whose family had been established in the world by the *Schāryas* called Bandhaśāna, who were versed in the knowledge of omens; who had acquired fortune through his favour; who was diligent in the rites of clarity and worship; who was devoted to his spiritual preceptor; and who was well-behaved through his desire for the welfare of others and of himself. In order to increase his good fortune and

name and family, and for the sake of religious merit, he, through the favour of king Ravi, gave (the village of) Purukhātaka|| to the mother of his own father.

The lord Ravi established the ordinance at the mighty city of Palāśikā, that the glory of Jinendra, (the festival of) which lasts for eight days, should be celebrated regularly every year on the full-moon of (the month) Kārtika from the revenues of that (village); that ascetics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season; that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumāradatta,—whose intellects had been wearied by (creative study of) many scriptures and collections of precepts; who were renowned in the world; who abounded in good penances; and whose feet were his authority for what he did,—should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of that greatness; and that the worship of Jinendra should be perpetually performed by the pious countrymen and citizens.

That (land &c.)—which has been conveyed by copper charters under that same ordinance, as accepted by previous kings,—should be preserved by the king, not inattentive to religion, having pondered over the misfortune of being born again and again (if he does not comply with this command)! Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; &c. He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c. That (grant) which is bestowed with libations of water, and that which is enjoyed by three‡ (generations), and that which is preserved by good people\*,—these are not resumed; and also (grants) that have been made by former kings! Whosoever the worship of Jinendra is kept up, there there is increase of the country, and the cities are free from fear, and the lords of those countries acquire strength! Reverence, reverence!

## No. XXIII.

This inscription consists of three plates, about

† The six Kirttikas, the Plunder, who cursed Mahāsena, Skanda, or Kārttikēya, the god of war; hence one of the names of Kārttikēya is Śhāntakara, 'he who had six mothers.' This had the following two expressions are also Chālukya titles.

‡ Objection may be taken here and there to my rendering of the middle portion of this inscription. But the construction is very obscure and bad. In the present passage, for instance, if we connect the verb 'dattam' with 'śāntivarman' as the subject, on verb repetition we can be supplied of which 'Mānavya' can be understood the subject.

§ Either Mrigēśa's, or Ravi's.

|| Sc. 'the larger Khājaka or Khāta.'

¶ The 'trībhūga' is referred to here; see vol. IV., p. 277, note 5.

\* I notice that, instead of the present reading 'śāntikāśa-cha paripālita', which is quite distinct, Mr. Rice, in the last two lines of the second Obāra grant published by him in the Ind. Ant. vol. V., p. 132, reads 'śāntikāśa-cha paripālita', and translates 'and' (i.e. a grant) 'maintained for six generations.'

5½" long by 2" broad: the characters on the seal of the ring that fastens the plates together are too much worn to be legible. It records a grant made by Bhānuvarma, and another by a follower or subordinate of his, in the eleventh year of the reign of his elder brother Ravi-varma. It is dated in the *sixth* fortnight of the winter season. These inscriptions, therefore, as I have already intimated, belong to a time at which the primitive division of the year,—into three seasons only, Summer, the Rains, and Winter, each of eight *pakshas* or fortnights, instead of into six seasons, each of four fortnights, as is now the practice,—was still followed; and this should enable us hereafter to determine the era of these grants with accuracy.

I observe that the same division of the year into three seasons only is followed in the Nalika Cave-inscriptions, a paper on which, by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, is published in the *Transactions of the International Congress of*

*Orientalists of 1874*. Thus, No. 27, at p. 338, runs 'Siddhah maṇḍe Vāsathā-putasa sara-Paḍu-mayasa savachharē chha(?)thē 6 Gima-pakshē pacham[ē] 5 divasē',—and is translated "To the Perfect One. In the sixth year of the King, the prosperous Paḍumaya, the son of Vāsishṭhi, in the . . . . . fortnight of Grishma, on the 6th (?) day." But the analogy of the expressions containing the dates of the other inscriptions of the same series shows that the word and numeral 'pachamē 5' belong to 'Gima pakshē' and not to 'divasē', and that the word and numeral denoting the day stood *after* 'divasē' and have been effaced. Accordingly, the date of it is "In the sixth year \* \* \* \* \* in the fifth fortnight of the summer season, on the . . . . . day." No. 25, again, at page 319,—in line 6 of which the Professor reads 'Vasā-pakshē 4(?) divasē . . . . .',—is possibly dated in the fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth fortnight of the

*Transcription.*

*First plate.*

- [1] म्वस्ति ॥ जयति भगवान्जिनेन्द्रो गुणरुद्रः प्रथितपरमकारणिकः  
[2] त्रैलोक्याश्र(वा)नकरी दयापताकोच्छ्रिता यस्य ॥  
[3] श्रीमन्काकुत्स्थराजप्रियवहिततमयशान्तिवर्मावनीशः  
[4] तस्यैव ज्येष्ठसूनुः प्रथितप्रभुपुत्राश्रीमृगेशो नरेशः ॥(1)

*Second plate: first side.*

- [5] तन्पुत्रो दीपतेजा रविपतिरभूत्सलधैर्योर्गजितश्रीः  
[6] तद्गता भानुवर्मा स्वपरहितकरो भाति भूप X कनीयाम् ॥  
[7] तेनेयं वसुधा दत्ता जिनेभ्यो धु(भु)तिमिच्छता पौर्णम(मा)सीध्वनुच्छिद्य†  
[8] स्वपत्न्यं हि सर्वदा ॥ पलाशिकायाम् कर्दमपत्न्याम् राजमानेन

*Second plate: second side.*

- [9] पञ्चदशनिवर्त्तना नांविशासने भूमिनिबदा उज्ज्वलभरादि-  
[10] विवर्जिता श्रीमद्भानुवर्मराजलब्धपादप्रसादेन पम्हरभो-  
[11] जकेन परमार्हदत्तेन प्रवर्द्धमानराज्यश्रीरविवर्ध-  
[12] धर्ममहाराजस्य एकादशे संवसरे हेमन्तपक्षे

*Third plate.*

- [13] दशम्याम् त्रियौ ॥ तां यो दिनस्ति सर्वश्रयः परवश्य(श्यो) वा स पञ्चमहा-  
[14] पातकसंयुक्तो भवति ॥ उक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिव(र्वै)सुधा दत्ता राजभि-  
[15] स्तगगदिभि(भिः) यस्य यस्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा क-  
[16] लं ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरां पट्टिवर्षसहस्र(सां)णि कुम्भीपाके स पच्य-  
[17] ते ॥

† This mark of punctuation is superfluous.



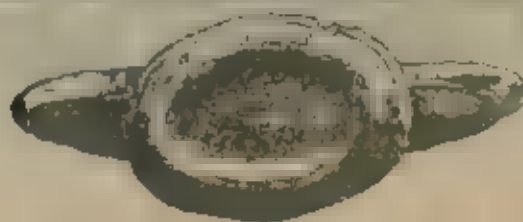
KADAMBA GRANT OF THE REIGN OF RAVIVARMA

I. 1) *[Illegible text in Kannada script]*

IIa. *[Illegible text in Kannada script]*

IIb. *[Illegible text in Kannada script]*

III. *[Illegible text in Kannada script]*



## KADAMBA GRANT OF RAVIVARMĀ.

1  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

11a  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

11b  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

11c  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

## Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the holy one, Jinendra, who abounds in good qualities, &c.!

The beloved eldest son of the glorious king Kākustha was king Śāntivarmā; and his eldest son was the king Śri-Mṛigēśa, who was possessed of renowned and wide-spread fame. His son was the glorious king Ravi, who acquired good fortune by his excellence and fortitude; and his younger brother is king Bhānavarmā, who is resplendent, and who effects the welfare of himself and of others.

By him, desirous of prosperity, this land was given to the Jinās, in order that the ceremony of ablution might always be performed without fail on the days of the full-moon.

Land of the measure of fifteen *śivartana*, in (the field called) Kārdamapattī at Palāśikā, free from the gleaming-tax and all other burdens, was assigned in a copper charter (and so was given), on the tenth lunar day in the

sixth & fortnight of the winter season in the eleventh year of the reign of the pious Great King Śri-Ravivarmā, by the *Bhājaka* Paṇḍara, the worshipper of the supreme *Arhat*, who had acquired the favour of the feet of the glorious king Bhānavarmā.]

He who injures this land, whether he is born in his own lineage or in the lineage of another, incurs the guilt of having committed the five great sins! And it has been said.—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagarā: &c. He is tormented in the hell called Kumbhīpāka for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.!

## No. XXIV.

This inscription consists of three plates, about 3½" long by 2½" broad; the seal of the ring that fastens the plates together has the device of a dog, as in the case of Nos. XX. and XXII. It records a grant of land to the god Jinendra by Ravivarmā.

## Transcription.

## First plate.

- [1] जयति\* भगवाञ्जिनेन्द्रो गुणकन्दः प्रथितपरमकार-  
[2] णिकः कैलेश्याम्वासकरी दयापताकोच्छ्रिता यस्य ॥  
[3] श्रीविष्णुवर्म्मप्रभृतीन्नेन्द्रान् निहत्य जित्वा पृथिवीं सम[स्तां]  
[4] उत्साद्य काञ्चीश्वरचण्डदण्डम् पलाशिकायां समवस्थितस्तः [॥]

## Second plate : first side.

- [5] रवि x कदम्बोककुलाम्बरस्य गुणान्शुभिर्व्याप्य जगत्सम[स्तं]  
[6] मानेन चत्वारि निवर्त्तयानि ददौ त्रिमन्त्राय मही(हीम्) महेन्द्रः [॥]  
[7] संप्राप्य मातृभरणप्रसादं धर्मकर्मसंरपि दामकीर्त्तेः  
[8] तपुष्यवृद्धचर्यमभून्निमित्तम् श्रीकीर्त्तिनामा तु च तन्कनिष्ठः ॥

## Second plate : second side.

- [9] रागमन्त्रमादादयमपि लोभात् यस्तानि हिंस्यादिह भूमि-  
[10] पालः आसप्तमं तस्य कुलं कदाचित् नापेति कुन्त्याभिरयान्निमग्नम् [॥]  
[11] तान्येव यो रसति पुण्यकां(का)ङ्क्षुः स्वर्वंशजो वा परवंशजो वा  
[12] स मोदमानस्सुरसुन्दरीभिः चिरं मदा क्रीडति नाकपृष्ठे ॥

## Third plate.

- [13] अपि चोक्तं मनुना [1] बहुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्तमरादिभिः  
[14] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा रुजम् ॥

\* *Faṭṭ* is probably for *'gaṭṭ'*, *'steip, slip'*, which, in both Canarese and Marāṭhī, is commonly used for *'a strip of land'*; *'paṭṭikā'* is used in the same sense in older inscriptions.  
§ According to the present method the year consists of six seasons (*ṛtū*).—*Vasanta*, spring; *grishma*, the hot weather, or summer; *Varāṣṭh*, the rains; *Sarad*, autumn; *Hemanta*, the cold season, or winter; and *Shira*, the doury season,—and each season consists of only four fortnights

(*paṭṭāṇa*).

§ Apparently, then, Ravivarmā and Bhānavarmā were reigning jointly.

\* *Sc.* 'the donor's.'

\* The word *'yasya'* seems to have been engraved before *'jayati'*, but to have been cut off in shaping the plate, so that only part of the second syllable can be seen in the margin.

[15] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधराम्  
[16] पाटि वर्षसहस्राणि नश्येत् स विपच्यते ॥

*Translation.*

Victorious is the holy one, Jinendra, who abounds in good qualities, &c.!

That mighty king, the son of the sky of the mighty family of the Kadambas,—who, having slain Śrī-Vishnavarmā and other kings, and having conquered the whole world, and having uprooted Chaudandanāś, the lord of Kāñchī, had established himself at Pāṭāṭī, having pervaded the whole earth with his rays, which were his victorious qualities, gave four *vicarāṇas* (of land) by measure to Jinendra, having obtained the favour of the feet of the mother of Dāmakīrti, who was a very incarnation of religion, the motive that incited him was to increase his religious merit.

And he, who bore the name of Śrī-Kīrti, was his younger (brother)!

That king who, from envy or negligence or even avarice, injures those (*vicarāṇas*), his family

shall be plunged into hell and shall not escape from it up to the seventh generation: but he, whether born in his own lineage or in the lineage of another who, being desirous of acquiring religious merit, protects them, shall depart himself for a long time to heaven with the lovely women of the gods!

Moreover, it has been said by Manu:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Śaṅkara: &c. He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years &c.!

No. XXX

This inscription consists of three plates, about 12" long by 17" broad: the end of the ring connecting the plates bears apparently the name of Śrī-Harivarmā. It records the grant of the village of Vasanavāṭaka, in the district of Suddikundūra, to a Jain sect, by Harivarmā, in the fourth year of his reign.

*Transcription.*

*First plate.*

- [1] सिद्धम् ॥ स्वस्ति स्वामिमहासेनमानुष्यानुध्याताभिरिकामाम् मानव्यसगो-  
[2] वाणाम् हारितीपुत्राणाम् पतिकृतस्त्राध्यायचार्त्तिकामाम् रुद्रम्मा (म्मा) ना-  
[3] ग्महारान्नः श्रीहरिवर्मा बहुभक्तैः पुण्ये राज्यधियं निमपद्रवम्  
[4] प्रकृतियु दितः प्राप्ते व्याप्ते जगदध्यायिलम् सुनत्तन्निधिः वि-  
[5] द्यावृद्धप्रदिष्टपथि स्थितः स्ववलकुलिनायापतिच्छिन्नद्विपं (प)-

*Second plate: first side.*

- [6] इमुधाधरः [11] स्वराज्यसंकसरे चतुर्थे कान्गुणशुद्धयौदय्याम् उच-  
[7] भृङ्गाम् सर्वजनमनोद्वादनवचनकर्मणा त विमूर्धेण शिव-  
[8] रथनामप(धे)येनोपदिष्टः पलाशिकायाम् भारद्वाजसगोत्रसिद्धतिना-  
[9] पतिमुतेन मृगेशेन कारितन्याहदायतनस्य प्रतिवर्षमाष्टाहिक-  
[10] महामहमतचरुपलेपनक्रियात्यं तदवशिष्टं सर्वसंघ-

*Second plate: second side.*

- [11] भोजनायोति सुदि(लि) कुन्दूरविषये वसुन्तवाटकं सर्वधरिहारसंयुतं  
[12] कूर्चकानाम् वारिणेणाचार्यसङ्ग्रहस्ते चन्द्रदान्तं प्रमुखम्

+ The name of Harī, or Harivarmā, the son of Maṇḍarā, is introduced here by a play on words, the *man* being 'man' being 'man'.

2. *Phanib* is a Pāṭāṭī (in Vishnavarmā or Vishnavarmā; see vol. V, p. 50, text, and note).

3. Probably the person of the *man* mentioned in line 10 of the Ashoka inscription, No. XIII of this series.

4. This statement is introduced in a very general and

connected way; and it is not at all clear whose younger brother Kīrti was.

5. So the 'donor's'.

6. The original has 'man' but partially erased so as to show that *man* is intended.

7. See note 1 to line 11 of the text of No. XXI of this series, p. 24.



KADAMBA GRANT OF HARIVARMA

१३५  
 ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯವುಳ್ಳವನು  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ

॥a  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ

॥b  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ

॥  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ  
 ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ ಪುನಃ



[13] कृत्वा दत्तवान् [11] य एनं न्यायतो भिरसति स तपुष्यकलभामभवति [1]

[14] यश्चैनं रागद्वेषलोभमोहैरपहरति स निकृष्टतमा गतिमवा-

*Third plate.*

[15] प्रीति [11] उक्तञ्च [1] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वस्तुन्यराम् षष्टि वर्ष-

[16] सहस्राणि नरके पच्येत नु सः [11] बहुभिर्बन्धुषा भुक्ता राजभि-

[17] स्तगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिह्यस्य तस्य तदा कलिर्भिति [11]

[18] वर्धतां वर्धमानार्हस्त्रासनं संयमासनम् येनाद्यापि जग-

[19] ज्योत्स्नापपुञ्जप्रभञ्जनम् [11] नमो हते वर्धमानाय [11]

*Translation.*

It is accomplished! Ha! Śrī-Harivarmā, —the Great King of the Kadambas, who are consecrated by meditating on the assemblage of the mothers of the lord Mahāsena; who are of the lineage of Mānaryā: who are the descendants of Hariti; and who have adopted the practice of private study and prayer,—being kindly disposed towards his subjects, acquired, through the pious acts performed by him in many (previous) states of existence, a sovereignty that was free from all troubles, and pervaded the whole world with his fame, and, being the receptacle of the waters which are the sacred writings, adhered to the path prescribed by those who were masters in science, and cleft open the mountains which were his enemies by the blows of the thunder-bolt which was his own arm.

In the fourth year of his reign, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Phālguna, at the hill or village, called Uchchāśringīṭ, he, giving such a promise as gladdened the hearts of all people, at the advice of his father's brother Śivaratha, having made Chandrakabānta the principal (donor), gave into the possession of the son of Vāriśhēnācārya of the Kīrchakūta (the village of) Vāsanatāṭaka in the district of Suddikundūra, free from all claims, saying that it was for the purpose of providing annually, at the great eight-days

sacrifice, the perpetual anointing with clarified butter for the temple of the Arhat which Maṅgōśa, the son of the General Śiṅha of the lineage of Bhāradvāja, had caused to be built at Palāśikā, and that whatever might remain over after this was to be devoted to the purpose of feeding the whole sect.

He, who with justice protects this grant, shares in the reward of the religious merit of the grant; but he, who through envy or hatred or avarice or folly confiscates it, falls into the most low condition! And it has been said:—He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.! Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagarā, &c.!

May the practice of sitting in abstract meditation, which is the doctrine of the Arhat Vardhamānaṣ, and by which (is effected), even in the present time, the destruction of the sins of worldly existence, flourish! Reverence to the Arhat Vardhamāna!

No. XXVI.

This inscription consists of three plates, about 8½" long by 2½" broad: the seal of the ring connecting the plates bears the word 'Śrī-Harivarmā-śaṅkā,' i.e. 'by Śrī-Harivarmā', precolated and followed by a *Sealika*. It records the grant of a village by Harivarmā, in the fifth year of his reign, at the request of king Bhānubhakti of the family of the Sūndrakas.

*Transcription.*

*First plate.*

(1) सिद्धम् ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ स्वामिमहसेनमानुगणानुध्यानाभिषिक्तानाम्मानव्यसगोत्राणां [३]

(2) शारिकीपुत्राणाम् प्रतिकृतस्वाध्यायचतुर्पाराणाम् कदम्बानाम्

1 Either 'the fall of the high peak,' or 'the village where there is the hill of the high peak.'

2 The best and most celebrated of the twenty-four Jain Tirthas, famous of the present age.

3 A mystical mark, to denote good luck, shaped like a

Greek cross with the extremities of the four arms bent round in the same direction.

4 This word is given in the margin of the plate, by the side of the hole for the ring, instead of in its usual and proper place as the first word of the inscription.

- [2] महाराजश्रीरविवर्मणः स्वभुजकलपराकमावाप्तानिरवदविपुल-  
 [4] राज्यश्रियः विदन्मत्सुवर्णनिकपभूतस्य कामादारिगण-

*Second plate; first side.*

- [5] त्यागाभिव्यञ्जितेन्द्रियजयस्य न्यायोपार्जितान्य[सं]हितसाधुज[न]स्य  
 [6] श्रितितलप्रततविमलपक्षसः प्रियतनयः पूर्वसुचरितोपचितविपुल-  
 [7] पुण्यसम्पादितशरीरबुद्धिसलः सर्वप्रजाहृदयकुमुदचन्द्रमाः महाराज-  
 [8] श्रीहरिदम्मा स्वराज्यसंवन्तरे पञ्चमे पलाशिकाधिष्ठाने अहारितिसमाह्वय-\*

*Second plate; second side.*

- [9] श्रमणसङ्घान्वयवस्तुनः धर्ममन्दाचार्याधिष्ठितप्रामाण्यस्य चैत्यालयस्य  
 [10] पूज्यसंस्कारनिमित्तम् साधुजनोपयोगार्थञ्च सेन्द्रकाणां कुलललाभभूतस्य  
 [11] भानुशक्तिराजस्य विज्ञापनया मरदेयमन्दतन्त्रम् [11] य एतलोभायै X कदाचिदप-  
 [12] हरेत्स पञ्चमहापातकसंयुक्तो भवति यश्चाभिरक्षति स तपुष्पफलम्

*Third plate.*

- [13] अवामोतीति [11] उक्तञ्च ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् ऋमुन्धराम् षष्टिवर्ष-  
 [14] सहस्राणि नरके पच्यते तु सः ॥ बहुभिर्वस्तुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः  
 [15] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्यां तदा फलम् ॥ ये सेतूनभिरक्षन्ति  
 [16] भ्रमान्तस्यापयन्ति च द्विगुणं पूर्वकर्तृभ्यः तत्फलं समुदाहृतम् [11]

*Translation.*

It is accomplished! Hail! In the fifth year of his own reign, at the capital of Palāśikā, at the request of king Bhānukṛti, who was the glory of the family of the Sēndrakas, the Great King Śrī-Harivarmā, the excellence of whose body and intellect had been produced by the great religious merit acquired by good actions performed in a previous state of existence, and who was a lion to the blue lotuses that were the hearts of all his subjects,—the beloved son of Śrī-Harivarmā, who possessed a blameless and mighty regal power that had been acquired by the strength and prowess of his own arm, who was the touchstone to test the gold which was the minds of learned people, who had manifested his victory over his passions by freeing himself from lust and other such enemies, who supported holy people with the wealth that he had amassed by just means, and whose pure fame was spread abroad over the surface of the earth, and who was the Great King of the Kādambas who are conse-

crated by meditating on the assemblage of the mothers of the lord Mahāśōṇa, and who are of the lineage of Mānava and the descendants of Hariti, and who are thoroughly well versed in the system of private study and prayer that they have adopted—gave the village of Maradē for the use of holy people and for the purposes of the celebration of the rites of the temple which was the property of the sect of Śramanyas called Aharishti and the authority of which was superintended by the Āchārya Dharmagandī.

He, who through avarice, &c., takes away this grant, incurs the guilt of having committed the five great sins; but he, who preserves it, acquires the reward of that meritorious action! And it has been said:—He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.! Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagarā; &c.! The reward of them who preserve bridges and repair them when broken, is declared to be twice as great as (the reward of) the original builders of them.

\* There being no room for this letter, 'य', at the end of the line, it is inserted before the letters 'माम'.

+ This word was omitted in its proper place in the line, and was then inserted in the margin at the end of the line, and two Śaśtilas were employed to indicate the place to which it belongs.

† Notices of the Sēndrakas are not frequent. I find the family mentioned in line 3 of No. 96 of Major Dixon's

collection, a small stone-tablet inscription in the Caviglioli characters at Rajagūhve belonging to the time of one of the Vikramādityas of the Chālukya family,—probably the first of that name in Sir W. Elliot's list; but the photograph is very small and indistinct, and I cannot make out the whole passage.

‡ 'Kṛmānt'—a Jain (as well as a Haudhā) religious mendicant, or ascetic.



GRANT OF THE KADAMBA KING HARIVARMMA

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अर्जुन उवाच ॥  
 द्रुपद उवाच ॥  
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे  
 समवेता युयुतसः  
 मामकाः पाण्डवश्चैव  
 त्रैलोक्यमहोदधयः  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता  
 युयुतसः ॥

*[The image shows a dark, heavily worn, and possibly damaged piece of paper or parchment. The surface is covered in faint, illegible markings that appear to be bleed-through from the reverse side. A small circular hole is visible near the bottom center.]*



## MEMORANDUM ON THE BUDDHIST CAVES AT JUNNAR

THE caves of Jannar,\* like those of Bhijī, Bedsā, Talijā, Sānā, Kudī, and other groups, are remarkably devoid of figure ornament or imagery: in this respect contrasting strongly with those at Ajantā, Elora, Karli, Aurangābād, and elsewhere. The Dab-gōbāplene is common to all, and, on comparing the different groups, one might almost suppose that the Dab-gōbā and Buddhist rail were the earliest ornaments as well as furniture of the caves: that the Chaitya or horse-shoe window with its latticed aperture was next developed, both as a structural feature and an ornament,—and at Jannar there are some peculiar applications of it; and that figures of Buddha, as in the later caves at Nāsik, at Kanheri, and at Ajantā, Elora, and Aurangābād, were introduced at a later date. Or is it possible that a paritan sect of Buddhas, objecting to all anthropomorphic forms, made the Dab-gōbā their only *geblud*, while a separate school delighted in pictures and images of their Great Teacher, his Mother, and all the Buddha Saints? This is a point deserving the attention of archaeologists in attempting to arrange the Buddhist remains in anything like chronological order. We know that in early times it was usual for one school or ~~several almost contemporaneous~~ the popular religious attachment of particular cities or even provinces: these were doubtless differed in their ritual and its accessories, and this might account for the prevalence at Ajantā and elsewhere of images of Buddha, both in the sanctuaries and on the façades, and for the entire absence of such symbols at Bhijī, in the older and middle series of about ten caves at Nāsik, and at Jannar. It has yet, I think, to be decided how far the former class of caves are subsequent to the latter, or how far they may be regarded as synchronous.

Other ornament is but sparingly used at  
Jannar, - partly perhaps because the *lances* of  
many of the *ayes* have perished. In the *ayes*

of centuries; but all instances of its occurrence are noted in the following brief descriptions.

The *Chang* is a large group of caves is about three miles northeast of the town, and about 200 feet above it. The ascent is partly by a long road which leads up to the front of the *Chang*. The *Chang* faces due south, and measures inside 40 ft. in length by 22 ft. 5 in. in breadth and 20 ft. high. It has a verandah 20 ft. 5 in. long by 10 ft. 2 in. wide, reached by a short flight of steps, with two pillars and two demipillars in front, of the style so prevalent at Nalanda. The verandah consists of an abacus of three courses of thin square tile-shaped members, each supporting a bulb over the one below it. The bulb is a deep member resembling a lotus bud, with a gap. The shaft is octagonal, and the base is just the capital reversed. Over the ~~columns~~ are figures of elephants roughly chiseled out, and what in the style of those in the *Vihāra* to the right of the *Pāṇḍu* Leṇā Chaitya to be noticed below. The door is perfectly plain, 5 ft. 9 in. wide, and lofty, and is the only entrance for light to the cave; for the arched window is merely indicated as a slight recess, high up in the rock,—too high to have corresponded with the arch of the cave: but its carefully smoothed area shows that it was never intended to drive it through. Over the entrance is a well-cut inscription in one long line (No. 11).

The nave is about 12 ft 9 in wide, and 24 ft 6 1/2 in up to the Dahgoba, limited on each side by five columns and one demi-column 10 ft 10 in high, similar to those in the front, and with lions or tigers and elephants over the capitals, fairly well cut. In the space round the Dahgoba, about 3 ft from it, are six plain octagon shafts 10 1/2 in in diameter without base or capital. The ~~space between the pillars is~~ 3 ft 6 in wide, and ~~the distance between the shafts of the nave, in imitation~~ ~~of the outer nave.~~ The Dahgoba is of the

This *Moniteur* was published by the Government and printed in November 1874 and contains these pages. Presumably the original manuscript and accounts of the Jangar Crisis were first sent out by Dr. Bird in his *Journal Rescherches*, dated in the name of Professor Orsini; one by Dr. J. A. S. de la Jangar, *Journal*, No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 8

of the translation of nearly  
from linear, from rough  
and from linear, No. 1, 2  
but the result was very  
as in the following article by  
the author.

*Injura Researches*, No. IX,  
and others inaccurately copied:  
*Jewel Bible* as No. 10 of his  
vol. IV. (1873), p. 290, also  
p. 1023. Cant. No. 2, Jour.



usual form, a plain circular drum or base 8 ft.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter and 6 ft.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. high, with a Buddhist-rail cornice, supporting the *garbha* or dome on which stands the *torana* or capital, consisting of a square block, representing a box ornamented with the Buddhist-rail pattern, surmounted by an abacus of five thin slab-like members, each in succession wider than the one below, until the uppermost is 5 ft. 10 in. square, with a hole in the centre of it to support the shaft of a wooden umbrella,† as at Kārlī, and four shallow square ones for relics: for it was on this *torana*, as on an altar, that the relics of Buddha or of Buddhist saints were deposited for adoration. In some cases, as at Bhājī, the box under the capital of the tree was hollow, for the preservation of the relics. The whole height of this Dahgoba is 16 ft. 5 in.

The next cave east of this is a Vihāra,—the door-jambs now broken away. It has two windows, is 25 ft. wide by 20 deep, and 8 ft. 2 in. high, with a bench or seat 16 ft. 10 in. wide round the three inner sides. At the back are three cells, and at each side two, for the resident monks. In the cells are high stone benches for their beds: on these they spread their quilt and enjoyed their rest,—simple beds for simple lives. Their *shālā* or hall, which they doubtless regarded as spacious, is now used as a goat-shed. Over the left window is the inscription No. 2.‡

The next cave is higher up in the rock and is a small square one, with a stone bench-bed at the right end. The next, still to the east, is similar, about 8 ft. square, with a bench at the left end. The next again is similar, with a bench at the left end and one large cell at the back, also a small recess—probably for a water-vessel. In the wall is a square hole into the next cave, which is 13 ft. 8 in. deep at the left or west side, but at the other has a cell about 7 ft. by 6 inside, having a bed at the east end. In front of this is a verandah, with two pillars, supporting a projecting frieze carved with the Buddhist-rail pattern as in several of the caves at Nāsik.

† Dr. Wilson, writing twenty-six years ago, says this Dahgoba was surmounted by an umbrella; but if so, then is not the only case among others in which the woodwork has recently disappeared from Buddhist caves of Western India. See *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. III. pt. ii. p. 62.

‡ This is No. 9 of those copied by Colonel Sykes; and No. 2 of Lieut. Broth's *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. V. p. 160; see also *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. VI. p. 144, where

Returning now to the Chaitya, and proceeding westwards, an ascending stair enters under the rock and comes out in the verandah of the largest Vihāra cave here,—now known as the *Chaitya Lēnā*, because this fine cave has been appropriated by some low Brahman in which to enshrine an image of the pot-bellied, elephant-mounted Gajapati.¶ This personification of the misformed is named Asht Vināyaka, as being, according to the *Gajaja Purāṇa*, the eighth avatāra of this *deva*, performed here to please his mother, Girijā. He is a favourite idol of the populace, and is visited from far and near at the annual *jatré* or fair held in his honour. The shrine is taken care of by a *panch* or committee, who pay the *gurti's* wages out of a yearly endowment of Rs. 62 per annum. The *gurti* goes there daily from Junnar.

The stair originally came up in front of the east end of the verandah: as it now stands, it is built, and closes the entrance to a cell or cistern partly under the Vihāra. The hall is 50 ft. 6 in. by 56 ft. 8 in., and 10 ft. 2 in. high, with three doors and two windows in front, and a stone seat round the three inner sides. It has seven cells on each side, and five at the back—the central one altered to make a shrine for the rat-riding god, whose large image is cut out of the rock, probably, from a Dahgoba that may originally have occupied this cell. It is smeared red, and the shrine is enclosed by wooden doors. Outside the cave is a verandah 7 ft. wide with six pillars and two demi ones, rising from a bench as in Cave III. at Nāsik, the back of this bench forming the upper part of a basement carved in the old Buddhist-rail pattern: this also resembles the general style of the Nāsik Cave just mentioned, in having animal figures over the capitals, but on the outside only, and in having a projecting frieze above, carved with rail pattern ornamentation.

Further west are two cells, now very peculiar; then a Vihāra without cells, the verandah of four columns totally gone except the bases. It had a door in the centre, another at the west

¶ *Pratapa*, 'correcting the second anomalous letter conjecturally,' reads it—

"*Dharmika śaṅkṣatā gadhāt adhiśha dayādharman,* which corresponds precisely with the Sanskrit *dharmika-lakṣya ratagadha; adhiśha dayādharman*—'The hundred caves and the tank of Dharmika Sena—his net of pity and compassion.'" But for *adhiśha* we should surely read *paśā*.

¶ See *Notes on Junnar Tāluka* by W. F. Sinclair. *Bo. C.S. Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. p. 44.



end, and two windows, and measures 31 ft. 3 in. wide by 23 ft. 2 in. deep. The next is difficult of access, and of the plan of the most easterly cave, which is a very common type here.

Passing along a ledge of rock and over a small water-cistern, we come to the next, also a small Vihāra about 25 ft. wide, the front entirely gone, and with a cell at the left end and stone bed in it. Close to it is another similar to the most easterly one,—that is, a cell in the corner of a large one. Lower in the rock the next is like the last, and has a verandah with two pillars and a low screen in front, with a cistern outside at the east end.

The next is a rectangular flat-roofed Chaitya 21 ft. 10 in. deep by 12 ft. 9 in. wide and 13 ft. 8 in. high, with a Dabgha 6 ft. 11 in. in diameter standing 3 ft. from the back wall. The cylinder is 5 ft. 7 in. high, including a base of 7 in. formed of three projecting annuli, and a cornice 1½ in. deep, of the Buddhist-rail pattern. The dome rises about 3 ft. 4 in., and the torans 2 ft. 4 in., and is 4 ft. 4 in. square at the top. This is connected with the roof by the stone shaft of the umbrella, for here, as in the case of several at Bhājī, the canopy of the umbrella is carved on the roof. To this cave there is a verandah 2 ft. 7 in. wide and 19 ft. 5 in. in length, which has had two pillars in front. On the left of the door outside is an inscription in two lines. (No. 3.)

Above this are—(1) a cell with a stone bed at the right side; (2) a small room enclosing a cell, after the common plan here; (3) another similar, but a horizontal flaw in the rock has opened the top of the inner cell and of the whole of the next cave; (4) a Vihāra, with two cells at the back, and a bench seat along each side, but the front wall is gone. Under the left front corner is a cistern, and outside is another; and (5) further along are three more cisterns. Over the first of these is an inscription in two lines (No. 4),\* and over the second is one in three

lines (No. 5), but the letters have a slant, and are not so neatly cut as most of the inscriptions here.†

We now come to a Vihāra 29 ft. 5 in. deep by 24 ft. 8 in. wide, the front wall much destroyed, but which was perforated by a door and probably two windows. It has no cells, but has a stone bench round the three inner sides, and may have been a refectory or a school. Under the left corner is a well with abundance of cool water. Still westwards is a cell and cistern, then a small hall,—the front wall gone and without any cells; next, one or two more cisterns, beyond which the advance becomes more difficult, and leads to, or through, three more small caves, on the wall outside the last of which is an inscription in three lines (No. 6) measuring about 2 ft. by 8 in., with the *Sanskrit* to the right of it, and a curious triangular symbol at the commencement, which appears also in a modified form at the beginning of No. 2, and sometimes on other caves and on coins.

To the left of this is a recess, then two cells, and still further west are two or three others, which are almost inaccessible. An avenue of trees said to have been planted by Amfirio, the adopted son of Raghubā, runs from the Kukādi river to the foot of the hill in which these caves are, and which is said to be mentioned in the *Gaṇḍa Purāṇa* under the name of the *Lehanādri*: locally it is known as the *Gaṇḍa Pahār* or *Sulaimān Pahār*.

The Mānmodi Hill lies to the south-south-west of Junnar, about a mile west of the main road. Proceeding to the east face of the hill, I went up to the level of the most southerly group of caves. The first reached was a recess over a cell or cistern, the front fallen away; on the left side of the recess is an inscription (No. 7)§ in one line. A little to the north of this, on the left side of a larger recess over the side of a cistern, is another inscription (No. 8),|| in three lines, of which, however, the

¶ No. 3 in Lieut. Hunt's copies, *Jour. Do. He. R. As.*  
*Sec.*, vol. V. p. 161.

\* This is No. 12 among Colossal Hyde's copies; No. 3 in Jour. As. Soc. Europ. vol. VI. p. 1046; and No. 2 of Lieut. Brett's, Jour. Bo. Re. E. As. Soc. vol. V. p. 151.

† This is given by Colonel Sykes as No. 11 among his, and No. 5 among Lieut. Brett's copies.

3 This is V. 6 of Brett and Stevenson, *Jour. Ed. Br. R. Assn.*, vol. V, p. 162; No. 13 in Oskwald Byrnes's copies; and No. 6 of those sent by him to Princip, who read it—

வினாக்கள்-விடைகள்

Տնտեսական հիշատակագրի մասին  
 Խորհրդակցական քննարկումներ

*Sitona speciosa* *pitruya* *sinat* *utkalya* (?) *day* *Sitona*,  
*mudhara* *aripitahara* *yadhi* *niyuktanam*.—The  
 pious and charitable endowment of *Sira Kōkhi* (?), the  
 son of *Sā mērasakta* (?), redounding to the glory of  
 this most conspicuous person! *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*  
 vol. VI. p. 1647.

vol. VI. p. 164.  
 { No. 35 of *Bryth's Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* vol. IV.  
 p. 167.

|| No. 36 of Brett and Stevenson, *Lower Bo. Dy. R. & A.*  
*Sec. vol. V. p. 100.*

first letters are quite obliterated. Above a precipice to the north of this are—(1) a single cell, (2) a broken cistern, and then (3) seven cells in a line.

Returning from these and scrambling along the precipice to the south; we reach first a small Vihāra without cells, then another with two octagonal columns and two pilasters in front of the verandah, rising from a seat. The door is 5 ft. 10 in. wide and reaches to the roof of the hall, which has been frescoed. The verandah is about 2 ft. higher than the cave, and the back of the seat or low screen outside is carved with the rail ornament. The hall is 33 ft. deep and varies from 11 to 13 ft. wide, but at the back stands a mass of rock over 8 ft. wide by 5½ ft. thick, with a squatting figure roughly sketched out on the front of it. This mass of rock is very rotten behind, and at the left side of it is a well of excellent water. The verandah is 4 ft. 7 in. wide and 10 ft. 10 in. long; the columns are of the usual Nāsik pattern but without animal figures above: over them the frieze projects considerably, and is carved in the style of Cave IV. at Nāsik,—the ends of the rafters projecting on the lower fascia, and the upper being carved with rail pattern. Over this is a recess some 2 or 3 feet deep with the Chaitya arch over it, but without any carving.

Lower down in the face of the cliff and somewhat to the north of this are some cells choked with prickly-pear and milk-bush. A few yards south of the larger cave above mentioned is a Vihāra with two pillars and pilasters in the verandah, and with three doors leading into as many cells. Still farther on are one or two others almost inaccessible.

Returning from this point to the north and winding round the hill to the north-west side, we come upon another group of caves, the lower ones of easy access. Among them is an unfinished Chaitya the front of which is almost covered with inscriptions; but from their positions, and the circumstance that in most cases the surface of the rock has not been smoothed before cutting them, it may be inferred that they are only the work of visitors, and not the records of the original excavators. Three of them are given by Colonel Sykes, and others by Dr. Bird and Lieut. Brett. This

Chaitya has a verandah with two columns of the Nāsik type in front, which support the entablature above the great window. Inside it is wholly unfinished: the aisles have not been commenced, for a great fault in the rock seems to have stopped operations. The capital of the Dabgoba is blocked out, and portions of a square mass from which to carve the dome. The floor is now much filled up with mud. The cave faces north by east.

At the east side of it is a cell, now deep in earth, in which is a Dabgoba, the *chhatra* or umbrella carved on the roof, but the staff has been broken,—evidently with a view to convert it into the usual Śaiva emblem. Beyond it are portions of other cells and a fragment of an inscription beside some modern steps leading up to five cells above those last mentioned. The two at the west end are converted into one by cutting away the partition. In the back wall of this apartment are two defaced figures of Buddha, and in the west wall a third sitting under foliage, with diminutive attendants or figures in the *parigraha*. The *siṅha* or lion is traceable on one or two of the *asana* or seats, and a wooden framework seems to have been fitted to them, for there are holes in the stones for the wood to hold. This is now dedicated to the goddess Ambikā,—a name of Pārvatī indeed, but also the *śaṣṭanāḍī* or patron goddess of Neminātha, one of the favourite Tirtha-*karas* of the Jains,—by whom she may have been borrowed from some Buddhist sect. Here we have Brāhmins worshipping the mutilated images of Buddha as a Śaiva goddess. In the outer wall of the first of these cells there have been a standing and a sitting figure of Buddha, but these are now almost obliterated. They are the only figures of the kind I have met with in the caves here.

On the west of the Chaitya are some cells much choked up with earth, and with at least three inscriptions in them, and high up above these are a few more cells, but inaccessible. Farther to the west is a cistern under a tree.

Two of the inscriptions (Nos. 9 and 10)† are in the cells on the right or west of the Chaitya; a third—one of those on the left side of the façade—is given by Dr. Bird as No. VI., but this copy is certainly wrong, at least in some of the letters.

† Nos. 12 and 11 respectively of Brett and Stevenson, *Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. pp. 164, 165.

Proceeding a considerable way round to the north-west on the slope of the hill, another unfinished Chaitya is reached, facing north-east by north, towards Junnar. This is the cave of which a very imperfect sketch by Professor Orlebar is given by Dr. Bird (plate XVI). The door is nearly the whole width of the cave; the lintel of it is broken; and the top of the aperture of the window is much lower than the arched roof of the cave. The great arch over it in the façade, however, is high, and over the window the space is divided fan-wise into seven petal-shaped compartments; in the upper or middle one is a female figure with a lotus-flower on each side; the compartments next to this have each an elephant standing on a lotus and holding up a water-jar, as frequently represented beside figures of Lakshmi or Sri on old Vishnava temples. In the compartment behind each elephant stands a male figure, his hands over or in front of the head, doing *pūjā* towards the central figure; and in the lowest or outer petals are two females in similar attitudes: beside each is a lotus flower and bud. Over and outside this the architrave or jamb of the great arch projects, and on each side of the finial of the arch is a figure (very unlike those in Professor Orlebar's sketch): that on the left holds a *chauri* and has wings, and some animal's head above his jantty turban; the other holds some object in his right hand, and behind each shoulder are two snake-hoods with their tongues (?) hanging out. Right and left of these are Dahgobas in high relief but roughly formed. On the projecting frieze over all are seven Chaitya-window ornaments, with smaller ones between their finials; and two on the faces of the jamba. Inside the cave three octagonal pillars on the right side are blocked out, as is also the Dahgoba, but without the capital. There is a horizontal soft stratum in the rock, which has probably led to the work being relinquished in its present state.

Higher up the rock, on the east side of this, are four cells with neatly-carved façade, each door having a Chaitya-window arch over it, projecting about 15 in.; and between the arches are two Dahgobas with *chhatris* in half-relief, while over the shoulder of each arch is a smaller one as an ornament, and the Buddhist-rail orna-

ment along the top. There is one plain cell west of these; and rather higher up on the east are four others. Under these latter is a Vihāra with two cells in the back and two in the left or east side, but the front is gone. It communicates by a passage with another to the west of it, nearly filled up with mud. West of the Chaitya are two small cells high up in the rock.

The Tuljā Lōṭā group of caves lies in a hill about a mile and a half or two miles west from Junnar, and are so named because one of them has been appropriated by the modern Brāhmins to Tuljā Devī.

They face north-east, but all the façades have fallen away. Beginning from the south-east we come to (1) two sides of a cell; (2) a small Vihāra with two cells on the left side, two in the back, and one in the right side; and (3) a Chaitya of a form quite unique: it is circular, 25 ft. 6 in. across, with a Dahgoba 8 ft. 2 in. in diameter in the centre, surrounded by twelve plain octagonal shafts 11 ft. 4 in. high, supporting a lofty dome over the Dahgoba.\* The outer aisle is arched over, from a wall line 9 ft. 1 in. from the floor, to the upper side of an architrave 7 or 8 in. deep over the pillars. The Dahgoba is plain, the cylinder being 4 ft. 4 in. high, but the capital has been hewn off to convert it into a *pīṇḍa* of Śiva, and even the dome is much hacked. Before the last cave, this, and the next is a platform built by the modern votaries of Tuljā Devī. The next (4) is the back of a cell with a recess appropriated to Tuljā; then come the remains of three more cells, and a fourth on which is hung a wooden door, the cell being appropriated by the priest. The next is a plain cell, and beyond it the backs of two cells,—over the front of one of them are Chaitya-window ornaments and two or three figures; then two more plain fronts, and two with Chaitya-window heads over the doors, and smaller ones between, and the rail ornament, and quadrantal carved roll supported by slender brackets in entire relief, as at Bhājā. The last cave is a hall 23 feet wide, with one large cell at the left corner, and a seat round the three sides. In front of and considerably below the cells towards the north-west end is a tank with masonry walls on two sides. The rock is so cut away in front of the cells above, that

\* See Plan and Section of this cave, from the writer's drawings, in *Ferguson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876), p. 167.

it must have undermined the fronts of them, and aided in causing their destruction. Possibly this tank was originally a large cistern in the rock underneath the cells, and the pressure at the same time destroyed its roof and the front of the caves.

The Śivaneṛī hill fort lies to the west of the town, and going well along the east face of the hill towards the south, after visiting several cells in the lower scarp, we come to a cave which has had originally two columns and pilasters in front of a narrow verandah. The cave has a wide door, and inside is a large square cell with the cylindrical base of a Dahgoba—all coarsely hewn. Can the top have been of wood or other perishable or removeable material? This cave faces E.N.E. On the sides of the scarp to the north of these excavations are several cisterns.

The side of the hill is peculiarly steep, and, owing to the slippery dry grass, I was ascended with difficulty. At the south end of the upper scarp a cave I reached, and in the north end of this cave is a stair leading to an upper floor. It has been a small hall, but the front is entirely gone except one pilaster at the south end. In the south wall is a small roughly hewn recess, and along the wall near the roof is an inscription (No. 11)† in one line of deeply incised letters, with a raised device at the commencement. The hall below this has three cells on each side and four at the back—several of them quite unfinished.

Further north and somewhat higher, beyond a recess and a cistern with two openings, is a Vihāra, the entire front of which is open, with a plain pilaster at each side having holes in them for the fastenings of the wooden front that has once screened the interior. There is a bench round the walls, and an advanced seat at the back as if for an image, or perhaps a guru or teacher. The cave has been occupied in more recent times, as evidenced by a mud wall inside. Next we come to some large cisterns of which the roof has fallen in, and over the north side of them is a large Vihāra with four cells at the back and two in the south end. In this case, again, there seems to have been originally only a wooden front; but for it has been substituted a stone one of ten courses of ashlar most carefully jointed, with a neatly carved

door of the style of about the 10th century, and a well-wrought lattice stone window let into the wall. These were probably substituted by some Hindu sect not Baddha. There is a fragment of an inscription at the north end, over a bench outside. North of this are some cells, much decayed, but which had probably all wooden fronts: holes in the rock seem to indicate this.

After a difficult and painful scramble from the last group, I reached the Bārā Koṭṛī group, so called from a large Vihāra with twelve cells. First, over a cistern broken in, is a Dahgoba in half-relief in front of a large cell with one stone bed, and having on the south side of the door a long inscription in five lines of varying length and in somewhat florid characters. Time did not permit my copying this, but, as the letters had all been painted, I doubt not it was copied by Dr. Bhāu Dājī's pandit. Next come four cells, the last with a stone bed; third, three wells, with a small hall over the last, which once had two square pillars in front; it is reached by a stair-landing in the north end of the verandah. Fourth, the Bārā Koṭṛī, 36 ft. 8 in. wide and 33 ft. 5 in. deep, with four cells on each side, and a bench round all four. It has two doors and two large windows, one of them measuring 9 ft. 10 in. in width, with a groove in the sill for the wooden framework. Beyond this are several cells and a wall, then a small Vihāra with three cells on the south side, and two at the back, with a Dahgoba in half-relief, in a recess—probably an older form than that in Cave III. at Nāśik.

The next is a fine cave; it is a lofty flat-roofed Chintāyā. The front wall was probably originally pierced by two windows and the central door 6 ft. 1 in. wide, but the south window has been hewn down until it forms a door; inside the front wall is an outer cross aisle or vestibule 4 ft. 9 in. wide, separated from the inner hall by two octagonal pillars and two others just attached to the wall: these have the Nāśik or water-jar base and capitals, but the latter do not reach the cross beam above; from the capital rises a short square pillar about 2½ feet high reaching to the roof, which is perhaps 10 or 12 feet high. The inner hall is 30 ft. 11 in. by 20 ft. 6 in., near the back of which stands a well-proportioned Dahgoba 10 ft. 3 in. in diameter, the cylindrical part 5 ft. 11 in. high, and surround-

† Not given among Lieut. Brett's transcripts, *Journ. R. A. S. Soc.* vol. V. pp. 183 seqq.



INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CAVES OF JUNNAR.

॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

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*(Handwritten notes in Telugu script)*

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ed on the upper margin by the rail pattern and with what are intended to represent the ends of bars projecting out below it. The umbrella is carved on the roof, and connected with the capital by a short shaft. The ceiling has been painted, and still retains large portions of the colouring: the design is in squares, each containing concentric circles in orange, brown, and white; but light was beginning to fail, and I could not be certain of the darker tints. Outside is an inscription in three lines (No. 12), first given by Colonel Sykes† in a not very accurate copy. Beyond this are some wells and fragments of cells.

After a four miles' walk and a steep climb the caves in a spur of a hill to the east of the Ganges Lena are reached, about 400 feet above Junnar. They face S.S.W. The Chaitya, the most easterly of the group, is a small one 8 ft. 8 in. wide inside and 23 ft. 4 in. in length, or about 15 ft. 4 in. from the door to the Dahgoba, which is 4 ft. 10 in. in diameter. The sides or jambs of the façade are carved with Chaitya-window ornaments, some having a Dahgoba inside, and others a lotus-flower, while the rail ornament is interspersed in the usual way. The face of the moulding round the window is also carved with a geometrical pattern. The walls

are not straight, nor the floor level, and altogether the work seems to have been left unfinished, except perhaps the upper part of the Dahgoba, the cylinder of which is 4 ft. 10 in. high, and the total height 9 ft. 4 in. The aisle, which is never wanting in a finished Chaitya cave, has not been begun here. To the narrow ledge over the architrave of the walls is 16 ft., and to the roof 18 ft. 2 in. Next to this, but higher up and almost inaccessible, are two cells; then a well; and thirdly a small Vihāra with two windows and two cells at the back, one with a stone bed, and some rough cutting in the wall between the cell doors resembling a Dahgoba, but quite unfinished. It has also a cell with stone bed at the left side; outside are two more cells, and a chamber at the end of the verandah, which runs along the front both of the Vihāra and the cells. These caves, usually represented as inaccessible, from the precipice being almost perpendicular, are really difficult of access, and dangerous for any one not having a steady head or unaccustomed to climbing.

Prof. H. Kern, of Leiden, has translated a number of the inscriptions in a paper in the *Indische Studien*, XIVter Bd. S. 303-307, of which a translation is given in the next paper. J. B.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF JUNNAR.

BY PROFESSOR H. KERN, OF LEIDEN.

*Translated from the 'Indische Studien,' XIVter Band, by Miss M. Peedie, Edinburgh.*

J. Burgess, in his *Memorandum on the Buddhist Caves at Junnar*,\* has lately published again, and very completely, the Cave-inscriptions, some of which were formerly communicated by Col. Sykes.†

These inscriptions are indeed of different dates, but collectively they are later than those of Asoka. To judge by the forms of the characters, they are perhaps 200 or 300 years later. But the way of writing is quite the same, for the double consonant is either not given at all, or is indicated by a mark like the anusvāra standing before the consonant that is to be doubled. It is so also in Asoka's inscriptions from various places. The only exception which was believed to have been found, namely *ḍḍa*,

does not exist. The mark occurs only in the word for 'twenty-six,' which is one of frequent recurrence. After Prinsep had deciphered that as *chaḍḍarīṣṭi*, all later expounders, myself included, have followed him. But the reading was false. For, in the first place, the mark graphically is not to be explained as *ḍḍ*; secondly, a *chaḍḍ* from *chaḍ* is inadmissible in point of language; thirdly, the double consonant is nowhere else marked by doubling. If we look well at the mark under consideration, we see that it is a *ḍ* with a virāma placed below. It stands everywhere as *chaḍ-ṛīṣṭi*, not *chaḍḍarīṣṭi*.

If I here subjoin my reading and interpretation of some Junnar inscriptions, it is necessary to connect with them some short remarks.

\* Conf. ante, p. 23, note<sup>2</sup>, and *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 229, No. 7; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1043, No. 2; and No. 7, *Jour. Bom. Br. R. Asiat. Soc.* vol. V. p. 122.

\* *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Bombay, 1874, reprinted, with additions, above, p. 23.

† Conf. *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1044 et seq. [Also *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. (1853) pp. 267-301.—Ed.]

No. 9 has—

*Bhārukaachhakānaḥ Lankulay(ā)naḥ bhāḍiṣa  
Budhamitasa Budhayaakkhitasu cha bikkhamaḥ  
(? for bhikkhunaḥ) dayadhamaḥ.*

Between the first and second lines stand in smaller letters *‘Asasama pūḍṇaḥ.’*

The translation is “A pious gift of charity of the brothers Buddhāmitra and Buddhāraḥkṣita, sons of Asasama (?) dwelling in Barygasa (Bharoch), who came to this place from Ceylon.”

This proper name Asasama is unknown, at least to me. It may also be read Asasama. As the proper name Sivāsama occurs in No. 7, and *Sama* is without doubt the Sanskrit *Sarman*, so Asasama is perhaps to be read in the Sanskrit as *Āśvīśarman*. *Bhārukaachhaka* is a regular *taddhita* formation from *Bhārukaachha* (see the *Petersburg Dictionary*, s.v.). I have great doubt myself about the correctness of the reading *bikkhamaḥ*. Monks have nothing to give away, all to receive. The marker may be read as *bikha(m)bhamaḥ*; in spite of the difference of the gender, this might correspond to the Sanskrit *viśkambha*, ‘prop.’ Or should we read *chubigabhe*, *Sansk. chāpi garbha*?

No. 8 has—

*Kapila-upāsakasa natana Tāpala-upāsakasa ka-  
(ni)-*

*sphaputasa Ana(n)dasu dayadhamaḥ chetiya-  
gharanīyuta*

That is: “A pious gift of charity, designed for the sanctuary, by Ānanda, youngest son of the believer Tāpala, and grandson of the believer Kapila.”

Instead of *natana* we might be induced to read *natana*; the marks for *na* and *no* are so much alike, that I have chosen so only out of respect for the known phonetic laws. The *spha* agrees with the often recurring *ś* in the *Gṛāmrājīta*. In the Pāli, so far as I know, there is no trace of it; in the Prākṛit of the dramas, however, and even in the *Alpay* language, the union of the consonants *st* is in part retained.

No. 12 has—

*Vīrasapakasa gahapatisipaniyāsasa  
dhamanigamasa dayadhamaḥ chetiya-  
gharanīyuta socalekhitasukhāyana*

That is: “A pious gift of charity, designed for the sanctuary, for the common weal and happiness, by Vīrasapaksa, a distinguished householder, confessor of the Dharma.”

*Dharmānigama* I have not met with elsewhere; I suppose it is ‘one for whom the Dharma is the source of authority.’

Nos. 4 and 1 have the same word at the beginning, the reading of which is not perfectly certain; this much, however, is certain, that Prinsep’s reading (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 104b) is incorrect and in contradiction to the form of the letters. I read in No. 4—

*kaṣiṇhakaṣa Kuṣiraputasa suvama-*

*kārasa Sa(n)ghakasa paṭi dayadhamaḥ*

That is, “As a pious gift of charity from the pure-hearted Saughakā, goldsmith, son of Kuṣira.” That the proper name usually follows the name of the father is seen also from No. 10:—

*Sayitigahapatisiputasa gahapatisa Simuddasa.*

*Paṭi, paṭi* also stands, as indeed we might expect from the Sanskrit, after the governing substantive, and in fact in No. 7—

*Sivāsanaputasa Sīṇtabhāti(?)no dayadhama paṭi*  
That is, “For a pious gift of charity, from Sīṇtabhāti, son of Sivāśarman.”

No. 1 runs thus:—

*kaṣiṇhakaṣa Harapikaputasa Seldasadata (?) o  
Sulāsajatasu) thakapuriṇasasa chetiya-  
gharanīyuta dayadhama :*

“A pious gift of charity, designed for the sanctuary, by the pure-hearted Sulāsadata, trader, son of Harapika.”

*Thakka*, as is clearly seen from the *Māṇḍhī* *thaka* and this inscription, is the correct spelling, instead of *takka*, as is printed in the *Kathāsaritāgaya*, lxx. 140, 143, 152, and *thka*, as in *Rājatarānginī* vii. 416. In the latter place it signifies ‘a challenger,’ and probably also in the *Kathāsaritāgaya*. We see by the word being used in the inscription that in itself it is no word of abuse, and was only understood as such because ‘merchant’ and ‘deceiver’ come so pretty much the same thing according to Indian ideas, since the period of the Veda (let us think of the *paṇi*). A similar case as with *paṇi* and *thakka*, *thāka* is afforded by the term *kirāṇa*. This by itself signifies ‘trader,’ and is used by Utpala as the customary paraphrase for *saṇj*; in *Rājatarānginī* viii. 132, however, it occurs as a term of contempt. According to this idea the *taddhita*-formation *kerāṭika* contained in the Pāli denotes ‘hypocrite, charlatan, humbug’ (perhaps ‘cheat’ also). The *pa-*



sage in the *Hijjatarāṅgī* is instructive and pretty, and as it has been entirely spoilt by the editors, as has generally been the case with the whole excellent work of Kalhaṇa, I present the following reading of the strophes referred to (128-134).—

arotabhir vyastam ambhodhan labhyam magha-  
makhañ | payaḥ | prāptir bhāyas ta nā 'sty  
eva vaniggrastasya rastinañ ||  
tailasniḡdhamukhañ | svalpālāpa mṛdvākṛtir  
bhavañ | ayatsagrāsavivādogro vañig vyā-  
ghrād viśishyate ||  
vivāde śrautthinañ śāthynā amitaiḥ prāk sa-  
khyadarānañ | ansthān-ansthān jālyamā-  
nam prāphato 'pi na mohyate ||  
nisargavāñchakā velyāḥ, kāyastho 'pi, varo

vañik | gurūpadesopaskārair viśistaiḥ ravi-  
shāśishab ||

chandanāñkūlikā śrotāśhako dhūpādīvēśini |  
viśvataḥ syāt kirāte yo viprakṛishṭaḥ sa oś  
'padaḥ ||

lalitadrīkstrāśrotadrundvabridgrastabanda-  
naḥ\* | śhūbhindevṛiśhika iva kashāḥ prā-  
nāntakṛid vañik ||

pādaśyāmo 'gnidhūmārdraḥ śūchyaśyo gaba-  
nodarañ | tomḡphalepamañ śreeshṭhi rakṣaḥ  
mānsaḥ cā karahati ||

The etymology of the word *thakka* is unknown; it may have been originally the name of a tribe. At least *thakka* is interchanged with *Bāhika*. It is known that the *Bāhika* also did not enjoy a good reputation.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from vol. I., p. 241.)

### XIV.—Curious Tombs and Entombments.

In an account of a Toda dry funeral (*Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 95), when speaking of the circle of stones within which the last remains were finally burnt, doubt was expressed whether the circle was ancient or new; from the late Mr. Breck's exhaustive work on the *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris*, lately published by the India Office, it appears to be doubtful whether these circles, called by the Todas *Āśāramas*, are old, or made for the occasion. It seems that sometimes a circle of old date is used, and sometimes a new one is formed; the ashes of the deceased are scraped together and buried under a large stone at the entrance of the *Āśāram*. At any rate it is clear these circles are claimed and formed by the Todas. We learn also from Mr. Breck that when all depart hurriedly after the final farewell rite in the gray dusk of the morning, none may look back—a point occurring in the superstition of many races. The Kurumbas and Irulas of the same mountains, after every death amongst them, bring a long water-worn stone (*devva kaffa kallu*) and put it into one of the old cromlechs sprinkled over the plateau. Some of the larger of these have been found piled up to the capstone with such pebbles, which must have been the work of generations. Occasionally, too, the tribes mentioned make small cromlechs for burial

purposes, and place the long water-worn pebble in them. Mr. Breck reports that the Kurumbas in the neighbourhood of the Rangan-  
s-rā-ti Peak and the Buda-church their dead and place a bone and a small round stone in the *śiri-mani*—death-house, *anohi cromlech*. On the Travancore mountains, the Malei Arriyans, a numerous tribe, make miniature cromlechs of small slabs of stone, and place within them a long pebble to represent the deceased. (See Fergusson's *Rock Stone Monuments*, p. 479.) The same practice is said to prevail amongst jungle tribes in Orissa. Dr. Livingstone noticed a similar custom in Africa:—"In various villages we have observed miniature huts about two feet high, very neatly thatched and plastered; here we noticed them in dozens. On inquiry we were told that when a child or relative dies, one is made, and when any pleasant food is cooked or beer brewed, a little is placed in the tiny hut for the departed soul, which is believed to enjoy it." (Livingstone's *Last Journals*, vol. I. p. 156.) So the Malei Arriyans offer *arak* and sweetmeats to the departed spirit supposed to be hovering near the miniature cromlech. All these instances existing to-day are of especial value as showing a connection of funeral rites with monuments of pre-historic type—stone circles and cromlechs—amongst living

\* *Drikastra* (edition *drik-kashtra*, the manuscript perhaps *dri-kashtra*) signifies 'eyelid' (compare *netrachāḍa*).

tribes who most nearly represent pre-historic peoples.\*

In 1874 the Right Reverend Mar Karillus Jehomkim, Syrian Metropolitan of Malabar, died at Kottayam,—a venerable and highly respected prelate. The Madras papers at the time contained the following account of the funeral, which has an interest and air of antiquity about the details that make it worthy of record in an antiquarian journal:—"The body was dressed in full canonicals and placed in a sitting posture on a chair, and then removed into the church, where it was left in that position, with the pastoral staff and crozier placed in the hands, until the third day, and during this time the usual ceremonies prescribed by the Syrian ritual were performed. On the third day—it is rather singular that about this time only signs of decay showed themselves—nearly two hundred priests and about ten thousand people assembled for the funeral. The body, still seated on the chair, was carried by priests under a canopy in solemn procession to some distance, and brought back to the north-east side of the church, where a tomb measuring eight square feet, with a seat inside like a chair, was built. The custom hitherto was to bury bishops within the church, but the deceased had desired that his body should be buried outside, but close to the church. In this seat the body was placed again in a sitting posture, facing the east, and the burial service was chanted. The brother of the deceased then removed the ring, pastoral staff and crozier, to be sent to the Patriarch of Antioch. From the roof of the tomb a globe lamp was hung up about a foot or so before the face of the deceased, and after the entombment it was lit, and a large quantity of incense thrown into the tomb until it reached the neck of the corpse, when the stones were piled up, and the builders closed the tomb." This antique ceremonial of an antique church has probably

come down, with little change in many of its features, from the remotest antiquity. The eight feet square tomb filled up with spices and incense, in which the dead was seated in his habit as he lived, recalls Egyptian and Etruscan tomb chambers, as well as mediæval modes of interment; and possibly all may be developments of the kistvaen or sepulchral stone chamber of pre-historic times, in which, too, skeletons have at times, as in Guernsey, been found placed in a sitting posture.

Here perhaps a place may be found for recording another funeral memorial of bygone days. The port of Bâtkal, in South Kânara, was once important, possessing a factory, and frequented by vessels from Europe. It is now deserted except by native craft, and three mouldering tombs preserve the else forgotten names of some of those bold and enterprising pioneer Englishmen who, in times before "the Company," sought their fortunes in the then half-fabulous East. Many such memorials survive in now deserted nooks and spots in India, mute witnesses of daring and wasted lives. Copies of the inscriptions on the Bâtkal tombs are subjoined:—

## 1.

Here lyeth the Body of William Barton,  
C. H. Y. R. U. R. G. I. O. N., Dec. XXX.  
Nov. A.D., Nri Christi, Salv. Mund.  
M.D.C.X.X.X.

## 2.

Here lyeth the Body of George Wye, Mer-  
chant.  
Dec. XXXI. March. A.D. Nri Xu Salv.  
Mundi.  
M.D.C.X.X.X.I.

## 3.

Here lyeth the Body of Ant. Vem. Worthy,  
Merchant. Dec. I. April. A.D. Nri Xu  
Salv. Mundi.  
M.D.C.X.X.X.V.I.I.

## ON THE ANCIENT NĀGARĪ NUMERALS.

BY PAṆḌIT BHAGVĀNLĀL INDEJĀI.

The researches of Mr. Thomas, Dr. Bhan Dājl, and General Cunningham have proved beyond doubt that the system of numeral notation used in the most ancient Indian Nāgarī inscrip-

tions employs four sets of different signs, viz. one for the numbers from 1 to 9; a second for the numbers 10 to 90; a third for the numbers from 100 to 900; and a fourth for the thousands. Most

\* It is noteworthy that whereas the Todas always place a body on the funeral pile face downwards, Col. Meadows Taylor, in his exploration of cairns and kistvaens

in Sorapur and Haidarābād (Dehkan), found several skeletons laid in the stone cists with the face downwards too.

of the signs employed for this notation are now well known through the numerous inscriptions which express numbers both in words and in figures, and it is only regarding the signs for 40, 50, 60, and 70 that some confusion is observable.

The object of the present paper will be—firstly, to settle definitively the signs for these numbers, and, secondly, to explain the origin of the whole of this ancient system of notation. The explanation will, I trust, give further proofs of the correctness of the values assigned to the signs.

As regards the first point, the figures for the four doubtful signs are as follows:—

|    |       |
|----|-------|
| 40 | 𑂔 𑂕 𑂖 |
| 50 | 𑂗 𑂘   |
| 60 | 𑂙 𑂚 𑂛 |
| 70 | 𑂜 𑂝 𑂞 |

The signs for 40 have already been correctly read by General Cunningham. Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar has mistaken its Valabhi form for 50, and Dr. Bühler for 60. The proof that it is really the sign for 40 may be derived from the coins of the Kshatrapa kings. In the Jasdān inscription Rudrasena I., the son of Rudrasimha and grandson of Rudradāman, gives as his date the year 127 or 129. A coin issued by the same Rudrasena bears the date 138. A second, on which the father's name, Rudrasimha (*putra*), is clearly legible and certain, while Rudrasena's name is obliterated, shows, after the sign for 100, the doubtful figure (𑂕), which, under the circumstances, can only be read as 40. The sign for 50 occurs on a third coin which bears the name of Dāmasena, another son of Rudrasimha. The coins of sons of Dāmasena show the signs for 60 and 70, viz. Viradāman 160, Vijayasena 168, 174, Dāmajaḍārt 174, and finally two coins of Viradāman's son Rudrasena II. are dated 188 and 189. The old forms of the figure for 70, which slightly differ from those given above, appear also in the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman (𑂛), and in the inscription of Śākāvadāta, Nāsik Cave No. 16 𑂛. In the former the words 'varhe divāptatitane,' and in the latter 'saka-vrddhi satori' are added.\*

As regards the origin of these figures, I believe that I can confidently assert that all of them except the three first express letters or groups of letters, and that the variations which occur in their forms in the inscriptions of different dynasties and centuries are caused chiefly by the variations of the forms of the letters in the alphabets of the same times and dynasties. At the same time, however, it seems that there was a tendency to distinguish the signs which were to be read as letters from the corresponding ones which were to be taken as numbers, by very slightly changing the forms of the latter.

The resemblance of very many figures in the Kshatrapa, Valabhi, and Gupta inscriptions and coins to letters, e.g. of 𑂕 (7) to 𑂕 *ya*, of 𑂕 (5) to 𑂕 *tri*, struck me a long time ago. When I then found that the Jains on their palm-leaf manuscripts, and the Buddhists of Nipāl both on their palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, marked the pages both by the ordinary numerals, and by letters and groups of letters which correspond to the alphabetical value of the old numerals, I felt that my conjecture was more than a mere haphazard guess. But I gained only the full conviction that my views were correct when I found the numerals expressed by letters in the plates of Vināyaka-pāṭ of Mahendrapāla, of Balavarman, of Bhānāja, and in the late inscriptions of Nipāl.

I now give a conspectus of the figures found in the following inscriptions, coins, and manuscripts:—(1) in the inscriptions of the Śāta-vāhana dynasty on the Nānāghāt, (2) of the Kshatrapa and Andhrabhṛitya inscriptions of Nāsik, Kanheri, and Junnar, (3) on the Kshatrapa (*culgo* Sāha) coins and in their inscriptions at Girnār and Jasdān, (4) in the Gupta inscriptions of Saucī, Mālwa, and Central India, and in the Lichhavi inscriptions of Nipāl, (5) on the Valabhi and Chālukya plates, (6) on the Pāla and other plates from Eastern India, (7) on the margin of a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Prajā pāramitā* acquired in Nipāl, (8) on the margin of the *Śrāddha Dinakṛitya* and the *Brīhatsūktasūtra* (collection of the Bombay Government 1873-78), (9) on the margin of modern Bandha paper manuscripts.

\* This sign has been read correctly by General Cunningham, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XXXIII. p. 22.

† *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XXXIII. p. 320.

| Numerals. | EARLY INDIAN NUMERALS.—FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND COINS. |  |  |                               |                      |   | FROM MSS.                                 |                                  |                                    |
|-----------|---|--|--|-------------------------------|----------------------|---|---|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
|           | 1<br>Nāgārī<br>Inscrip-<br>tions.                   | 2<br>Kshatrapa<br>Andhrabhr-<br>tya Inscrip-<br>tions. | 3<br>Kshatrapa<br>Coins and<br>Inscriptions. | 4<br>Gupta Inscrip-<br>tions. | 5<br>Vakabhi Plates. | 6<br>Falcott<br>Plate,<br>5th-6th<br>century. | 7<br>Buddha<br>Nipāl<br>Palm-leaf<br>MSS. | 8<br>Jaidev<br>Palm-leaf<br>MSS. | 9<br>Buddha<br>Nipāl<br>Paper MSS. |
| 1         | —   | —  | —  | —                             | —                    |   | ॐ   | १                                | ४                                  |
| 2         | =   | =  | =  | =                             | =                    | २   | ३   | २                                | ६                                  |
| 3         |   | ≡  | ≡  | ≡                             | ≡                    | ३   | ३   | ३                                | ७                                  |
| 4         | ४   | ४४   | ४  | ४४४                           | ४४४                  |   | ४   | ४                                | ४                                  |
| 5         |   | ५५   | ५५   | ५५५                           | ५५५                  |   | ५   | ५                                | ५                                  |
| 6         | ६   | ६  | ६  | ६६                            | ६६                   |   | ६   | ६                                | ६                                  |
| 7         | ७   | ७  | ७  | ७७                            | ७                    |   | ७   | ७                                | ७                                  |
| 8         |   | ८  | ८  | ८८८                           | ८८८                  | ८   | ८   | ८                                | ८                                  |
| 9         | ९   | ९  | ९  | ९९९                           | ९                    | ९   | ९   | ९                                | ९                                  |
| 10        | ०   | ०००  | ००   | ००००                          | ००००                 | ०   | ०   | ०                                | ०                                  |
| 20        | ०   | ००   | ०  | ०                             | ०                    | ०   | ०   | ०                                | ०                                  |
| 30        |   |  | ३  | ३३३                           | ३                    |   | ३   | ३                                | ३                                  |



| Number. | 1<br>Māgadhī<br>Inscriptions. | 2<br>Kāśīśrāpa<br>Andhrabhrīya<br>Inscr. | 3<br>Kāśīśrāpa<br>Gujarā and<br>Inscriptions. | 4<br>Gujarā Inscríp-<br>tions. | 5<br>Vatāpī Stāla. | 6<br>Eastern<br>Pāla<br>5th-11th<br>Century. | 7<br>Bardhānā<br>Nīpāl<br>Palm-leaf<br>MS. | 8<br>Jaica<br>Palm-leaf<br>MS. | 9<br>Bardhānā<br>Nīpāl<br>Paper<br>MS. |
|---------|-------------------------------|--|---|--------------------------------|--------------------|--|--|--------------------------------|--|
| 40      |                               | 𑂔  | 𑂔𑂔  | 𑂔                              | 𑂔                  |  | 𑂔  | 𑂔                              | 𑂔                                      |
| 50      |                               |  | 𑂔   |                                | 𑂔                  | 𑂔  | 𑂔  | 𑂔                              | 𑂔                                      |
| 60      | 𑂔                             |  | 𑂔𑂔  | 𑂔                              | 𑂔                  |  | 𑂔  | 𑂔                              | 𑂔                                      |
| 70      |                               | 𑂔  | 𑂔𑂔𑂔   |                                | 𑂔𑂔                 |  | 𑂔  | 𑂔                              | 𑂔                                      |
| 80      | 𑂔                             |  | 𑂔𑂔  | 𑂔                              | 𑂔𑂔                 | 𑂔  | 𑂔  | 𑂔                              | 𑂔                                      |
| 90      |                               |  | 𑂔𑂔𑂔   | 𑂔𑂔                             | 𑂔𑂔                 |  | 𑂔  | 𑂔                              | 𑂔                                      |
| 100     | 𑂔                             | 𑂔  | 𑂔   | 𑂔𑂔𑂔<br>𑂔𑂔                      | 𑂔𑂔                 | 𑂔  | 𑂔  | 𑂔                              | 𑂔                                      |
| 200     |                               | 𑂔  | 𑂔𑂔  |                                | 𑂔𑂔                 |  | 𑂔  | 𑂔                              | 𑂔                                      |

|     | Nāgārī<br>Inscriptions. | Kāśīśrāpa<br>Inscriptions. | Vatāpī and<br>Chāināya Inscríp-<br>tions. | Gujarā Inscríp-<br>tions. |       | Nāgārī<br>MS. | Andhrabhrīya | Vatāpī |
|-----|-------------------------|----------------------------|---|---------------------------|-------|---------------|--------------|--------|
| 300 |                         |                            | 𑂔   | 𑂔                         | 1000  | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
| 400 | 𑂔                       |                            | 𑂔𑂔𑂔                                       | 𑂔𑂔𑂔                       | 2000  |               | 𑂔            |        |
| 500 |                         | 𑂔                          | 𑂔𑂔  |                           | 3000  |               | 𑂔            |        |
| 600 |                         |                            | 𑂔   |                           | 4000  | 𑂔             |              |        |
| 700 | 𑂔                       |                            | 𑂔   |                           | 5000  | 𑂔             |              |        |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 6000  | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 7000  | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 8000  | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 9000  | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 10000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 11000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 12000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 13000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 14000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 15000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 16000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 17000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 18000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 19000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 20000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 21000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 22000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 23000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 24000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 25000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 26000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 27000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 28000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 29000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |
|     |                         |                            |   |                           | 30000 | 𑂔             | 𑂔            | 𑂔      |

I think that a careful comparison of these figures with each other and with the corresponding groups of letters will go far to establish my proposition. But I must add some further considerations regarding each numeral.

The oldest sign for 4 appears to be (p. 44, col. 1) *ki*; in the Kshatrapa and Andhrabhritya inscriptions (col. 3) it resembles partly *ki* and partly *ka*. The latter group is clearly observable in the Gupta inscriptions and on the Valabhi plates (col. 3), on which latter, however, *kū* also occurs, and the sign from the manuscripts resembles *ka* or *ka*,—mistakes I think, for *ka*. Now the remarkable fact is that, though the upper part of the sign is not always the same, the lower always shows the figure of that form of *ka* which is used in the alphabet of the period. Thus the first two columns show the simple cross, which is the oldest form of the letter *ka*, and the third a cross where the vertical stroke is curved towards the left, just as we find the *ka* in Rudradaman's Girnār and the Jaśdan inscriptions, while the manuscripts give the usual Devanāgarī *ka*. The 4 of the Gupta and Valabhi inscriptions likewise shows the particular *ka* of those alphabets.

The sign for 5 is in the old Buddhist and Jaina manuscripts distinctly *tri*. The signs in the Andhrabhritya and Nalāpāra inscriptions may be read in the same manner, though the *ri* vowel is not, as usual, attached to the right-hand curved horizontal, but to the left-hand vertical stroke of the *i*. This discrepancy may be either the result of the desire to distinguish the numeral sign from the syllable *tri* (in order to prevent mistakes), or be owing to the indifference which the old writers felt as to the manner in which they joined the parts of compound letters. Similarly *tri* is sometimes *ṣ* and sometimes *ṣ* or even *ṣ*. The same remark applies to the Kshatrapa signs (col. 4), but it ought to be observed that as the *ri* in their inscriptions receives a stronger curve to the left, so the sign for 5 shows the same peculiarity. The first two signs in col. 5 are simply repetitions of those in col. 3, but it agrees with the nature of the Gupta characters that the left-hand stroke has no curve to the left. The third sign of the same column is clearly a *tri* in the later form. The same sign actually occurs as *tri* in the name *Mātrivishnu* in the

Eran inscription. The fourth sign of col. 4 seems to owe its upper right-hand stroke to a desire to show a difference between the syllable and the figure. The fifth sign of the same column, and that in col. 9, may be read *tri*. But it seems to me that they are merely a corruption of the second form in col. 3, the vertical stroke of which was curved towards the right.

The Valabhi figures in col. 6 offer at first sight some difficulties. But the first figure is clearly *tri*, and the sign for the long *i* which we found already in the fourth Gupta form is probably owing to the desire for differentiation. The following two signs, which look like *na*, are mere corruptions of *tri*. For the *ṣ* for *i* does appear occasionally instead of *h* in other inscriptions, e.g. in the Nāsik inscription No. 12, l. 1, *ṣ*—*validataputasa*. The loop was no doubt caused by hasty writing.

The sign for 6 in the Buddhist books (cols. 7 and 8) is clearly *phra*, and all the other signs represent the same group or *phra*, with the exception of the second sign in col. 4 and that in col. 8. The former may be read *phu* and seems to be a mutilation of the full figure, made for convenience sake. The latter, which represents *ryhu*, is apparently owing to the fact that the scribes mistook the subjoined *ra* in the old books for *u*, and the *r* before the *ph* is the remnant of the long *i* which we find in the Valabhi and Gupta figures.

The sign for 7 is throughout *gra* or *grā*. It ought, however, to be observed that only the second sign of col. 4 shows the little notch at the junction of the two letters, which is usual when the syllable is not to be taken as a numeral.

The sign for 8 is clearly *hrā* or *hra* in the manuscripts, on the Eastern plates, and on the Valabhi plates. On the latter the *ra* is, however, joined to the *ha* in a manner different from that in the words, where we have (*ṣ*). The reason is probably the desire for differentiation. The other columns show mostly *ha*.

The sign for 9 is throughout *ā*. The shape somewhat differs from that usually employed in the texts, but agrees exactly with that used in the word *śā*: compare, e.g., the *śā* *śanti* of the Valabhi plates with the sign for 9 in the same inscriptions.

The sign for 10 is in the ancient Buddhist (col. 8) and in the Jaina manuscripts clearly

*lri*. On the Eastern plates it looks more like *lā*, for which it has been mistaken by Bābū Pratāpchandra Ghose.<sup>§</sup> But there is no objection to reading the sign *lri*. The fourth sign of col. 6 is likewise clearly *lri*. The signs in cols. 2, 3, 4, the first two in col. 5, and the first in col. 6, correspond to the letter *la*, as it appears in the inscription of Rudradāman, and on one Valabhi plate. The second and third figures of col. 6 appear to be corruptions of this letter. It ought, however, to be kept in mind that we do not know what was the eldest form of *lri*; and the signs for *la* and *lri* may have been identical. The sign in col. 10 is clearly *ḍā*, which stands for *ḍa*, as the Nipālēs have no *la*. The fifth sign in col. 6 and the third in col. 5 may be read *ṇā* and *ṇḍā*, and appear to be corruptions of *ḍā*.

The signs for 20 and 30 offer no difficulties, as they exactly correspond each to the *Ma* and *Ma* (*thā*, *lā*) of the period.

The sign for 40 *Ṣ* in the older inscriptions and *Ṣ* the manuscripts clearly *pta*. On the Valabhi plates and in the coins of the later Kshatrapas it looks like *sa*. The difference is caused by the omission of the lower part of the right-hand vertical stroke, and is perhaps intentional.

The sign for 50 used in the manuscripts and on the Eastern plates corresponds to the *Anuśūka* (*ḥ*) as it occurs in the manuscripts of the *Mādhyaṇḍina Sūktā* of the *White Yajurveda*. The sign on the Kshatrapa coins is the same, only turned the other way, and that on the Valabhi plates a further corruption of the latter.

The original meaning of the signs for 60 and 70 is doubtful to me. Only this much seems certain, that 70 is derived from the former by the addition of a horizontal stroke on the right. The manuscripts read them *tha* or *chu*, and *thā* or *chā*, respectively.

The sign for 80 corresponds to the ancient *Upadhmanīya*, such as we find on the Valabhi plates and in the alphabets of Kāśmīr and Nipāl (*ḥ*).

The sign for 90 *Ṣ* the *Jihvānūtiya*. In some cases it occurs also for the *Upadhmanīya*.

The sign for a hundred corresponds originally to the syllable *sa* or *śa*, and appears as such in

cols. 2, 5, and 9. Cols. 7 and 10 show *a*, which seems to be a mistake, arising out of the great resemblance of the ancient forms of *sa* and *a* [*ṣ*]. The signs in cols. 3, 4, 6, and the second in 5, I take for mutilated forms of the ancient *sa*, caused by hasty writing. The *lā* in col. 8 is another corruption of *a*.

The eldest sign for *thousands* may be read *śa*, later it is clearly *dhra*.

POSTSCRIPT BY G. BANERJEE.

At the request of Paṇḍit Bhagvānālāl, who is not able to express himself in English, I have translated the above article on the Nāgarī numerals from his Gujarātī notes. I undertook this task because, after considering all his arguments, I felt convinced of the general correctness of his views, and because I wished to secure for my fellow-Sanskritists a speedy publication of this important discovery, and to the Paṇḍit the credit due to him. I now use this opportunity to add a few remarks of my own on the subject.

Firstly, as regards the Paṇḍit's chief point, that the Nāgarī numerals are *akṣaras* or syllables: its correctness can be proved by the statement of *Mālayagiri*, a Jaina writer of the 18th century, which Professor A. Weber first brought to light.¶ This statement occurs in the commentary on the beginning of the *Sūryaprajāpti*, where a short-hand description of the town of Mithilā is given. The text runs as follows:—

नेपं कानेयं देशं समयेन विविता नाम नवरी होत्या रिङ्ग-  
विमिरसमिका एगुहयननाननया ज्ञात वासादेन च

"At that time, during that period there was a town called Mithilā, rich in wealthy men, filled with joyful citizens and country-people—down to—adorned with palaces, *ḥḥḥ*."

In commenting on the latter portion of this passage, *Mālayagiri* states first that the word *ḥḥḥ*, "down to," indicates that the description of the town is not given in full, and that a whole paragraph has to be supplied, in accordance with the conventional descriptions occurring in other works. Then he goes on according to Professor Weber's text, to say—

kiyān drakṣyaṇya ityāha: p d a ś ṣ y ā ḥ ḥ ḥ a  
iti, atra k k a ś a ḥ dopādānt prāśāṇīya ityanen  
padenā saha padachatusṭayasya eśhet ḥḥḥ.

§ *Jour. Beng. Ac. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 166.

¶ *Bhagavati*, p. 247.

¶ My manuscript has a sign which may be read *ḥḥḥ* or *ḥḥḥ*, just as that used by Professor Weber.

*lāni cha parāṇyamūnā : prāsādiyā, śarīrāṇiyā,  
abhīrūpā, prastūṇā :*

"(In order to show) how much has to be supplied, (the author) says: 'adorned with palaces, *khka*.' By adding here the word *khka*, an indication has been given that including the noun 'adorned-with-palaces' (*pālādīyā*) four nouns (have to be read)."

Now two things are clear from this passage,— firstly, that Malayagiri knew *khka* to express the numeral four, and, secondly, that he considered the sign *khka* to be a word, and not a figure or *anka*. He consequently pronounced *khka* and did not read *shatadeśi* (4) for it, as he would have done for the *anka* ४. That is exactly what Pandit Bhagvānlāl asserts, and Malayagiri's statement shows that the nature of the Nāgarī numerals was known, to the Jains at least, as late as the thirteenth century of our era.

In the second place I have to express my dissent from the Pandit's views on some details. It seems to me that he is mistaken about the phonetic value of the Nāgarī numerals for 'four.'

I think all the various signs are intended for *khka* (𑂔𑂩), i.e. the *Jihvāmūlīya* plus *ka*. There is a form of the *Jihvāmūlīya* which consists merely of a loop attached to the left-hand side of *ka*, just above the horizontal stroke. It occurs in the Gupta inscriptions, e.g. in the Jhalapāṭhan inscription of Durgagana, l. 9\*, in the Kāśmīrīan Śāradā alphabet (𑂔𑂩), and in the Jaina manuscripts, where it looks like *sha*, e.g. a manuscript *anīkākhaṇṇa*. In an

old Kāśmīr Bhārja manuscript acquired last year for the Government of Bombay I have also found 𑂔𑂩 for the usual Śāradā 𑂔𑂩 (4), and this sign is likewise a representative of *khka*.

The Kāśatrāpa, Valabhi, and Gupta ages for 100 𑂔𑂩 I take, not for a corruption of an 𑂔𑂩, but of an 𑂔𑂩, which it resembles very closely. It was probably a faulty pronunciation for *an*.

The third point, and the most interesting one, is the question of the origin of these Nāgarī numerals. The old idea of Prinsep, according to which the figures were to be representatives of the initial letters of the cardinal numerals, has to be given up. But hitherto no satisfactory solution of the problem has been found. Pandit Bhagvānlāl has tried, as he tells me, the syllabic method of notating numbers of Aryan languages and those used in the *Maṇḍi-śāstra*, without success. Nor can I pretend to produce the key to this mystery. I would only point out that the occurrence of the *Amud-āḍa*, of the *Jihvāmūlīya*, and of the *Upaṭṭha-āḍa* among these figures indicates that they were invented by Brahmans, not by Vāgīs, nor by Buddhists, who used Pāṇinī. I should not wonder if they were finally traced to *some* of the ancient Brahmanical schools or *śāstras*, where the practice of designating certain collections of roots or words, e.g. of the roots *śi*, *de*, *de*, *dai* by *gha*, and the use of letters and syllables to denote affixes (e.g. *pha* for *dyan*, *sha* for *ika*, *gha* for *eyan*), and to indicate changes in the roots, have existed since very early times.

### ON THREE MĀLWĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY NILKANTHA JANĀUDAN KIRTANE.

While at Ujjain in November 1935, I obtained a copper-plate grant or inscription, which had been brought to the local authorities by a farmer, who found it while digging in his field. This led to the acquisition of two more inscriptions, one of which is a copper-plate grant, the other is engraved on a stone.

The first in chronological order is that of Śrī Vākpati Rājadeva. This inscription is on two plates of copper, that were held together by two copper rings inserted through holes made in the plates. The rings are now wanting. Each of the plates measures 12 by 8·6 inches. The inscription contains 34 lines, and each line, on an

average, contains 35 letters. In the left corner of the second or last plate is engraved the figure of Garuḍa holding in his right hand a conch shell;—for what purpose the reader will easily imagine. The numeral 𑂔𑂩 stands at the beginning of the grant. The last two characteristics are common to both the copper-plate inscriptions; and the characters in which all the three are written are those of the old Kāśyapī Sanskrit alphabet, in which the *pad-mātrā* is very frequently used. I got this inscription of Vākpati from the archives of the Central India Agency, and am indebted for it to the kindness of Sir Henry Dault and Pandit





latter belief, which gains strength from Munja's name being omitted from the list of kings in both inscriptions. Munja, it is notorious, was elected to rule the state after the death of Sindhu Rāja Dava, the father of Bhoja, as the latter was then a minor of only eight years of age, and that he tried to usurp the regal power after Bhoja his nephew had come of age. Bhoja is said to have addressed to Munja several couplets, still well known, wherein, reproaching Munja with his base schemes, he said, "Karna Rāja Vikrama is no more, and he carried nothing with him of his immense treasures, but died like other men." This Karna Rāja Vikrama had, it is said, usurped the powers of his master, who was a great monarch. There was disseminated a prophecy which said that Bhoja would be a fortunate and powerful prince, and that he would reign over Mālwa, the Central Provinces, and the Dakhan. This prophecy, it is said, had the desired effect, and Munja resigned his powers into the hands of Bhoja, and himself leading an army into the Dakhan in the service of the state died in battle there. All this, I think, shows the existence of bad blood between the uncle and the nephew; yet, I presume, the natural aversion of a high-spirited and gifted youth towards a regent who tried to delay his desires is not sufficient to explain the omission of a brave and learned predecessor, if the end in view were not to mention one's own lineal ancestors only. This much I advance to support my assertion that the kings mentioned in Vākpati's and Bhoja's inscriptions stand to each other in the relation of direct ancestorship. The *Dānchandrakā* certainly supports this view in cases of all sorts of religious grants, as it is incumbent on the grantor to name in the deed of grant at least the names of his father and grandfather.

Of the proper names mentioned in Vākpati's

"The verses said to have been reported to Munja,—when he supposed that Bhoja had been put to death in pursuance of his orders,—as his victim's last words, are these:—

मान्धाता म मर्षयति इत्युच्यते मरुतमृतो गतः

मरुतेन मर्षयिष्ये विविधः काशो दशास्यान्तकः ।

अथे चापि युधिष्ठिरभृतयो वाक्मन् एवाध्वजः

केनापि सर्वं नराभ्युपगम्यो मर्त्ये (or मृत्यु) नृका पावयति ।

King Māndhātā, the ornament of the golden age, has passed away; and where, too, is the slayer of Dushyanta, Rāma, who threw a bridge over Mahodadhī, the southern sea? All other monarchs, likewise, that have flourished, Yudhishtira and the rest, where are they? None of these did the earth accompany; but I imagine that it will accompany them.

inscription, the most notable is the Abichchhatra from which the philosopher Vāsana-tāchārya, as the grant says, emigrated into Mālwa, which to him naturally was a 'Dakshina Dhāma,' or 'Southern country.' The locality of the place granted by this inscription can even now be clearly identified. The Pishācha Tīrtha remains till this day, and also Chikkilikā, now called Chikhaldā—a thakā of Holkar's. The Gardhaba Nadi is now called Kharjā, a word of the same meaning. This place now is in the Dharampuri Taluk of H. H. the Rāja of Dhār. Of Abichchhatra it will be sufficient to say that it was formerly the capital of the North Pānchāl, and is now identified with Adhikotha, near Rāmāgar, in Rohilkhand. A pretty full account of Abichchhatra is given by General Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India* (pp. 359, 360, 363).

The grantee of the second inscription—Dhanapati Bhat, I am told by Balkrishna Śāstri of Indor, was a very learned man at the court of Bhoja. I do not know anything of Hād Sura Sang Karnāja or of Vellu Vella. The village Virāpāka no longer exists in Mālwa. There is a certain Virāpāka mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgī*; but that is not the Virāpāka of the present grant, I suppose.

The Inganapat of the third grant is the modern village of Ingnoda, in Western Mālwa. Agāviyak no longer exists. About seven miles from Ingnoda there are to be seen on the banks of the Kshiprā the ruins of a Śaiva temple of large dimensions. I think this must have been the temple of Gṛhādēvara named in the grant.

As Bhoja is not mentioned by any foreign writer, it was impossible, until very lately, to ascertain with any near approach to the time at which he lived. Dr. Bühler says:—"The date

"These lines are wrought into the Bhoja-pradānaka. An earlier work in which they occur is the *Śārngadhara-paddhati*, written in A. D. 1343. There they appear as an anonymous extract."—*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXXI. pp. 203-3.—Ed.

"Dr. Hall thinks Abichchhatra may not have been far from the Vindhya, and Wilson supposed there were several places of the name. The former adds:—

"Many is the pious Marhāt who never submits himself to the hands of his barber without repeating these lines:

आनतोऽहिच्छत्रः पाटलिपुत्रादितिदिनिः शेषः ।

कैरे मयादेवां देवा नयन्ति निःशेषाः ॥

"By the recollection, on shaving, of Anarta, Abichchhatra, Pataliputra, Aditi, Diti, and Śrin, the evils incident to the operation are all obviated."—Ed.







of Bhoja is, unfortunately, not yet satisfactorily ascertained. Lassen places his reign between 997 and 1053. But the only certain date in his reign is the year 1043, in which his *karana*, the *Rājapriyāṅka*, is dated. My reasons for placing him later are, firstly, that Bilhaga states that during Bhoja's reign, Somāśvata I (1040-1069) took Dhāra by storm, and secondly that Kalhaga asserts (*Rājatarangini* vii. 259) that Bhoja and Kahliti Rāja or Kahliti Pati were, after 1062, the only true friends of the poets, &c.

Now the date of our inscription is Śaṁvat 1073, Chaitra Śudi Chaturdaśi, i.e. A.D. 1022, and it is evident that the *Rājapriyāṅka* was written nearly twenty-two years after the date of the present grant, which, there is reason to suppose, was drawn after Bhoja had attained undisputed authority in the state. Let us now suppose that this happened in his eighteenth year, according to the provision of the Hindu Law in such cases. But we have further aid; for the Jain poet Amitagati, in his work called the *Subhāshitaratnāvalī*, says that he composed it in the Śaṁvat year 1050 (994 A.D.), when Rāja Munja was reigning. We know also that when Sindhu Rāja, the father of Bhoja, died, the latter was a minor of some eight years only. If we take now the year 994 A.D. as the first of Munja's regency, which it is generally be-

lieved was a very short one, and deduct eight years from it, we get the year 986 as that of Bhoja's birth, and again if we add eighteen years to this time we get the year 1004 as that of Bhoja's accession to the throne. Add about fifty-five years to this—Bhoja is said to have reigned 55 years and some months\*—and we get the year 1059 as that of Bhoja's death,—surely within a few years of the real date. There remain now about 19 years, in which we must place part at least of Vākpati's reign, and the whole of Śindhu Rāja's.

The two inscriptions taken together give the following line of kings:—

1. Krishṇa Rāja Deva.

2. Vaṛa Siṅha Deva.

3. Śiṅga Deva.

4. Vākpati Rāja Deva.

5. Sindhu Rāja Deva.

6. Bhoja Deva.

I do not know much about the kings mentioned in the third inscription. Malwa, at and before the time of the Muhammadan invasion, was split into a number of small kingdoms, and the kings in this grant may be some of them.

### L.—Vākpati's Inscription.

#### 1st Plate.

ॐ वाः स्तूयन्तं कर्णभृद्विषयनलमिलदूयपभाः शैलसम्भूदानन्दशङ्काङ्कोटिघटिता वाः शै-  
 २ क्तिकेयोपमाः ॥ याश्च चरित्रिजाकर्मललुलिताः कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठोरकण्ठरुचयः  
 ३ श्रेयान्ति पुष्पान्नुवः ॥ यत्तद्वर्मावदेन्दुना न तुलितं यथाऽऽर्द्रितम्भारिषेर्बोरा यम् निजेन नाभितर-  
 ४ सीपयेन शान्तिद्वस्तं । यच्चैषाहिफणासहस्रमधुरश्चासौर्भ चाऽऽश्वसितं तद्वायानिरहातुरं गुरुरिषोर्भै-  
 ५ लहपुः पातु वः ॥ परममहाराजकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकृष्णराजदेवपादानुष्यातपरमम-  
 ६ हाराजकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीवैरिक्तदेवपादानुष्यातपरममहाराजक महाराजाधिरा-  
 ७ जपरमेश्वर श्रीसीयकदेवपादानुष्यातपरममहाराजकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविदयो-  
 ८ घवर्धदेवपाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमहास्वतिराजदेवश्रीवत्सलमश्रीवत्सलमनन्ददेव कुशली ॥ श्रीन-  
 ९ र्मदातटे गर्भपानीययोगे गर्भपानीपत्तयदिनी† उत्तरस्यां दिशि विष्णुरिकानाम्ना तद्वारे स-  
 १० मुपगतान्तमस्तराजपुस्तकान्नाम्नोन्नतिरातिपट्टकिलनपदादीभ्य नोध्ययस्तु वः स-  
 ११ निदिशे । यथा तद्वारेऽयमस्माभिराघाटाः पूर्वस्यां दिशि । अगारवाहला मर्यादा । तयो उत्तरस्यां  
 १२ दिशि त्रिल्लिकालसङ्कर्तायाममायता सा मर्यादा । तथा पश्चिमदिशौ ‡ गर्भनदी मर्यादा । त-  
 १३ वा दक्षिणस्यां दिशौ श्रीपिताधेवनातिपमर्यादा । एवं चतुराघाटोपलक्षिताभिरकवृक्षाता-

\* ५५ years, 7 months, and 3 days.

† Read सम्पत्तिः.

‡ Read वीधयति । अन्तु वः

§ Read दिशि.

- 14 शलिकसम्पत्तरेस्मिन् भाद्रपदशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां पवित्रकर्मवर्षि श्रीमदुज्जयनीसमावासेतैः  
 15 शिवतडागाम्भसि स्नात्वा चराचरगुणं भगवन्त भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसारस्याऽसारतां दृष्ट्वा।  
 16 वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरे विषयोपभोगः प्राणास्तृणामजलवि-  
 17 न्द्रुतमा नगणां धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोकपति ॥ धर्मसंसारचक्रमधाराधाराभिमां त्रियं  
 18 प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं ॥ इति जगतो विनश्वरं स-  
 2nd Plate.  
 19 कलमिदमाकलयोपरिलिखिततडारः स्वमीमातृणकाष्टयुतिगोचरपर्यन्तः स-  
 20 वृक्षमालाकुलः सतिरप्यभागभोगः तोपरिकरः सर्वदायसमेतः अहिच्छन्नविमर्गताय धा-  
 21 मदधिपप्रपन्नाय गानविज्ञानसंपन्नाय श्रीमद्वन्तन्ताचार्याय श्रीपतिरूपण्डितमूनवे ॥  
 22 मातापित्रोरानमनश्च पुण्यपशोभिवृद्धये अट्टफलमङ्गीकृत्याचंद्राकर्षणवक्षितिसमकालं पर-  
 23 या भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वकं प्रतिपादित इति मन्वा नमिवागितमपदैर्घ्यादीयमानभासभो-  
 24 गकरहिरण्यादिकं सर्वमाज्ञानवर्णविषेभूता सर्वदास्मै समुपनेतव्यं । साम्राज्यं चैतःपुण्यक-  
 25 लं बुद्ध्याऽस्मदंशैरन्यैरपिभविभोक्तृभिस्मदत्तधर्मादापोयमनुमस्तव्यः पालनीयश्च उक्तं  
 26 च । बहुभिर्जगुषा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतत्पतदाफलं । यानीह दत्तानि  
 27 पुरातनैर्देवानां धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नापु पुनराददीत।अस्म-  
 28 क्कुलकममुदारमुदाहरित्यैव दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तद्विस्तलिलमुद्दचच्चलाया दा-  
 29 नं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च । सर्वानेताभ्युपनिः पार्थिवेन्द्राभ्युपो भूयो पाचते  
 30 रामभद्रः ॥ सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुनृपाणां कालेकाले पालनीयो भवहिः । इति  
 31 कलमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां प्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च सकलमिदमुदाह-  
 32 रं च बुद्ध्या न हि पुनर्यैः परकीर्तयौ विलोप्याः ॥ इति सं २०३१ भाद्रपद  
 33 शुद्धि १४ स्वयमाज्ञादायकश्चात्र श्रीकण्ठैकः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवाक्प-  
 34 तिगण्डेयस्य ॥

*Translation of Vākpati's Inscription.*

May the resplendent beauties of the manly throat of Śrīkantha (Jahādeva), smoky in appearance from their mixing with the smoke issuing, as from the fire-like poison of the hissing snake, which, as they reach where the overhanging and shining crescent is placed on his head, may appropriately be compared to Rakhi,—beauties which are the result of frequent contact with the quivering cheeks of Gīrjā (Pārvatī), and which are mistaken for the mask applied to them,—increase your prosperity!

May the active body of the enemy of Mura (Kṛishṇa), which the face of Lakshmi could not please, which the waters of the ocean could not cool, which the fons of the lake of his own navel

॥ इति ॥

\* An inscription very like this, " naming the same kings, emanating likewise from Vākpati's pen, and dated only four years later, in A.V. 1636, has appeared in the Jour. As. Soc. Beng. for 1850, pp. 473-480. Another inscription from Nāgpur, which speaks of Vāṣṇava and of Śrīkantha,—misread Bhīṣaka,—will be found in the Jour. As. Soc. B. for 1850, vol. I. (No. 11) pp. 279-295. It has since been deciphered and translated anew by Professor Lassen, and,

was powerless to pacify, and which could not be soothed by the fragrant breath issuing from the thousand mouths of Śeṣha: that body of Kṛishṇa so hated by Lakṣmī's separation, protect you!

Happy be the great monarch, the king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Aṁg havaruṇa Deva, otherwise called the illustrious Vākpati-rāja Deva, the lord of the earth, the lord of wealth, and the lord of kings, successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Śrīyaka Deva, successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Vairasiṁha Deva, successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Kṛishṇārāja Deva! He

no doubt, with much greater fidelity than was observed by the dilettante who first published it." [Dr. F. Hall, Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. XXX, p. 197 n. The Vākpati inscription may assist in settling the date of Bhavabhuṭi of the assertion of Kālidāsa in the Raghuvamśa be true.—

"कविर्नोपतिराज्यो भवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।

जितौ ययौ यज्ञोदयो नृदृगस्तुतिवर्जितः ।

विदधाक लयुगो ॥ १ ॥ अलुताष्टु  
वृदाजालकुल ॥ २ ॥ राणमम ॥ ३ ॥ तैकिनेतायस  
अरुक्षिणपक्षायकुमविदुमसपभायश्रीमदुस्मकातायायव  
भातापित्रोराभकुलापुणयुद्धास्तिर ॥ ४ ॥ सप्तममदीतल्यचद्राक्षोत्रवद्विनिममंतोलेपुर  
याय्मक्षु ॥ ५ ॥ तपुर्वेताप्रतिपादितानुतिमतातकिवासिकवपारदोषाराभाजुतामम  
रंणरिंमंमवेमाद्राशुवणशिलयिद्वेतामवेदास्मयमुपलतवासाभाकुरितयुल्लह  
सुतुद्राध्यादशजगरुधि ॥ ६ ॥ कुरिरस्मायुवपभादालाययगुमवकुंयातकीयस्मउत  
सुवृद्धिमिरेसुवकुंराकुद्विमयगरिदिःयोश्चियमयरा ॥ ७ ॥ गसुतद बीदस्तानि  
पुरा ॥ ८ ॥ पभाधेयहृदगणिकमोलागकयुतिमाहितालवाकाभमपुंयुवराददीताय  
कुलवमवुरारमुदाददिरलोक्षदावमिरमकुंजमोरमीय ॥ ९ ॥ देस्मनिबुदुदुरवपलायद  
कंपलपरयदरंपरिपालवसमवोक्तान्कालेयाविलोक्षुयोचुयेयावेत  
ममदुगम ॥ १० ॥ यंप ॥ ११ ॥ पांकोलकोलेयातनीसादरदिगुनित  
मलदलामुपलुलोलांशियमकुविश्रामकुशुदीतिनरमंनरमिरमुदद  
तरुद्राकदिएगसंघरकीर्तियाविलोयुः ॥ १२ ॥ इति ॥ १३ ॥ निन्दायद  
॥ १४ ॥ मयभाद्रासापकशत्रुशुंरकक्षयित ॥ १५ ॥ अदध्याजोहीत  
काताभाजदवश्च ॥





८ ऊय निष्ठाभाक जीमोयः मर्गाय विनर्त्तिना ऐतृवीगिरमोले गंङ्गस्त्री जांजुरा कुनिम् ॥  
 तत्तु उवः भ्रारातः कल्याणमनिशं ऊयः कल्याणममया इमनडि इत्ये  
 पिज्ञाताः ॥ परममहारकमहाराजा विराऊपरमेश्वर श्रीमोयक एदपादा  
 लुथानपरमहद्वारकमहाराजा विराऊपरमेश्वर श्रीवान्त निराऊएव  
 पादलुथानपरमहद्वारकमहाराजा विराऊपरमेश्वर श्रीमिशुराऊएव पादलुथान  
 परमहद्वारकमहाराजा विराऊपरमेश्वर श्रीमोऊदेवः कुशल ॥ नागइदपशुमपष  
 कान्तः पाति दीराणकिअमुपगताथमगाराऊपु कषाद्धाणात्र रान्पुतिनिशमिपद्रुके  
 लेऊनपदादीशमगादिअतुमुवः गंवदिनं ॥ यथाअनाताष्टयपूठदिके सादप्रके  
 ममृहारमापासिनटनीयायामोरयातुदययनपव्व ॥ एकल्यनदे  
 लानाल्लिख्ठ ॥ श्रीमहारायामवम्बितेरम्मानिः आदानराचरेयुकेनवावे  
 ननेतानोएतित्यमन्त्रुअमारम्माभारनाइ ह्वावागाइविममभिरम्बुवविपुठ  
 मापानमात्रे मपुराविषायापमेशः प्राणाभृणाग्रऊल्लितुअमानराणावम्बि  
 ग्यापरमूदएनलिके द्याने ॥ अमअमारचक्राग्रवराअमिमाशियां प्राष्टायन  
 रदुस्त्रिषापशात्रायः परएले ॥ अतिऊगत्तुविनशुभेस्वके पुगाकेल्योपरि  
 लिखितनगामः श्रीमान् एगाररद्विनियधनेन श्री दिनेरएभोगला  
 मुरुस्त्रीयशोमोऊरेयम्



orders all the Government officers, Brāhmanas and others, *peśis*, and inhabitants, and cultivators assembled in the *Tadār* by name *Pip-parikā*, situate on the banks of the holy *Narmadā*, to the north of the portion of waters called the *Gardābhāpāni*, that it be known to them that the said *Tadār* (?), which is bounded on the east by the *Agārvāhalā*, and on the north by the rivulet which flows into the ditch belonging to *Cbikhillikā*, and on the west by the *Gardābhā* river, and on the south by the *Pisāohatīrtha*—the *Tadār* whose boundaries on the four sides have thus been described—the king being at *Ujjain* on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Bhādrapada*, the auspicious day of the *Pavitrak* *Parrāpi* of the *Saṃvat* year 1031, after bathing himself in the waters of the *Śiva* lake and worshipping the lord of every living as well as lifeless thing, the lord and husband of *Bhavanī*, and considering on the vanity of the world—

“The dominion of the earth is as shifting as the tempest clouds,” &c.†

“The life of man is like a drop of water,” &c.†

“Wealth is changing like the edge of the circumference of a revolving wheel,” &c.†

—being thus convinced of the vanity of all created things, and choosing to abide by the unforeseen rewards for meritorious deeds, bent on furthering the merits of his mother and father

as well as of himself, with singleness of heart and the ceremony of pouring water (on the palms of the hands of the grantee) does hereby give away the above-mentioned *Tadār*, with all its proper boundaries, which extend as far as the ground for the tending of the cattle and for cutting grass and fuel extends, covering the space of one *kaś*,—with all the rows of trees thereon and the minerals therein, with all the gold, the land revenue, and the servitude and sundry other revenues or fines, and with all sorts of rights belonging to it,—to the very learned Brāhman philosopher the illustrious *Vasantāchārya*, son of *Dhanika* *Paṇḍit*, who has emigrated from *Ahichohātra* into this southern realm,—as long as the sun and moon, the earth and the seas endure.

Knowing this, they are henceforth to give to this Brāhman, in obedience to the royal order, all established rents, servitudes, taxes, and the gold.

“Considering that the merit,” &c.†

“This earth has been enjoyed by many princes,” &c.†

“Of wealth, which is as transitory as a bubble of water,” &c.†

“To all future kings of this earth,” &c.†

“Looking upon wealth,” &c.†

Dated 1031 *Bhādrapada Śudi Chaturdasi* 14. This order has been given by *Śri Kāṇha-pāika*. This is the signature in *Vākpati-rāja* *Dava*'s own handwriting.

## II.—*Bhoja's Inscription.*

### Plate I.

- 1 जयति व्योमकेशोसौ यः सर्गाय निर्भर्त्ति तां । ऐन्दवीं शिरसा लेखां जगदीजांकुराकृतिम् ॥
- 2 तन्वन्तु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिष्टं जटाः कल्यान्तसमयोद्दामतद्विलय-
- 3 विमूलाः ॥ परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री सीयकदेव पादा-
- 4 नुष्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीविष्णुतिराजदेव-
- 5 पादानुष्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीसिन्धुराजदेवपादानुष्यात-
- 6 परम भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीभोजदेवः कुशली ॥ नागद्वय पश्चिम पय-
- 7 कान्तः पाति गीराणके समुपगतान्समस्तानपुष्पान्नाहणोनरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकि-
- 8 ल जनपदादीन्समादिससस्तु वः संविदितं ॥ यया अतीताष्टसप्तत्यधिकसाहसिक-
- 9 सम्बन्तरे माघासिततृतीयायाम् । रघुदेवगयनपूर्वणि कल्पित ह-
- 10 ज्ञाना लेख्ये ॥ श्रीमहाराजामवस्थितैरस्माभिः ज्ञात्वा चराचरगुहं भगव-

† Dr. Hall reads this *Tadar*.—Ed.

† The full translation of the slokas marked thus † is

given in the translation of the second inscription, where they occur again.

- 11 नन्मनानीपति समभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा । माताधविधममिदमनुधाधिपल-  
 12 मापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः प्राणस्तृणायजलनिन्दुसमा नराणां धर्मस्त-  
 13 खा परमहो परलोकपाने ॥ धमस्तन्सारचक्रायधराधाराभिमां धियं । प्राप्य येन  
 14 ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं ॥ इति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमाकलयोपरि  
 15 लिखितमासः स्वसीमातृणगोचरं वृत्तिपर्यन्तस्तद्विरूपभागभो-  
 16 स्व ह स्तो य श्री भो ज दे व स्व

## Plate II.

- 1 गः सोपरिकरः सर्वदायत्तमेतः ब्राह्मणधनपतिभट्टाय भट्टगोविन्दसुताय व-  
 2 द्वाभलापनशास्त्राय अगस्तिगोत्राय । निप्रदराय बेलबलप्रतिबद्ध श्रीवादाविनिर्गतरा-  
 3 धसुरसंग कर्णार्णवाय । मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्यपद्मोभिवृद्धये । अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य माच-  
 4 न्नाकर्ण्यवर्धितिसमकालं यावद्वरया भक्त्या शासनेनेदकपूर्वं प्रतिपादित इति मत्वा  
 5 यया दीयमानभागभोगकरारिरण्यादिक्रमाना अन्नविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं ।  
 6 सामान्यं चैतन्पुण्यफलमुपक्रमदन्तजैरन्यैरापि भावि भोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मादायो य-  
 7 मनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च । बहुभिर्जैसुधा भुक्ता रात्रिस्तगरादिभिः । पस्वपस्य यदा  
 8 भूमिस्तस्य तस्यतदा फलं ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्दैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयसस्कराणि । निर्माभ्य-  
 9 शान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाररदि रन्वैश्च  
 10 दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तावेच्छलिलनुदुदयं चलाया दानं फलपरयसम्परिपा-  
 11 लनं च ॥ सर्वानेतान्भाविनः शार्धिरिन्दाभूयो भूयो पाचते रामभद्रः  
 12 सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्गुणाणां कालेकाले पालनीयो भवहिः ॥ इति क-  
 13 मलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोला भियमनुचिष्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलभि-  
 14 दमुदाहृतं च पुनः न हि पुनरुचिः परकीर्तयो विलोप्या इति ॥ समत् १०  
 15 \*८ चैत्रशुद्धि १४ स्वयमात्मामंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ स्वरस्तोत्रं श्रीभोजदेवस्य

## Translation of Bhoja's Inscription.

Glory to the god whose hair is the sky (*Māka-deva*), and who bears on his head the horned moon, emblematic of the shoot from which sprang the world!

May the braids of the enemy of the god of love, brown like the dread lightning of the day of final dissolution, always extend the sphere of your prosperity!

Happy be the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Bhoja-deva, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Sindhurājadeva, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Vākpatirājadeva, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Siyaka-deva. He orders all the officers of Government, good Brāhmins and others, *pāṭis* and *rayats*

assembled in Vīrāpāka, situate within the limits of the division or country to the west of the Nāgadraba, that it be known to them that on the 3rd day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha of the Samvat year 1079, on Sunday when the sun began his northern journey, he being then at the glorious city of Dhār, after bathing himself and worshipping the lord of every living as well as lifeless thing, the lord and husband of Bhavāni, and considering on the vanity of the world (*as in the ślokas*):—  
 "The dominion of the earth is as shifting as the tempest-clouds that are wafted on the wind, and the enjoyments which it offers are pleasing only for a moment.

"The life of man is like a drop of water hanging on the point of a blade of grass. If one wish to go to heaven, virtue, O man, is the greatest friend in the journey!

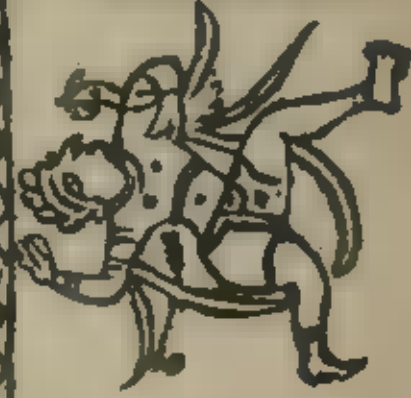
"Wealth is changing, like the edge of the cir-

† Tod read *Sindhula* on a marble inscription at Madhya-bargarh dated Sam. 1184. See *Trans. R. As. Soc.* vol. 1.

pp. 235, 236, 238; Lassen reads *Sindhurāja*, apparently from the Nāgpur copperplate: *Ind. Ant.* 111. 1169.—Ed.

भाः श्रेयसि वरः सर्वो

दायसामनः शर्मणश्च तपति बहून् । न ह गौ विदुस्तु नायव  
 हुवास्तु ता यनशावाया । सुवो सिनो नाया सि प्रव नाया । पुस्तु रभे प्रसि व हू शीवादा विनिमुनम्  
 वस्तु रभे नाक पुं टाया । मन्ता पि नो यमने गुपु न्दय म्को रिष्ठ ह । वा मु ह हू फ त म वी ट्ठ म व  
 दा क्को पुं व किं ति म म को ले षा व त्प र या स म्प्र शा र्थे न नो द कु पु ष्ठ पु ति या दित ऊ तिम बा.  
 य वा री य मान न ता य म्मे वा कु व किं र ए या हिं क मा डा म्प र ण शि वा य हू म्प म धे म्प म्प न त शा  
 मा म न्द ए त न्द ए य स न्द कु क्षे म्प ह स्म किं र न्दो र ए म्प वि ना हू किं र स्म गुर न्द म्प र्वा यो य  
 म नु म न्द गूः पा त्नी य ष्म । उ क्क र । व ह किं व ड्ठ म्प उ क्क रा ग ड्ठ मि क्क रा ग रि हिं न य शु च म्प  
 हू मि म्प म्प त्प त्प र्वा य र्वा या नी म्द ता नि पु र्वा ना र हिं दो ना नि व र्वा य स म्प र्वा गि नि म्प  
 वा नि पु ति म्प नि को ना म सा वुः पु न रा द री त । म्प म्प कु ल क्क म्प दा म्प मु दा द र हिं र नि  
 य न मि र म न्द नु ला द नी य ल क्का मि ट्ठ कु लिल वु हू रं र ता या दा नं पु ल प व य म्प सि पा  
 ल न व ॥ स वी नि ता म्प वि न्प पा वि त्प दा हू यो ह्म ए या म्प त र्वा म्प म्प डः  
 म्प मा म्प यं र्वा म्प उ क्क पा णा वा ते का ल या न नी यो म्प वि न्प ॥ ३ ॥  
 म ल द लो व वि वु ला न्ता वि य म नु रि त्प म नु शु जी वि त र्वा म्प क ल मि  
 द ह्म दा हू र्वा व वु क्ष न त्प उ म्प र्वा ग र्वा वि त्प ॥ ३ ॥  
 १ परे च्छुरि १४ सु य ग्वा द्वा म्प न म्प म्प ॥ ॥ म्प म्प य शी मो ह रे व ण







cumference of the revolving wheel of worldly life. Repentance, therefore, will be the sole reward of those who obtaining wealth will not bestow it in works of charity."

And being thus convinced of the vanity of created things, and choosing to abide by the unforeseen rewards for meritorious deeds, bent on furthering the glory and merits of his mother and father as well as of himself, with singleness of heart and the ceremony of pouring water (on the hands of the grantees), by this writ of the ploughs<sup>1</sup> of land to be given (in charity), he (the king) grants away, as long as the sun and moon, the earth and the seas endure, the above-mentioned village, with all its proper boundaries, which extend over the space of one kos, as far as the ground for tending cattle, with all the gold, the land revenue, and the servitude and sundry other revenues or fines, and with all sorts of rights thereof, to Dhana-pati Bhattacha, son of Govinda Bhattacha, a Rigvedi Brāhman of the *Āvalāyana śākhā*, of the *Agastiputra* and *tripravara*, who, being an inhabitant of *Kādhā Surasanga Karkāta*, has come from *Śrīvāṇa*, situate in *Vellu Valla*. Knowing this, they are henceforth to give to this Brāhman, in obedience to the royal will, all established rents, taxes, and cash.

Considering that the merit of this charitable deed belongs to them in common with him, all succeeding kings, whether of his family or of any other, ought to acquiesce in this his charitable grant and uphold it; for it is said:—

"This earth has been enjoyed by many

princes, Sagara and others, and the merit (of charitable grants) has successively belonged to those who, for the time being, were possessed of sovereign power over her. Things given away in charity by former kings with aims of philanthropy and renown are likened to rejected things and to vomitings, and what good man would again restore them?"

"This charity of ours should be acquiesced in alike by those who will glory in the nobility of our family, and by those who may be strangers to us.

"Of wealth, which is as fleeting as a flash of lightning or a bubble of water, there are two good fruits or uses, and only two: one in its employment in charities, and the other is the maintenance thereby of other men's fame.

"To all future kings of this earth does the *Śrī Rāmanandya* entreat again and again that as the bridge of charity is a common boon, which benefits all kings in their times alike, it should in successive times be maintained intact by them all."

Therefore, looking upon wealth as if it were a drop of water on the petal of a lotus-flower, and upon life as quite uncertain, and thinking on all that I have said, a man should never try to undo what others have done to commemorate their names.

Dated in the *Namrat* year 1078, *Chaitra* Suddhi 14 *Chaturdaśī*, *Svayamājyā* *Masāgam* *Mahāśrā*.

(Witness) this signature in *Bhoja Deva's* own handwriting.

### III.—Inscription at *Ingnoda*.

- <sup>1</sup> छ ॥ ॐ नमः । संवत्सरशतेवेकादशसु नवत्यधिकेयु भाषादशुष्यैकादश्या संवत् ११९० भासा-  
दशुदि ११ मदीह इग-
- <sup>2</sup> णपदे समस्तराजावलीविरागितभर्तृपदाभिदानमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवृषीपालपादानुभ्यातपरमभृ-  
रकम-
- <sup>3</sup> हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविष्णुपालदेवपादानुभ्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविजयपालदेवेन भगवंतं  
भ-
- <sup>4</sup> शानीपति समभ्यर्थ्य संसारस्यासारतां विद्विष्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययज्ञोभिवृद्धये आत्मीयामात्मन-  
त्रिपुरोहित
- <sup>5</sup> छटिकाभितसमस्तपरिवारसंविदितं भवत्यनन्यपुरिकानाक्षयः इदंस्वामिः । सोमदेवगदेलाक तथा महां
- <sup>6</sup> कोकलः तथा राधादूक तथा श्रेः लाला तथाश्रेः\* सादा तथा श्रेः लवमणादिप्रभृतिसमस्तमहाजनम-  
सक्षम् । आ-

<sup>1</sup> A plough of land in Malwā is equal to a piece of ground one can till with one pair of bullocks. *Drona* is

another measure of land mentioned in old grants.

\* श्रे- may be short for श्रेष्ठ (modern श्रेष्ठ).

- १ श्राद्धशुक्लपक्षेकादश्यां पञ्चमिणि इगणपटदक्षिणपथके श्रीगोहर्षभरदेवाय आगासिपकग्रामं स्वसीमाप-  
 २ र्यतं सवृक्षमालाकुलं सक्राष्टतृणैर्धनोपेतं सहिरण्यभागभोगकरदानीतमेतं उदकपूर्वकलेनग्रामाय प्र-  
 ३ दत्तां तथैतन्निवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादिलोकैराजाभिधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वमस्मै देवाय प्रदातव्यं ॥ अन्यैश्च भवि-  
 ४ भूपालैः पालनीया कालकालांतरेणपि केनापि परिपथा न कार्या ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रदेवानानि  
 ५ धर्मार्थयज्ञ-  
 ६ स्कराणि । निर्माल्यवत्तानि च भानितानि कौ नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ बहुभिर्बसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः  
 ७ सगरादिभिः । यस्य-  
 ८ यस्य यदाभूमी तस्य तस्य तदा कलं ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि दौरेवे  
 ९ नरके वसे-  
 १० त् ॥ वाताध्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपस्य आपातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः ॥ प्राणास्तृणायजलविदुसमा  
 ११ नराणां धर्मः  
 १२ सखा परमहो परलोकयाते ॥ बालभान्वयकायस्यराजपालस्यसूनुना ॥ आसाधरसुतेनेयं केन्द्रेणेन-  
 १३ तलेक्षितां  
 १४ कुकासस्मान्पयगुवधामहाबलस्य सूनुना हरसेणसुतसाजणेन लेखितं ॥

*Translation of the 3rd Inscription.*

Adoration to Śiva. On the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha of the Śaṁvat year 1180, here in Inganapat, by me the king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Vijayapāladava, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Tihunapāladava, the successor of the prosperous PritHAVIPāladava, who shone resplendent among the row of the kings, and who possessed the titles of the lord, king of kings and lord paramount: (By me) after worshipping the lord and husband of Bhavānī, and meditating on the vanity of the world—in order to increase the merit and fame of my mother and father as well as of myself, in the presence of all my councillors, the family priest, and the astrologer, and all other dependants, and of the Brāhman Iśa Svāmī Śādalāk, resident of the Brāhmapuri street of this place, and of Mahākokaḥ, and Rādīśādoka, and Śrī Lālā, and Śrī Sadbā, and Śrī Lakṣmīpā, and others of the merchants, on the propitious 11th day of Āṣāḍha, is given, with the ceremony of pouring water, the village of Agāniyaka as far as

its own boundaries extend, with all the trees, shrubs, and riches contained therein, as well as all the rents and servitude, taxes and titles, to the god Gobadeśvara, situate within the division or country to the south of Inganapat.

In virtue of this, the *pāṣāḍa* and cultivators of the village should, in deference to the king's order, henceforth pay all this to the above-mentioned god.

Things granted in charity by former kings, &c. &c.

This earth has been enjoyed by many princes, &c. &c.

He who resumes land given (in charity) either by himself or by anybody else, lives a worm in the hell called Raurava for sixty thousand years.

The dominion of the earth is as shifting as a tempest-cloud, &c.

This has been written by Āṣāḍhara, son of Kelaṣa, son of Rājapāla, a Kāyastha of the family of Valabha.

This is engraved by Sogana, son of Harsena, son of the artisan Mahābal, of the family of Kukāṣa.†

† The last two paragraphs are unintelligible as they stand in the original; the translation is merely a guess at what the writer and engraver may have meant. This inscription, again, it will be observed, is interspersed with glaring

grammatical mistakes, which, however, may easily be corrected. The transliteration given, however, is a faithful copy of the original,—of which a reduced facsimile is given in the accompanying plate.

८०॥ ईति मन्त्रं विधाया सवसरात्तेषु कथयन्तु नववर्षा विदेकुधा वा षष्ठं कृत्वा तदेकदशं ॥ ८० ॥ आयादुर्ध्वं राशेष्टद्वयं  
एवमेव सप्तमं राज्ञा वनी विराजितं रुद्धं पद्मं निरुज्जमत्सरा ज्ञा विराजन्तं प्रथमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
स्वनाम्ना विराजन्तं पुष्पं निरुज्जमत्सरा ज्ञा विराजन्तं प्रथमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
वा नीयति सप्तमं पुष्पं सप्तमं पुष्पं विद्यमानं पादौ दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
स्वनि का विराजन्तं सप्तमं पुष्पं विदिनं अत्र दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
कीदृशं लङ्घनं दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं विदिनं अत्र दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
धा षष्ठं पुष्पं दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं विदिनं अत्र दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
येनं सप्तमं पुष्पं दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं विदिनं अत्र दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं विदिनं अत्र दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
अथा निरुज्जमत्सरा ज्ञा विराजन्तं पुष्पं निरुज्जमत्सरा ज्ञा विराजन्तं प्रथमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
०॥ सुखाणि निरुज्जमत्सरा ज्ञा विराजन्तं पुष्पं निरुज्जमत्सरा ज्ञा विराजन्तं प्रथमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
अथा सप्तमं पुष्पं दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं विदिनं अत्र दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
न ॥ वातावधिं च मन्त्रं दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं विदिनं अत्र दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
सप्तमं पुष्पं दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं विदिनं अत्र दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं  
कुक्कुटं दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं विदिनं अत्र दद्यात् सप्तमं पुष्पं पल्लवं ववाच्यं ध्यात्वा परमं दद्यात् वनीं





## NOTES ON GUPTA COINS.

BY THE HONOURABLE SIR E. C. BAYLEY, K.C.S.I.

SINCE the publication of Mr. Thomas's latest paper on the dynasty of the Guptas\* I have become possessed, through the kindness of Dr. Bühler, of three coins which tend to elucidate some of the points left doubtful by Mr. Thomas.

The first of these coins is a duplicate of that in the late Mr. Freeling's cabinet,† which Mr. Thomas attributes, though doubtfully, to "Śrī Gupta."

The rough execution of that coin allying it with those of the latest Guptas renders it, as Mr. Thomas points out, *a priori* unlikely that the coin could have been struck by the founder of the Gupta dynasty; but if the reading were correct it might still be attributed to a later king of the same name.

My coin, however, is in considerably better preservation, and though, unfortunately, the actual name of the king by whom it was struck is not legible, yet the rest of the inscription leaves little doubt that his name was not Śrī Gupta.

The words "Śrī Gupta" undoubtedly occur, but in the beginning of the legend; and though the letters which follow them are, unfortunately, too rudely cut to be legible, still there can be small doubt that the entire word is merely some epithet applied to the king, referring to the Gupta race. The legend reads as follows:—

ॐ श्रीगुप्त रजः विक्रमांकस्य

or Śrī Gupta rā - - - - - Gupta vikramāṅkasya.

My own impression is that the blank for the fifth word in the above legend should be filled up with the word *Ku m ā r a*, but I cannot pretend to make any suggestion as to the emendation of the third word.

The next coin is only curious as being allied to the above, for it is undoubtedly one of "Chandra Gupta," and in all probability of Chandra Gupta II.

Both coins have the same style of head on the obverse (unfortunately no dates), and the

symbol which Mr. Thomas terms the Pārvatī symbol on the reverse.

I give the legend on the reverse:—

ॐ श्रीगुप्त रजः विक्रमांकस्य

Of the above twenty-two letters, twelve, forming the latter half of the legend, are quite distinct, viz.

Rāja Śrī Chandra Gupta Vikramāṅkasya.

The three first letters seem to be the same as those at the commencement of the legend on the coin already described, viz. Śrī Gupta; and the letters 4, 5, 7, and perhaps 8, seem (interrupted by a star) to form the conclusion of the word thus commenced. The 9th and 10th letters are not clear, and may be *da*, *va*,—*deva Rāja*—being an epithet assumed by Chandra Gupta II.; but while the ninth letter seems preferably to read *ja*, the tenth may be *dhi*.

The entire legend would therefore read—

Śrī Gupta - - - - - rā-ja-dhīrāja Śrī Chandra-

-deva

Gupta-vikramāṅkasya.

I believe the epithet *Vikramāṅkasya* is new to Indian numismatics,—at least I can recall no other example of it.

These two coins have, however, rather a purely numismatic than an historic interest. The third coin is of value historically, for it gives the date of a king hitherto unplaced in the Gupta dynasty, viz. Bakra Gupta.

I do not give any description of this coin: for, save in the points noticed below, it is exactly the same as that figured by Mr. Thomas in his paper already quoted as No. XII.\* (*Archæol. Rep.* p. 63).

The only points of difference are that the letter *B* is more clearly *B* on my coin,—squared, that is, than in Mr. Thomas's figure, or  $\square$ ; and secondly the obverse is that of the coin No. X.\* of Mr. Thomas's paper: it bears a date, that is to say, behind the head (as in the Kshatrapa coins)  $\mathbf{\Lambda}$   $\mathbf{\Lambda}$  = *v{arsha}* § 90. The date on both the

\* In the *Report on the Antiquities of Kāśī*, and Kochā of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, pp. 18 ff., also printed separately (Trübner & Co.).

† Save that it does show the group of stars on the reverse, which Mr. Freeling's coin, apparently, bore.

I am indebted for this suggestion to General Cunningham.

§ It will be seen that I read the "v{arsha}" symbol prefixed to the date as *va* for *varshā*. I do this on the authority of an unpublished late Kshatrapa coin (also given me by Dr. Bühler); on it is clearly  $\mathbf{\Lambda}$   $\mathbf{\Lambda}$  (*v{arsha}*) 300. See also the *prathama* of *Ivradatta*'s coins.

known coins of Toramāṇa (to the style of which this coin closely approximates) is "82";|| in neither case is there any figure to represent the century.

The inference which I think may be first drawn from the fact is that, supposing both kings to use the same era, Bakra Gupta (I imagine *Bakra* to be a local barbarism for *Vakra*) was eight years later in date to Toramāṇa, and secondly that both were included in the series of later Gupta kings.

As to the era of the date, Mr. Thomas has suggested that it may be applied (1) to the Gupta family era; (2) to the era adopted by the Kshatrapa kings, as for a time used by the Guptas; and (3) to the Seleucid era (so I understand), omitting the cipher for hundreds. I venture to suggest a fourth, viz. the "Loka Kāl," as to which General Cunningham and Dr. Bühler have recently written, and in applying which the century is never mentioned. Accepting the Gupta era, the date cannot be less than 190 of that era, for Chandra Gupta II. is of the year 90, and this coin is of far later date and execution. If the Gupta era be taken as the equivalent of the Śaka era,† this would place Bakra Gupta in 268 A.D.

If it be taken as representing the (2)90th year of the Kshatrapa dynasty, and that be the equivalent of the Vikramāditya era,\* then the date would be 233 A.D.

If the Seleucid era be adopted, the date would be (the fifth century of the Seleucid era being taken) 278 A.D.

Again, if the *Loka Kāl* be taken, and supposing the century to be that beginning in 214 A.D. (it could scarcely be earlier with reference to the date of Chandra Gupta II.), then the date of Bakra Gupta would fall as low as 314 A.D., and Toramāṇa would be brought down to 306 A.D.

I proceed to consider which of these dates seems the most probable.

|| Mr. Thomas thinks that the year of the century is obliterated. I confess that on the British Museum coin, which I have closely examined, I see no trace of any century date; this point is of little importance, however, as will be subsequently apparent.

† This is a disputed point: Ashirāṇ (if we can trust at all to his text) states that the Gupta era began in Śaka 261 (or A.D. 319); and this is supported by inscriptions quoted by Col. Tod. If this can be depended on, Bakra Gupta

As to the first, if the Kshatrapa era is to be taken as equivalent to that of Vikramāditya, and the Gupta era as that of the Śakas, or if ever they respectively approximated, then Bakra Gupta would be brought in before Buddha Gupta, whose dates of 155 and 165 of the Gupta era are equal to 234 and 244 A.D. on the theory that they are Śaka dates. The style of Bakra Gupta coins hardly warrants this supposition, though it is not impossible.

The other three dates appear preferable; the Seleucid era if applied to Toramāṇa's coin also would place that king in 270 A.D.—about twenty-six years later than Buddha Gupta; the Gupta era would place Buddha Gupta, Toramāṇa, and Bakra Gupta in closer contact still; while the *Loka Kāl* would doubtless bring down the last named two kings 54 and 64 years respectively later than Buddha Gupta.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the Gupta era is that to be preferred. It is clear from the two Kuru inscriptions that the kings Buddha Gupta and Toramāṇa both were reigning during the life of one and the same man, Dhanya Viśṇu, and that the latter was a man of some position and wealth under the earlier king. It is, of course, far from impossible that Dhanya Viśṇu may have been young when he caused one monument to be erected, and very old when the other was executed. If he lived even to, say, eighty years of age, even sixty years may well have elapsed between the execution of the two monuments, i.e. the later years of Buddha Gupta and the earlier of Toramāṇa. Still the shorter interval is certainly the more probable one, and I am therefore inclined to think, with Mr. Thomas, that Toramāṇa should be placed in 260-61 A.D., and Bakra Gupta I would accordingly place in 268-69,—adopting, that is, the Gupta family era as that of both coins, and assuming that to be identical with the Śaka era.

may have ruled in 190 + 319 = 509 A.D., and he or his predecessor may have been the Chinese Kio-to or 'Gupta' king who sent an embassy to China in A.D. 602.—Conf. *Jour. Asiatic Soc.*, IV no. 4, ser. tom. X. pp. 91, 100; *Ind. Archæol. Rep.* et sup. pp. 28, 80, 131.—Ed.

\* This assumption is opposed to Prof. Bhāskār's opinion in *Trans. Orient. Congress*, 1874, who regards the Śaka era as that from which the Kshatrapas dated.—Ed.

## A NEW GRANT OF GOVINDA III., RĀTHOR.

BY G. BÜHLER.

In June last Major J. W. Watson, then Acting Political Agent, Ravākūṣhā, informed me that, while acting in 1873-4 as Political Agent of Pahlampur, he had been shown by the Kārbbhāri of Kādhanpur two copperplates the writing of which resembled very closely that of the Morbi plate published by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar in the *Indian Antiquary*. I at once addressed Colonel Shortt, the present Political Agent, Pahlampur, on the subject, and solicited his good offices with the Kādhanpur Darbār for a loan of the plates seen by Major Watson. Colonel Shortt very kindly acquainted the Nawāb with my request, and procured for me four plates, after a troublesome hunt for the half-forgotten grants. On examining them I found that two of them contain three-fourths of a land-grant issued by Govinda III., Rāthor; while the other two belong to Bhīmādēva I., Chālukya, of Aṇḍhīrā-Pāṭhan. The latter will be published in my paper on the land-grants of the Aṇḍhīrā Chālukyas. The former are so important that they deserve a separate article.

The two plates measure each 12 inches by 10, and have one hole in the middle of the left-hand side, in which the seal-ring was fixed. The latter has been lost, as well as the third sheet. For this grant, like other ancient Rāthor *śāsanas*, was written on three plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on the inner sides only, while the centre one bears letters on both sides.\* The loss is of small importance, as the last plate contained only the well-known verses from the Smṛiti on the subject of gifts of land. The letters of our grant are ancient Devanāgarī, exactly resembling those of the Sāmangadh plate published in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. II. p. 871. The preservation of the plates is, on the whole, good. Only in the centre of Pl. I., and in the first line of Pl. II., some letters have become indistinct,—apparently by the friction of the sheets against each other. The execution is also good. A few letters have been left out accidentally, and a moderate number of other mistakes occur. Noticable peculiarities are the employment of the *Anuvāṇa* in-

stead of final *u*, and of the vowel *ri* instead of the syllable *ri*, both of which are incorrect, but of frequent occurrence in MSS. also.

As regards its substance, the *śāśana* is for the greater part identical with the Van Dindori grant, which was discovered by L. Reid, Esq., and published by Mr. Watken in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. pp. 860 *et seq.* Both have been issued by the same prince and in the same Śaka year. As might be expected from these circumstances, their historical portions agree very closely. But it is very fortunate that the new grant contains a few more verses than the earlier one, some of which are of great importance for the history of Western India.

Govinda III. was one of the most powerful princes of that great Rāshtrakūṭa, Rāthor, or Batta family which rose to power in the Dekhan about the middle of the eighth century, and for the space of two centuries obscured and almost took the place of its older rival, the Chālukya race of Kalyāṇ. During the time of its prosperity it extended its rule not only over the Dekhan proper, but over the Kōṅkapa, a portion of Gujarāt, and Central India up to the Vindhya. Its influence, no doubt, made itself felt much further north. Its power sank again towards the close of the tenth century, when the Chālukyas, under Tailapa of Kalyāṇ and his successors, regained their ancient position. But even after that period we find Rāshtrakūṭa states at Devagiri, at Belgaṇi, &c. in the Dekhan, in Central India, and even as far north as Kānauj, some of which played a considerable part during the last period of Hindu rule, and branches of which flourish even in the present day.

We possess a considerable number of grants issued by, or referring to, this particular Rāshtrakūṭa family, which, according to their dates, may be arranged in the following order:—

1. The Sāmangadh plates of Śaka 675.†
2. The Van Dindori plates of Śaka 730.‡
3. The Kādhanpur plates dated Śaka 730.§
4. The Baroda plates dated Śaka 734.||
5. The Kāv plates dated Śaka 740.¶

§ i.e. those now under review.

|| *Jour. R. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VIII. p. 295.

¶ *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 144.

\* Compare the description of the Kāri grant, *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 144.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. II. pp. 871 *et seq.*

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 350.

6. The Sangli plates dated Śaka 835.\*
7. The Salotgi inscription dated Śaka 867.†
8. The Kardā plates dated Śaka 894.‡
9. The Khāropāṭa plates dated Śaka 930.§

But, in spite of these considerable materials, the history of this family has not been made out satisfactorily,—partly because the first discovered grants have been badly read, and partly because the last discovered ones give fuller information than those accessible to H. H. Wilson, Lassen, Bāl Gangādhara, and S. P. Pandit. Other circumstances, too, have contributed to obscure the real state of things. The first point is the evil habit of the Rāshtrakūṭas (which, indeed, may be observed in the case of many other Indian dynasties||) of taking a large number of *birudas*, or honorific titles; and of their poets, who composed the historical portions of the grants, of using these names indiscriminately, or even of substituting synonyms for them.

The second cause of confusion is the still more reprehensible practice of some writers of the *śāśanas* of leaving out in the *śāśanāḥ* any princes whom they considered unworthy of notice. Well-authenticated instances of this kind are afforded by the Valabhi grants, most of which omit the four sons of Bhaṭārka; by the grants of the Chālukyas of Aṇḍavāḍ, several of which pass in silence by the name of Valabhaśena, who reigned for a few months only; and by the *śāśanas* of the ancient Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.

Instead of simply giving an analysis of the Rāshtrapur plates, I shall now attempt to reconstruct a portion of the pedigree and of the history of the Dekhan Rāshtrakūṭas from the above nine grants. I do not pretend to trace all Rāshtrakūṭas back to their origin, nor even to give the history of all the kings named in the nine grants. The historical documents which are accessible at present are in my opinion insufficient to decide whether the Rāshtrakūṭas were an Āryan Kshatriya, i.e. Rājput race, which immigrated into the Dekhan from the north like the Chālukyas, or a Dravidian family which was received into the Āryan community after the conquest of the

Dekhan. It is, further, as yet impossible to determine the period when a Rāshtrakūṭa empire was first founded in the Dekhan. Only this much is clear, that Rāshtrakūṭa kings ruled over parts of the Dekhan in the fourth and fifth centuries; because the first Chālukya, Jayasimha, destroyed one Indra, the son of Kṛishṇa, who belonged to this family.¶ Nor is it feasible to determine the relation of the latest Rāshtrakūṭa dynasties, especially those of Kāñcī, from whom the present Rāthors of Jodhpur and Idār are descended, to the family of the grantors of the above *śāśanas*. The list also of the kings from Govinda I. to Kakka I., enumerated in the nine grants, offers a difficulty regarding the succession to the tenth prince, Akalavarsha, which has already exercised the ingenuity of H. H. Wilson, Bāl Gangādhara Śāstri, and S. P. Pandit. All I shall attempt is, therefore, to give an account of the first ten kings of the nine grants,—a contribution to the history of the Dekhan and the adjacent western coast during the time from 660 to 860 A.D.

The first three princes,—Govinda I., Karka I., and Indra I.,—who are noticed in grants Nos. 1, 4, and 5 only, are described in general terms. The poets, as in duty bound, extol their bravery, their justice and piety, but without stating how they distinguished themselves. Hence it may be inferred that not much was to be said about them, and especially that during their reigns the war with the Chālukyas had not yet broken out. In favour of this view the fact may be adduced that the queen of the third, Indra I., was the daughter of a Chālukya father and a Somavamsa (i.e. Yādava or Rāshtrakūṭa) mother (grant No. 1, v. 9). For, with the state of things which existed during the succeeding reigns, matrimonial alliances between the two houses would hardly have been possible. Counting backwards three generations from Śaka 676, the date of grant No. 1, and allowing twenty-five years for each generation, the year 660 A.D. may be roughly assigned to Govinda I. as the initial date of his reign, 685 A.D. to Karka I., and 710 A.D. to Indra I.

The fourth prince, Dantidurga, the son

\* Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. IV. p. 109.

† Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 206.

‡ Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. III. p. 64.

§ Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. I. p. 209.

|| A glaring instance of this practice I have noted in my introduction to the *Vikramānantaśāstrī*, where eight names of the hero are mentioned: *Vikram*, p. 50, note 2.

¶ See the Miraj plates, v. 7, Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. III. p. 259.



of Indra I. and of his Chālukya queen, was one of the great rulers of the family, and for this reason he has been considered its founder in three of the grants, Nos. 6, 8, and 9.

His own grant apparently attributes two great deeds to him,—the subjugation of a prince called Vallabhā (No. 1, v. 17), whereby he obtained the title of *Rājādhirājaparamesvara*, 'Supreme lord of kings of kings,' or 'king of kings and supreme lord,' and an easy victory over the army of Kārṇāṭa, "which was expert in defeating the lords of Kāśchī and Kerala, the Chola, the Pāṇḍya, Śrīharṣa, and Vajraṭa" (No. 1, v. 18). Possibly the two verses contain a 'ken die dyain,' and both refer to the same event, i.e., Vallabhā was the Kārṇāṭa king who was defeated. But it is perfectly certain that the Karṇāṭa army is intended for 'the Chālukya army,' since the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa are frequently called 'the lords of Karṇāṭa,'\* and since it is their constant boast in their older inscriptions that they conquered Śrīharṣa.† Grant No. 6 repeats the two verses of No. 1. Nos. 6 and 8 describe the king merely in general terms, and No. 9 contains nothing but the name. He probably did nothing more of importance, and died soon after the date of his grant. A remark which No. 4 makes about his successor, Kṛṣṇa I., proves that he did not reach old age, and probably died a violent death. All the grants which mention both Dantidurga and Kṛṣṇa I. state that the latter was the paternal uncle of the former, i.e., a brother of Indra I. Grant No. 8, v. 3, says that Dantidurga died childless. But No. 4, v. 8, affirms that Kṛṣṇa I. "destroyed his relation, who had fallen into evil ways, and became king for the good of his race;" though it does not mention Dantidurga's name, and in fact ignores him and his father altogether. Considering how anxious the court poets must have been, and in some cases can be proved to have been,‡ to disguise, or to place in the best light, the internal dissensions and revolutions in the families of their patrons, I have no hesitation in accepting as

correct this version of the manner in which Dantidurga lost his life and Kṛṣṇa succeeded to the throne. It seems to me evident that, as it has happened so frequently in the Rājput families of India, the younger branch of the family ousted the elder one.

From the last line of the grant No. 1 we learn that Dantidurga was also called Dantivarma. The name may be translated 'the whose protection elephants are,' or 'he who is like an elephant that resembles a fort or a suit of armour.' The same plate mentions two *śiṅḡas* or *gaṇa nāmas* of this prince,—*Prithavallabha* and *Kāśāgālokt* (?). The former, 'husband of the earth,' is a general title common to many kings. The reading of the latter is doubtful; the *śiṅḡa* has a nonsensical form *Kāśāgālokt*, which Bil Gangādhara has changed into *Kāśāgādhārka*.

The fifth king, Kṛṣṇa I., whose relation to his predecessor and accession to the throne have already been discussed, was likewise a ruler of great distinction. Two grants, Nos. 2 and 3, place him, for this reason, at the head of their enumeration, and must have something particular to relate respecting him. From grants Nos. 2, 3 (v. 3), and 4 (v. 3) it appears that he continued the work of Dantidurga, and further humbled the Chālukyas. No. 4, v. 10, also states that "he changed to a deer the great bear (*mahāgrīha*), who was taken with an itching for the battle, and inspired by valour flushed his bow-string."§ As the bear is the cognizance of the Chālukyas, it is probable that this verse also refers to the defeat of a Chālukya prince, not of a person called Mahāvarāha. The same grant, vv. 11-13, connects him with the hill of Elāpura, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Śiva.¶ Nos. 2 and 3 mention that he bore the *śiṅḡa* Vallabhā. His accession to the throne may be placed about 755 A.D., and, as he was the paternal uncle of his predecessor, he cannot have ruled very long. If we allow him ten years, until 765, that will be quite as much as is probable.

After him ruled successively his two sons,

\* See, e.g., Vitramādacharya, p. 38, note.

† I must add that I do not feel as certain as most of my colleagues (see, e.g., A. Burnell, *Elem. of Sa. Ind. Paleogr.*, p. 16) appear to do, that the Śrīharṣa conquered by the Chālukyas is Hira-Tharṣa and Bhaṇa's friend, Harshavardhana of Thāpura. The question requires reconsideration, as the dates will not fit, and

Śrīharṣa is, like Vikrama and Bhoga, a name common to several powerful princes.

‡ Compare my remarks on the subject.—*Vitramādacharya*, p. 37, note.

§ This translation differs from that given by Pandit Śrīnivasacharya, who, as usual, had only a very dim idea of the meaning of his text.

¶ V. 11 has been badly deciphered or is corrupt.



father had imprisoned, "from the prolonged pain of his fetters." But Gaṅga again opposed his benefactor, and had again to be reduced to obedience (No. 2, v. 12, No. 3, v. 14) and to be imprisoned.

Our grant (No. 3) describes his next exploits as follows (vv. 15-18) :—He undertook an expedition against the Gūrjara king, who fled at his approach, "as the clouds disappear on the approach of the autumnal season." Next he received the submission of the 'palisto' ruler of Mālava, who by the study of the *Nīlīdātra* had learnt to form a just estimate of his own strength. Then, on his reaching the slopes of the Vindhya hills, a king called Māraśarva hastened to offer him presents. Finally he spent the rainy season at Śrībhavana. The last three statements occur also in grant No. 2, vv. 13-15; but the first verse regarding the Gūrjara, which is of the last importance for the correct appreciation of the expedition and for the history of Gujarāt, has been left out. This one piece of information forms the connecting link between several other scraps of information regarding the history of Gujarāt. Firstly, we know from the grants of Jayabhatta dated Vikrama 486, and of Dādā II., dated Śaka 380, 384, 400, and 417, that during the fifth century A.D. Central Gujarāt was governed by a dynasty of Gūrjara kings, who had their capital at Nāḍīpura, a fort once situated to the east of Bharuch, close to the Bhado-ṭar gate. From Hiuen Tsiang we learn that farther north a Gūrjara kingdom existed in the seventh century, the capital of which was Pīḥmālo, the modern Bhīmāli, in Southern Mārrāḍ, just across the Pabliapur frontier. The grants of the Gujarāt Rāthors, Nos. 4 and 5, finally inform us that Govinda III. conquered "the realm of the ruler of Lāṭa (the region between the Mahī and the Taptī, and between the sea and the Sahyādris), and made it over to his brother Indra, some time before the year 812. If we now read in the Rādhapur grant (No. 3) that the same Govinda III. conquered or drove into flight the Gūrjara, while on the same expedition he afterwards re-

ceived the submission of the king of Mālava, and a visit from king Māraśarva on the slopes of the Vindhya, we are, I think, justified in arranging these facts in the following manner:—

Govinda III. advanced from the highlands of the Dekhan by the pass of Bānsda or by that of Dharmapur into the districts which are now called Southern Gujarāt, and which were formerly considered the northernmost part of the Kōṭkanḍa. Next he crossed the Taptī and invaded the Māla, and took this country from the Gūrjara, driving them northwards. After disposing of them, he turned his attention to Mālava. This country he may have reached, in case he did not pursue the Gūrjara as far as Bhīmāli, by the Dohad-Dhār or Harol-Rāthām routes. If he did march upon and occupy the Gūrjara capital, he had to take the Idar-Dungarpur or the Komalpur pass through the Aravalli. He must next have marched right across Mālava in order to reach the Vindhya. Probably he crossed their western portion as he returned to his Dekhan home. It is purely owing to the Rādhapur plate that we are able to give this sketch of Govinda's great expedition to the west, and that we can at last connect two hitherto detached pieces of the history of Gujarāt, the Gūrjara and the Rāthor periods.

After Govinda had passed the rainy season at Śrībhavana, he marched to the banks of the Tungabhadra (No. 2, v. 13, No. 3, v. 18) and again subdued the Pāṭālava, whom his father had conquered already, and "whose wealth was resting in his hands also." He, apparently, had to undertake an expedition against a foe who, though formerly humbled and made tributary, had again began to lift his head. Finally he ordered the lord of Vengī (No. 2, v. 16, No. 3, v. 19) into his presence, and made him assist in building or fortifying a city. Vengī is the ancient name of the eastern coast between the mouths of the Godāvari and Krishna. The tract which Govinda III. either temporarily or permanently brought under his sway extends therefore from the western to the eastern coast, and from the Mārrāḍ desert and the Vindhya in the north to beyond the Tungabhadra in the south. His dominions

[The identification of Bhīmāli with Pīḥmālo belongs to Major J. W. Watson, whose services to the history of Gujarāt I have had to acknowledge so frequently. Bhīmāli had two older names, Śrīmāla and Bhīlīmāla. The latter, as I think, is parent of the modern name on our maps, and is represented by Pīḥmālo. The Arabic Pāḥimāli represents also Bhīlīmāli. Murutunga states

that Bhoga of Dhār called Śrīmāla—Bhīlīmāli because its people allowed the poet Māgha to die in want. Several castes now met with in Gujarāt and Rājputāna call themselves, from the first form, Śrīmāli.

[I am not able to identify this place. But I feel certain that it is not 'Govindaga, in Mysore,' as Mr. Watson's informant stated.

were certainly very considerable, and he fully deserves his titles, Jagattuṅga or Jagadendra. Govinda bore, besides these two *viradas*, three others,—*Prithvivallabha*, 'the husband of the earth' (Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5); *Śrīvallabha*, 'the husband of Fortune' (No. 3); and *Prabhāta-varaha*, 'the showero of prodigions (wealth)' (Nos. 2 and 3). Both his grants are dated from *Mayūrakhaṇḍī* (No. 3), or *Mayūrakhiṇḍī* (No. 2),—no doubt the modern *Morkhaṇḍā*, a hill-fort north of *Vaṇṇ*, in the *Nāsiḥ* district. It does not seem likely to me that this place was his capital, though it may have been an occasional place of residence. For Indian princes do not usually govern their dominions from lonely forts.

Govinda's grants are both dated *Saka* 780, or 808-9 A.D., and it is probable that he did not reign much longer. For, firstly, the number of his wars which the grants mention shows that he must have reigned a good many years before they were issued. Secondly, the manner in which the grant of his nephew *Karka* (No. 4) speaks of him indicates that he was dead at the time of its issue, i.e. *Saka* 734, or A.D. 812-13.

We shall probably not go far wrong if we place the end of his reign in 810 A.D. His accession to the throne may be put about 785 A.D.

Not much is known regarding Govinda III.'s successor, his son *Amoghavarsha* (No. 6, v. 2, No. 8, v. 2, No. 9, v. 3). We do not even know his real name. For *Amoghavarsha*, 'he who showers not in vain,' is nothing but a *virūḍa*. But the one fact which No. 8 mentions, viz. that his capital was at *Mānyakhota*\*, the modern *Mālkhoḍ*, in the *Nizām's* territory, is of great importance. For it permits the identification of the *Dekhaṇī Rāthor* with the *Balharā*s of the *Mohammedan* geographers of the tenth century. This identification has already been proposed by Dr. *Bhāṇu Dīkṣī*, who correctly perceived that *Tod's* wild guess about the *Bāl-kā-rāi*, 'or *Valabhi-rāja*,' and *Reinard's* identification with *Mālvavarāja*, could not stand. The arguments in favour of Dr. *Bhāṇu Dīkṣī's* view are as follows:—Both *Ibn Khordādhbeh*

and *Masūdī* allege that *Balharā* meant 'king of kings,' and was a title which all kings of the dynasty bore. The corresponding Sanskrit word can only have been *Bhāṭṭāraka*, which means 'lord,' or 'supreme ruler.' Now, as grants Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, and 8 show, all the kings of the *Rāthor* dynasty affected the title *para-m-bhāṭṭāraka*, 'supreme lord.' Secondly, the capital of the *Balharā* is stated to have been *Mānkīr*. This word resembles *Mānyakhota*, the name of the capital of *Amoghavarsha* and of his successors,§ very closely, and it is absolutely identical with the *Prakrit* form *Mānkheḍ* or *Mānkhar*, which must have preceded the modern form *Mālkhoḍ*. The identity of the two towns is farther proved by the statement that *Mānkīr* was the great centre of India, and situated 80 *śarsaṅga*, or 640 miles, from the sea. A glance at the map will show that *Mālkheḍ* lies almost exactly in the middle, between the western and eastern seas. Its distance from the western coast is, as the crow flies, about 350 miles. But if we assume that *Masūdī* thought not of the straight line from the western sea, but of the distance from one of the northern ports to which the *Mohammedans* chiefly traded, say *Kambay* or *Bharoch*, his estimate of the distance is correct. There is another point in his notes on the town which may be used to support this identification. He says that the language spoken at *Mānkīr* is 'the *Kīriya*, called so after the country *Kīra*.' The word *kīra*, it is true, is not easily explained. For in Sanskrit *kīra* means 'a parrot,' and its plural is a name of the *Kāśmīrians*. But with a (for the Arabic alphabet) very slight change of the diacritical points we may read *Kanara*, i.e. *Kānaḍa* = *Karṇāṭa*, for *Kīra*, i.e. *कर्णा* for *कर्ण*; and this emendation exactly fits *Mālkheḍ*, which lies just on the border of the *Kanar*-speaking country.|| A third argument for the identity of the *Rāthor* with the *Balharā*s of *Mānkīr* is the circumstance that while the *Mohammedan* writers of the ninth and tenth centuries state that the great prince of India, the *Balharā*, resides at *Mānkīr*, *Al Idrisi* in the twelfth century asserts that *Nahrwalla* was his seat.

\* This, not *Mānyakhota*, is the correct form of the name: see *S. P. Pundit, Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 206, and the facsimile of grant No. 6.

† *Elliot, The History of India by its own Historians*, vol. I. p. 13.

‡ *Elliot: ibid.* 19-24.

§ *Mānyakhota* is also named as the seat of the king in grants Nos. 6, 7, and 8.

|| See *Caldwell, Comp. Gram. Drav. Lang.* p. 33.







We know from the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and from grant No. 9 that the star of the Rāthors of Mālkhet set in the last quarter of the tenth century, and that Tailapa (973-1008 A.D.) humbled them to the dust, and reestablished the supremacy of the Chālukyas in the Dekhan. At the same time the Chālukyas of Aṇṭivād (Nahrwalla) rose to importance in the latter half of the eleventh and in the twelfth century, under Jayasinha Siddharāja and his still greater successor Kumārāpāla; and these princes, too, assumed the title *parama-bhaṭṭāraka*.

But to return to Amoghavarsha. It is not clear from the inscriptions if he built Mānyakheta. I rather think that Mānyakheta is the unnamed town which the king of Vengi fortified for Govinda III. But it seems probable that Amoghavarsha was the first Rāthor who made the place his capital. The statements of the Mahāpurāṇas about the Balharis of the eighth century allow us to infer that during his reign the power and extent of the Rāthor empire remained as great as under his father. The end of his reign may be placed about 835 A.D.

Amoghavarsha's successor is named Akālavarsha. There can be no doubt that the real name of this prince also is unknown—Akālavarsha, 'he who showers (gifts) out of season (as well as in season),' being merely an honorific title or *virūḍa*. The inscriptions give no details regarding his reign. Who really succeeded this prince is somewhat doubtful. The statements of grants Nos. 6, 8, and 9 are apparently not quite in harmony. I think, however, that if we obtained a good facsimile of the Kardā plate the difficulty would be solved. As this is not within my reach, and, as I learn that a new grant of one of the later Rāthors has recently been discovered and will be shortly published by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, I pass over the remaining princes of the dynasty. I will merely remark that Kakkala, who issued grant No. 8, is the last prince of the Mānyakheta dynasty. Grant No. 9, v. 9, states distinctly that he was the Rāthor whom Tailapaṇḍi conquered. No. 8, Kakkala's own grant, is dated in 973 A.D., the very year of Tailapa's accession to the throne. Kakkala's fall must have come soon after.

## TRANSCRIPT.

## Plate L.

- (1) ९ स वैज्यादेयसो धाम यन्नाधिकमलं कृतं [1] हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलकृते [11२11]  
भूपोमवदुहदुरस्यलराज-
- (2) मानश्रीकौस्तुभायतकरैरुपगूढकण्ठः [1] सत्यानितो विपुलचक्रविनिर्जितारिचक्रोपकृष्णचरितोभु-  
(3) वि कृष्णराजः [11२11] पञ्चच्छेदमयाश्रुतासिलमहाभुभुक्तुलभाजितात् दुर्लब्धादपैरनेकविमल-  
भाजिष्णु-
- (4) रत्नावितात् [1] पञ्चालुक्ककुलादूनविदुषवाताश्रयो शरिधैर्लक्ष्मीन्मन्दरवत्तलीलमचिरादाकृ-  
ष्टान्वल्लभः [11३11]
- (5) तस्याभूतनयः प्रतापविसरैराक्षन्वादिमण्डलः चण्डांशोः सदृशोप्यचण्डकरतः प्रन्दादितस्मा-  
तलः [1] धारो
- (6) धैर्यधनो विपक्षनितोवक्त्राम्बुजशीहरो हारीकृत्य यक्षो यदीयमनिष्ठं दिग्भावेकाभिर्भूतं [11३11]  
ज्येष्ठोत्तम-
- (7) जातयाप्यमलया लक्ष्म्या समेतोषि सं योभूभिर्मलमण्डलस्वितिपुत्रो दोषाकरो न कश्चित् [1]  
कर्णाधस्यितदानसं-
- (8) ततिभृतो यस्यान्यदानाधिकं दानं वीक्ष्य मुलमिता इव दिक्षां प्रान्ते स्थिता दिग्भाजाः [11५11]  
अन्यैर्न जानु विजितं

\* The same statement is made in the Chālukya Miraj grant, no 37, where the name is given as Kakkala. I suspect that its Sanskrit form was Karikarāja.

\* Line 2, read कण्ठः. L. 3, read यन्नाधि. L. 4, read मन्त्री मन्दर, कृष्णान्व. L. 5, read चण्डांशोः. L. 6, read ज्येष्ठोत्तम. L. 7, read उपयो. L. 8, read सुलभिता इव.

- (<sup>9</sup>) गुरुशक्तिसारभाकान्तभूतलमन्यसमानमानं [1] येनेह वदमवलोक्य चिराय गंग-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) पूरं स्वनिग्रहभियेव कलिः प्रपातः [11६॥] एकवामबहेन वारिनिधिनाप्यन्यत्र कृष्ण घनं  
 निष्कृष्टारि-†  
 (<sup>11</sup>) भटोद्वतेन विहरद्गाहातिभीमेन च [1] मार्तगाम्भदवारिनिर्गारमुचः प्रप्यानतामलवात्  
 (<sup>12</sup>) सन्निवृत्तं मदलेशमप्यनुदिनं यस्मिन्नां नकाचित् [11७॥] हेलास्वीकृतगौडरान्यकमलामतं प्रवे-  
 श्याचिरात् दु-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) मंगी मरुमध्यमप्रतिबलैर्घो रत्तराजं बलैः [1] गौडीयं शरदिन्दुपादभवलं षष्ठशतं केवलं  
 तस्मात्पाद-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) त तद्यद्योपि कंकुभां प्रान्ते स्थितं तत्क्षणात् [11८॥] लब्धप्रतिष्ठमचिराय कलिं सुदूरमुत्सार्य  
 शुद्धचरितैर्दर-  
 (<sup>15</sup>) णीतलस्य [1] कृत्वा पुनः कृतयुगमप्यप्यशेषं चित्रं कयं निरूपयः कलिवलभोभूत् [11९॥]  
 प्राभूद्वैर्यवतः  
 (<sup>16</sup>) ततो निरूपमादिष्टुर्यथा कारिषेः शुद्धात्मा परमेश्वरोन्नतशिरःसंसक्तपादः सुतः [1] पप्रानन्दकरः  
 (<sup>17</sup>) प्रतापसहितो नित्योदयः सोमतेः पूर्वद्विरिव भानुमानभिमतो गोविन्दराजः सतां [11१०॥] यस्मिन्  
 सर्व-  
 (<sup>18</sup>) गुणाश्रये कितिपतौ श्रीराष्ट्रकुटान्वयो जाते पादवर्णशवन्मभूरि[षा]वासीदलङ्घ्यः परैः [1] दृष्टाश्वा-

## Plate II A.

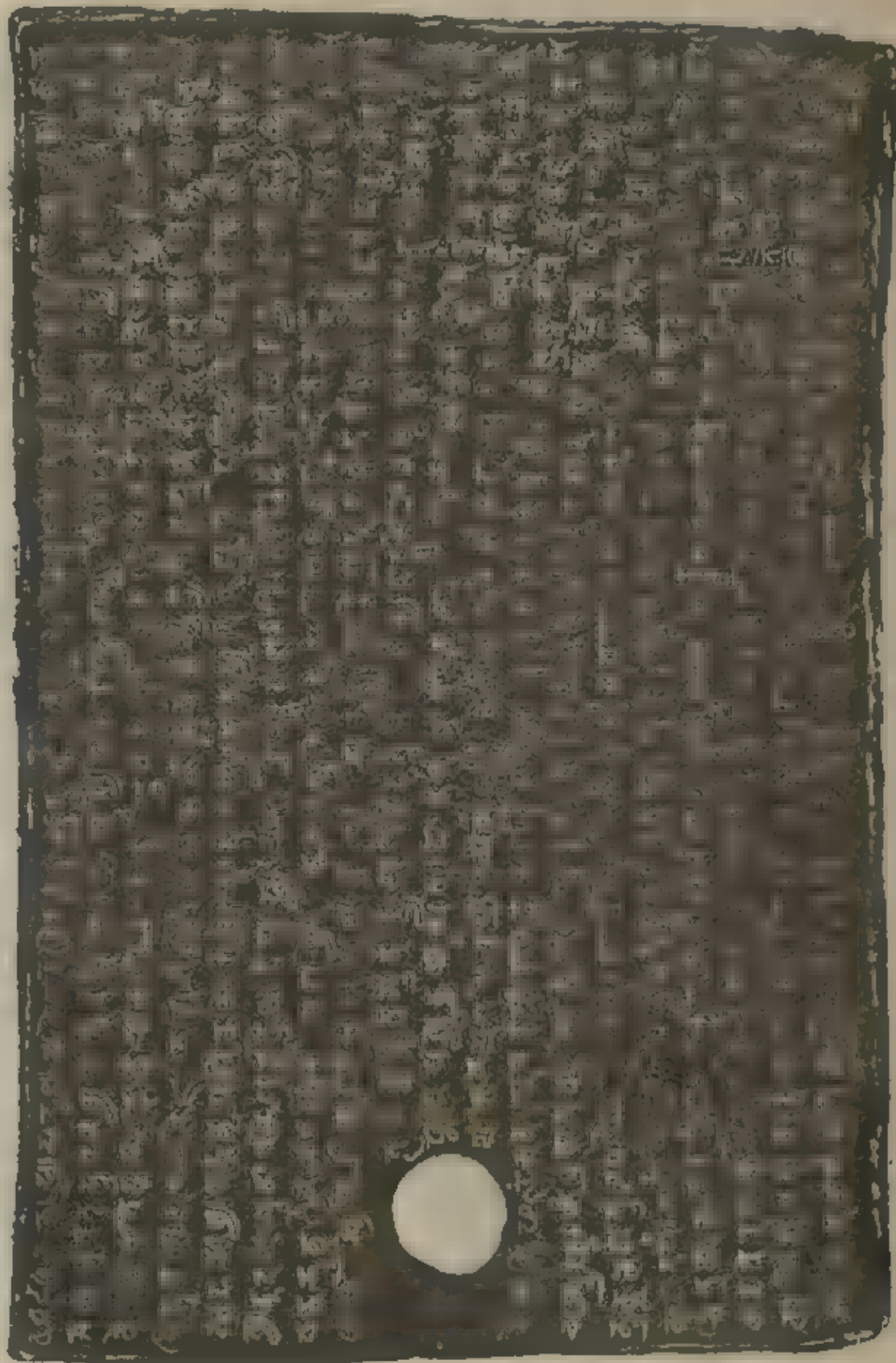
- (<sup>1</sup>) वधयः कृतास्यसदृशा दानेन येनोदता मुक्ताहारविभूषितास्फुटमिति प्रत्यधिनीप्यधिनो-  
 [11११॥] प्यस्याकार-†  
 (<sup>2</sup>) ममानुपं तृभुवनव्यापन्तिरक्षोचितं कृष्णस्येव निरीक्ष्य पञ्छति पितर्यैकाधिपत्यं भुवः [1] आस्तां  
 तात त-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) वैतदप्रतिहता दत्ता न्या कण्टिका किञ्चमेव मया ध्रुतेति पितरं युक्तं रथो योभ्यधात् [11१२॥]  
 तस्मिन् स्वर्ग-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) विभूषणाय जनके जाते यशःशेषतामिकीभूय समुद्यतां वसुमतीं तंवारमधिष्ठया [1] विष्णवायां  
 (<sup>5</sup>) सहसा व्यधत् नृपतीनेकोपि यो द्वादश रूपातानप्यधिकप्रतापविहरैः रावर्तकोर्काविह [11१३॥] येना-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) मन्तदपालुनाय निगदन्नेशादपास्यायतात् स्वं देवां गमितोपि दर्पविसराद्यः प्रातिकूल्ये स्थितः [1] या-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) वक्ष भुक्नुदी ललाटफलके पस्योन्नते लक्ष्यते विशेषेण विजित्य तावदचिराद्ददः स गंगः पुनः  
 [11१४॥] सं-

† L. 10, aksharas 4-10, as well as the last, are very in-  
 distinct on the plate. L. 13, read गुणगुह्यवाच. L. 13, read  
 क-क. L. 15, read युगप्रियं. L. 17, read यस्मिन्. L. 18. The restoration has been made according to the Var-  
 Dhandolī grant.

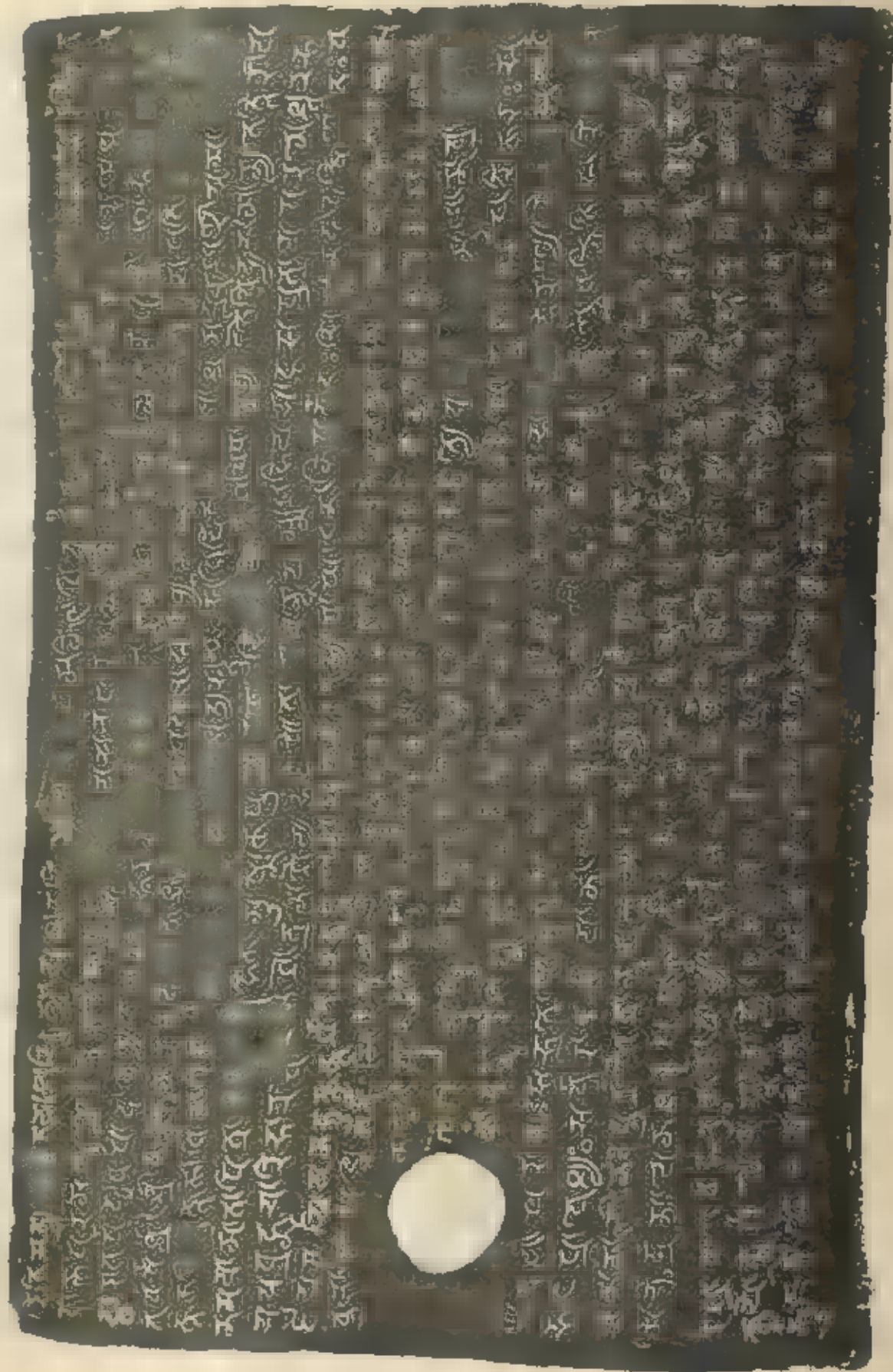
‡ L. 1, read कृताः सुसुखाः; read 'प्राधिपत्यं पश्य'. L. 2,  
 read विभुषण. L. 3, read कण्टिकः; तस्मिन्. L. 4, read  
 यते; 'समुद्यताः'. 'प्राधिपत्या विष्णवायां'. L. 6. The 's'  
 of सहा looks like वा; but the reading adopted is required  
 on account of the sense and of the metre.



GRANT OF GOVINDA III RÂTHOR - PLATE III



GRANT OF GOVINDA III RATHOR - PLATE II B.



- (<sup>9</sup>) धायाशु शिलौमुखो स्वसमचां वाणासनस्योपरि प्राप्तं वह्निदन्धुजीवविमर्षं पद्माभिवृद्धसन्नि-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) तं [1] सन्नक्षत्रमुदीक्ष्य यं शरद्वृतं पर्जन्यवद्रुजरो नष्टः कापि भयात्तथा न समरं स्व-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) प्रेषि पञ्चदश्या [11१५11] यत्पादानतिमाचकैकवारणामालोक्य क्लृप्तीं निजां दूरान्मालवना-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) यको नयपरो यं प्राणमन्त्राञ्जलिः [1] को विद्वां बलिना सहाभ्यवलकम्पदां विधत्ते परां नी-  
 (<sup>12</sup>) तेस्तदि फलं यदालम्पर्यैराधिक्यसंवेदनं [11१६11] विध्यादेः कटकै निविष्टकटकं भुत्वा चरैर्यै  
 निजैः सं देशं  
 (<sup>13</sup>) समुपागतं धुबभिव ज्ञाना भिया पेरितः [1] मारश्चर्महीपतिर्दुनमा[गा]दप्रामर्षैः परैः यस्येच्छाम-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) मुकुलयं कुलधनैः पादौ प्रणमैरपि [11१७11] नीत्वा श्रीभक्ते घनाघनघनव्याप्तावरां प्रवृधं  
 तस्मा-  
 (<sup>15</sup>) दागतवां समं निजवलेरातुंगभद्रातटं [1] तवस्यः स्वकरस्थितामपि पुनर्निशेषमाकृष्टवां विधेयैरापि  
 (<sup>16</sup>) चित्रमानतरिपुर्यैः पलवानां गृध्र [11१८11] लेखाहारमुखोदितादवचसा यज्ञैव वेगीशरो निम्नं  
 किंकरवद्वृ-  
 (<sup>17</sup>) धादविरतः कर्म स्वशर्मैच्छया [1] काह्यालीवृतिरस्य पेन रचित्वा व्यामायल्लया न चैव गत्रौ  
 मौक्तिकेमालि-  
 (<sup>18</sup>) कामिद धृता मूर्द्धस्वत्तारामणैः [11१९11] संत्रासात्परचकराञ्जकमगात्तर्पुसेवाविधिः व्यावदाञ्जलि-  
 (<sup>19</sup>) शोभितेन शरणं मूर्ध्ना यदंद्दयं [1] यद्यहत्तपरार्द्धभूषणगणैर्नालंकृतं [त]तथा माभैवी-

## Plate II B.

- (<sup>1</sup>) रिति सत्यपालितयज्ञस्थित्या यथा तद्विरा [11] २०५ [11] तेनेदमनिलविद्युचंचलभवलोक्य जीवि-  
 तमत्तारं [1] चित्ति-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) दानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो ब्रह्मदापण्यं [11२१11] स य परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीम-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) दारावर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपृथ्वीवलमश्रीमत्प्रभू-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) तवर्षश्रीश्रीवलमनैरन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव यथा संवध्यमानकां राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिचामकूटाकुषु-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) ककनियुक्तकाधिकारिकबहतरादीं समादिक्ष्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमधूरखण्डीसमावासिते-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) न मया मातापित्रोरान्मन्यैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्यसशोभिवृद्धये तिर्यग्विनास्तव्यतत्रैवित्तसामान्यतेत्तिरीय-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) यसवद्वच्चारिभारद्वाजसगोत्रमागैय्यभट्टपौत्राय चान्दियम्मगाहियताहसपुत्राय परमेश्वरभ-

§ 1-3, read शिर्दीमुष्मान्कसमयान्. L. 11, read विद्वान्.  
 L. 13, The restoration of 'गा' is made according to the  
 Var Dindori plate. L. 14, read मुकुलयन्; L. 15, read दौ-  
 गलवान्; माकूटवान्. L. 16, read यियै. L. 17, read मौक्ति-  
 कमा. L. 18, Delo Vimarṇa after विरि, or write विधि.  
 L. 19, read यदंदिदयं. The insertion of न before यथा  
 is required by the metre and by the sense.

§ L. 1. The sign used for 20 at the end of the Prasthā

of the grant is [B '200'. It slightly differs from the form  
 of the syllable used otherwise in the grant. The latter is  
 written [B. It is the only instance of the syllabic notation  
 of numerals hitherto observed in Rāthor grants. Read  
 विद्युष. L. 3, read दारगभट्टारक; पृथ्वीवलम. L. 4, read  
 यदंदिदयं संवध्यमानकान्; मुकुलान्. L. 5, read नद्विगतं.  
 L. 6, read तैत्तिरीय. L. 7, Delo the first akshara of the  
 line

- (<sup>1</sup>) द्रुप राशिपनभुक्त्यन्तर्गतः रत्नजुगन्नामयामः तस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्वतः गिन्हा नदी दक्षिणतः व.  
 (<sup>2</sup>) बुलाला पश्चिमतः मिरियठाण उत्तरतः वडहयामः एवमेव चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः तथा अ-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) नन्तविष्णुमहृविमुदुवन्नगोदन्द्रमयरंगटिमधैमदृचन्द्रिभृदृकुण्णनागैभृदृमाध-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) वैरियधुविदृपुदेवणोयमद्वारायेयमद्वेयेवमादिप्रमुखानां ब्राह्मणा-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) नां चत्वारिंशद्विंशजिनसमन्वितानां रत्नजुगन्नामः सौंदर्याः सपरिकरः स-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) दक्षापराधः सभूतोपात्तप्रत्यायः सोमशमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्यदयः अचाट-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) भट्टप्रविश्यः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रतेषणीयः आचन्द्राकर्णवाक्षितिसरिस्वत-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) समकालीनः पूवपौचान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यः पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदायराहितोभ्यन्तरसिध्दा भू-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) गिच्छद्रन्यायेन श[क]नृष्कालावीनसंबन्तराजेषु सप्तसु तृशदुत्तरेषु तर्जिन्नासि संवत्स-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) रे श्रावणवहल अमावास्या सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि बलिचरुवैश्यदेवादिहोत्रपञ्चमहायज-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) कृषोत्सर्पणस्य चान्वादीदकातिसर्गेश प्रतिपादितः यतोऽस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायम्यित्या  
 (<sup>12</sup>) भुज्जना भोजयनः कृतो कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिदव्यापि शरिर्षयनां कार्या

*Translation.*

1. *Om!* May he protect you, the lotus on whose navel has been made the dwelling-place of Brahma and Hari, whose forehead is adorned by the lovely moon-disk.<sup>†</sup>

2. There was a truthful king on earth called *Krishnarāja*, whose throat was hidden by the twining arms of Fortune and by the far-reaching rays of the royal insignia, which glittered on his broad chest, just as *Krishna's* throat is hidden by the twining arms of *Lakshmi* and the far-reaching rays of the *Kaustubha*, who, though he conquered a host of foes with his large army (*chakra*), just as *Krishna* with his huge war-disc (*chakra*), lived a pure (*akrishna*) life.<sup>‡</sup>

3. He (who was also called) *Vallabhā*, and who was surrounded by a large crowd of exceedingly wise (*Paṇḍita*, *vibudha*), in sport and swiftly tore Fortune (*Lakshmi*) from the ocean-like *Uttarakya* race, which derives lustre from numerous powerful princes that, afraid of the destruction of their partisans, sought its protection (*pakshachehkhodabhayāritakūlāmahābhā-*

*bhṛīkūlābhṛījitī*), which is difficult to conquer for others (*durlanghyādaparāh*), and which contains many pure resplendent gems (*maṇi-māṇḍalāḥ*); just as Mount Mandara, surrounded by a large crowd of immortals (*devāḥ*), tore the goddess of Fortune (*Lakshmi*) from the ocean, which derives lustre from all the great mountains that, afraid of the loss of their wings, sought its protection (*pakshachehkhodabhayāritakūlāmahābhābhṛīkūlābhṛījitī*) is difficult to cross for other (beings) (*durlanghyādaparāh*), and which contains various pure resplendent jewels (*maṇi-māṇḍalāḥ*).

4. To him was born a son, (called) *Dhormā*, whose only wealth was fortitude, who, though in conquering the universe by the expansion of his fierceness he resembled the god with the fierce rays, still gladdened the earth by the lightness of his taxes (*achandakaratāh*), [while the sun torments it by the fierceness of its rays (*chandakaratāh*)], who destroyed the beauty of the lotus faces of the wives of his enemies, whose fame the nymphs that guard the quarters

\* L. 6, read "दृग". L. 11, "नेत्र" is not distinct on the plate. But the reading must either be this or "मैत्रय". L. 15, read "विदया". L. 15, read "विशदु". L. 17, read "समानन्यासा". "वेष्टदेवा". L. 18, read "मित्री". L. 19, delete *Anantāra* over परिपश्यन्.

† See *Anushāsana*. Compare the *Rāvi* grant (*Jed. Ant.* vol. V. p. 144, note) and the *Van Diodori* grant, v. 1.

‡ *Maṇi-māṇḍalāḥ*. The word *maṇi* means a series of pearls. Each pearl has a double meaning, and for both the king and the king of Kṛishna. Compare also the *Kāśi* grant, v. 12. The word *maṇi* also the word of the *Van Diodori* grant, see Mr. Watten's *Platini* has mentioned all the present coins which it contains. The double meaning of *maṇi* is also mentioned here entirely.

§ *Maṇi-māṇḍalāḥ*. Mr. Watten's *Platini* has mentioned this word also, which likewise means third on the *Van Diodori* plates—"Gems," i.e. illustrious princes.





11. When that prince, the abode of all good qualities, was born, the family of the Rākṣas became unconquerable to its foes, just as the Yādava race after the birth of the foe of Madhu. He clearly made his foes and his dependants resemble each other, since in consequence of his slaying (dāna) the former were made acquainted with the extremities of the regions (dṛiṣṭāśvadhayaḥ), were annihilated (udhātāḥ), and were made to leave their food and their ornaments (muktāhāravihṛitāḥ), and (the latter) by means of his liberality (dāna) were made to see the limit of their desires (dṛiṣṭāśvadhayaḥ), were made proud (udhātāḥ), and were adorned with pearl necklaces (muktāhāravihṛitāḥ).¶

12. When his father, seeing his superhuman form fitted like that of Kṛishṇa to protect the world from ruin, offered him the sole supremacy over the earth, he addressed to him the seemingly answer:—"Let it be, father! That belongs to thee; have I not kept the necklace bestowed by thee, like an order that must not be disobeyed?"\*

13. When that parent had gone to adorn heaven, and nothing was left of him but his fame, (Govinda,) resembling the world-destroying fire that extinguishes the (twelve) suns (at the end of the Kalpa), bereft, though alone, by means of superior valour, twelve famous kings of their lustre, who, allied, were bent on destroying the earth through their desire of acquiring its possession.†

14. Exceedingly compassionate, he liberated Gaṅga from his protracted, painful captivity, and sent him to his country. When (Gaṅga)

nevertheless, in his great pride, opposed him, he conquered him by a shower (of arrows), in less time than was required to observe a frown on his lofty brow, and swiftly fettered him again.‡

15. When the Gārjara (king) saw that (Govinda), the protector of the lives and wealth of his relations, whose fortune was increasing, and who (was born under) an auspicious constellation, approaching with arrows placed on the bow (and) directed against him, he fled in fear to some (unknown hiding-place), so that even in his dreams he had no hope of giving battle; just as the clouds (disappear) at the approach of the autumnal season, which increases the splendour of the Bandhujīva flowers, which is favourable to the growth of lotuses, and during which the stars shine with particular brilliancy.§

16. The politic lord of Mālava, seeing from afar that the only safety for his prosperity lay in submission at (Govinda's) feet, bowed to him with joined hands. What wise man of small power would engage in a desperate conflict with a powerful (antagonist)? For the result of (a study of the rules of) polity is that one learns to estimate accurately one's own and the enemy's strength.||

17. Prince Mārakara, learning through his spies that (Govinda) had pitched his camp on the slopes of the Vindhya hills, and considering him already within his country, quickly went, impelled by fear, to satisfy his desires with excellent haircloths (such as he had) not before obtained, and (to worship) his feet by prostrations.¶

parison of Nirupāṇa to the ocean and to the mountain of the east indicates that the poet attributes to him glāṇī, 'depth of mind,' and anantī, 'infinity.' Compare also the description of Guhasena in the Valahki grants. The moon-neckle is one of the well-known attributes of Śiva; hence the elaborate panegyric on Govinda. I am not quite certain about my translation of padma-mandakara. I find a padma-mandakara in the Varāha Purāṇa. But padma may be a N. pr., or be taken as a synonym of sandi, 'army,' since one of the readings is called padma.

¶ Metre Śāṅkharī. In the first half of the verse Govinda is compared to Kṛishṇa. The end of the second half offends against the rules of versification, as it is connected by *andhi* with v. 12. Such a connection is only permissible in the case of two parts of the same stanza. The text of the Van Dindori grant, v. 10, avoids this. But if its reading is correct, it is, perhaps, the correct reading. Mr. Watson's Panini has not understood the second half. Mr. Watson's own suggestion to change the end of the first half of the Van Dindori grant to *śāṅkharī* is also open to be corrected by the reading of our grant.

\* Metre Śāṅkharī. The Van Dindori grant has only the second half of this verse, viz. The first seems

to have been left out accidentally. I do not feel certain about the ulterior meaning of *śāṅkharī*, 'a necklace.' Was it a sign of the divinity of Govinda?

† Metre Śāṅkharī. The Van Dindori grant, v. 11 and c, gives three parts of this stanza. The omission of the fourth is no doubt accidental, as the remainder gives no sense. Its various readings *varuṇa* and *śāṅkharī* are ungrammatical. The construction of *śāṅkharī* with the nominative *śāṅkharī* is unusual. The infinitive *śāṅkharī* is required.

‡ Metre Śāṅkharī. Compare Van Dindori, v. 12, where the text shows an erroneous *śāṅkharī*, and the translation is an other failure. Regarding *śāṅkharī* compare above, v. 6. *śāṅkharī*, which I have rendered by 'a shower,' may possibly have a technical meaning, as in the *śāṅkharī* grants of Dādī II.

§ Metre Śāṅkharī. The first part of the compound *śāṅkharī* is referred to the king as *śāṅkharī*—*śāṅkharī*. Regarding the importance of the verse, compare above.

|| Metre Śāṅkharī. Compare Van Dindori 13, the text of which contains a mistake, yet for *śāṅkharī*. The translation is on the whole correct, though not accurate.

¶ Metre Śāṅkharī. Compare Van Dindori, v. 14, the translation of which is satisfactory except in the last part.

18. Having passed the rainy season, during which the sky is covered by dense clouds, at Śrībhavāna, he marched thence with his army to the banks of Tūṅgabhadra. Tarrying there, he whose foes are submissive again drew towards himself, by showers (of arrows) even—oh, wonder!—the entire wealth of the Pāllavas, though he already held it in his hand.\*

19. In obedience to one brief half-sentence which (Govinda) sent by the mouth of his messenger, the lord of Vāṅgi came thither and worked (for him) like a servant without cessation, desiring his own welfare. If the external circumvallation raised by him for his master has not stuck to the summit of the heavens, then the star-crowds above-head wear it as their pearl-garland.†

20. Out of fear many hostile kings, their heads (bowing, and) adorned by their hands joined in supplication, bent on doing service to him, came to his two feet for protection. These feet were not so much ornamented by priceless jewels, the gifts of various (princes), as by his word "Fear not," which was famed for its trustworthiness.‡

21. He,§ perceiving this life to be unstable like the wind or the lightning, and worthless, has effected this gift to a Brahman, which is most meritorious because it consists of a grant of land.

And he, the supreme lord, the supreme ruler of the kings of kings, the husband of the earth, the illustrious prince Śrīvāllabha, (called also) Prabhūtaravarsa, who meditates on the feet of the supreme lord, the supreme ruler of the kings of kings, the illustrious Dhāravarasadeva, being in good health, (thus) admonishes all rulers of provinces, rulers of villages, heads of villages, officials, officers, and persons in authority, aldermen, and all others, whatever their connexion (with his government) may be:—

\* Metre *Śārdūla*. Compare Van Dindori v. 14. The plain meaning of the second half of the verse is that Govinda again subjected and plundered the Pāllavas, whom his father had already subdued; compare above, v. 7.

† Metre *Śārdūla*. *Āśāpāṭi*, which I translate by "external," is not to be traced elsewhere. It seems to be a compound of *ādāna* and *ādā*. The accentuation is ungrammatical. The poet seems to have employed it in order to avoid a hiatus. The meaning of the whole verse is that the king of Vāṅgi built for Govinda the walls of a town or fort, which were exceedingly high.

‡ Metre *Śārdūla*.

§ Metre *Śārdūla*.

"Be it known to you that I, residing at Śrī Ma-yūrakhaṇḍī, have given to-day—after having bathed, and confirming the gift by a libation of water—on the new moon of the month Śrāvāṇa, when an eclipse of the sun took place, in the year (of the Bṛihaspati cycle) called *Sarvajit*,|| after seven hundred and thirty years from the time of the Śaka king had passed, for the increase of my own and my parents' spiritual merit and fame both in this world and in the next, the village of Ratajūṇa, situated in the Rāṣṭrīyāna dāṇḍī,¶—the boundaries of which are to the east the river Siūhā,\* to the south Vāvūṇḍā, to the west Mīriyathāṇa, and to the north the village of Vādaha,—together with . . . . ., together with . . . . . together with the (right of) sine and (deciding cases arising out of) the ten flaws, together with its natural and adventitious produce, together with the right of forced labour, and together with its taxes in grain and gold, formerly granted gifts to gods and Brahmins being excluded, which is not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, nor to be meddled with by royal officers, to Paramēśvarabhaṭṭa the son of Chandraiyamma-Guhyasāham and the grandson of Nāgāyabhaṭṭa, who dwells at Tīgambī, is one of the Trivedīs of that place, studies the *Tuṭṭiyavāda*, and belongs to the Bhāradvāja gotra,† as well as to the chief Brahmins and forty Mahājāns, viz. Anantavishṇubhaṭṭa, Vibhūdavejyaga(ṇa), Indramatharangaṇi, Sarvaibhaṭṭa, Chandraibhaṭṭa, Krishṇanigubhaṭṭa, Mādha-vairiyaghuviṭṭhapadeva, Nōyabhaṭṭa (ṇa), Rāyebhaṭṭa, and others—the same village being to be enjoyed by his sons, grandsons, and their lineal descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers, and the hills endure,—according to the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and the olefins therein,—for defraying the cost of *Bali*, *Chama*, and *Vaiśṇava* offerings, of an *Agnihotra*, and the five great sacrifices, &c.

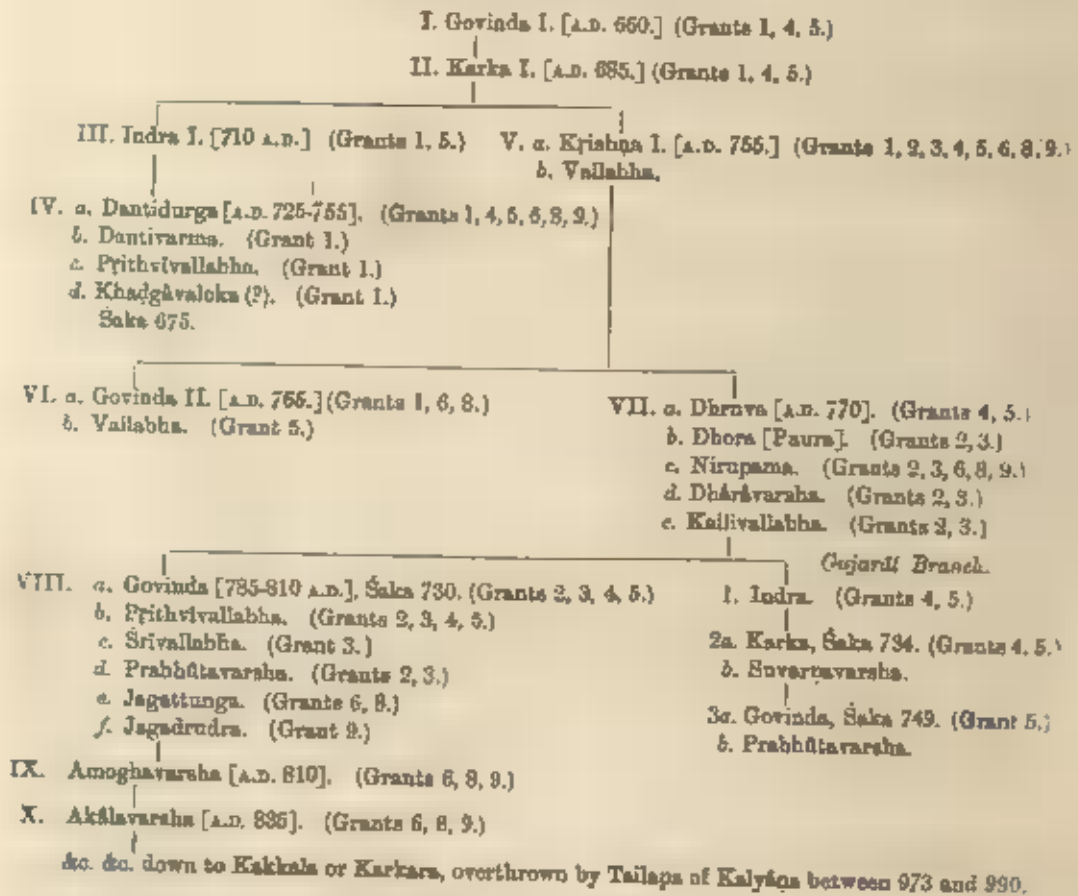
|| The year *Sarvajit* corresponds to Śaka 731.

¶ Probably the modern Rāin, in the Ahmadnagar col-lectorate, which is still the chief town of a talukā.

\* Apparently the Siūhā, which joins the Bhīmā river.

† This passage is somewhat doubtful. The word *gotra* is repeated in the text, and the names of the Brahmins and Mahājāns now enumerated stand in the genitive, not in the dative as the usual phraseology. The village was, therefore, not given to be shared by them, but they were probably merely allowed to live there. I am not certain that I have correctly divided the string of Telugu names.

**PEDIGREE OF THE RĀTHORS OF MĀLKHEḌ, OR BALHARĀS,  
FROM ABOUT 660 TO 850 A.D.**



**SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.**

BY J. F. FLEET, Esq. C.S.

(Continued from p. 28.)

**No. XXVII.**

I continue with the Chālukyas of Vatāpīnagarī, or Bādāmi, and afterwards of Kalyāṇa, of whom I have already given a notice at Vol. V., pp. 67 et seqq.

The present inscription is a copper-plate grant from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection, obtained by him from General Fraser, and a transcription of it is given at p. 15 of Vol. I. of his MS. collection now with me. The original belonged to the Jain Gura, Mahēndraśāntayya, of the Bēgam Bāzār at Haiderābād in the Dekkan; it consists of three plates, about 7½" long by 3" broad. The characters are those of the Cave-alphabet, not yet fully developed into the Old Canarese

alphabet, and the language is Sanskrit. The impression does not show whether there is any emblem on the ring connecting the plates.

It records a grant by the Great King Satyāśraya, or Pulikēśi II. of my previous notice, in the Śaka year 535.\*

This inscription introduces the first uncertainty in the history of the Chālukyas. For, whereas we find in No. XIII. that Pulikēśi II. was reigning in Śaka 507, we now have the Śaka year 535 spoken of as the third year of his reign. I can only suggest the following explanation of this discrepancy. It is well known that the Western and Eastern Chālukya dynasties were separated in the persons of respectively Pulikēśi II. and his younger

\* According to the original, "five hundred and thirty-four years of the Śaka king having elapsed."



## COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHÁLUKYA DYNASTY.

DATED SAKA 135.

*Indian antiquary*, Vol VI, p. 72.

[illegible][illegible]



brother Kūhja-Vākya-vat-dharmat. The exact date of the latter has not yet been determined, an inscription of his own time being known of, but, calculating backwards by means of inscriptions which give the duration of the reigns of him and his successors of the Eastern dynasty, Dr. Burnell places it at about A.D. 630, or Saka 552. It may well be that the two dynasties were separated in Saka 552, and that Pulakka II. was then installed afresh on the throne of the Western branch of the family, at the same time when his younger brother, after being already united with him in the government as *Yamaka*, according to the usual custom, was installed as the separate sovereign of the Eastern branch. The expression made use of in line 11 of the present

inscription,—"in the third year of *any one* institution in the sovereignty," seems to point to simultaneous sovereignty having been gone through, and then to support this suggestion. And, the duration of the reign of Kūhja-Vākya-vat-dharmat being always recorded, eighteen years,

if we take Saka 552 as the starting-point, the inauguration must necessarily coincide with the date of access attained by Dr. Burnell.

The separation of the two dynasties in the person of Pulakka II. and his younger brother is a historical fact, whatever the exact date of the event may be. Accordingly, in future notices I shall speak of the successors of Pulakka II. as 'the Western' Chalkya, and of Kūhja-Vākya-vat-dharmat as 'the Eastern' Chalkya.

*Transcription.*

*First plate.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) स्वस्ति [1] श्रीमताः सकलैः (ल) भुवनसंस्तुमानमानसमगोचराणां | हारी (रि) नीपुत्राणां स-                |
| (2) सलोकमानृभिः   | सप्तमानृभिरभिवादितानां                  |
| (3) भक्तव्याणपरंपराणां  | भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहल-         |
| (4) अङ्गनेक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभूतां                              | चलिकपानां                               |
| (5) अभ्येधावभृथस्नानपविर्वाकृतगान्धव्य                        | कुलमलंकरिण्यु (णोः)                     |
| (6) पौलिकेशिवलभमहाराजस्य                                      | सव्यात्रयश्री-                          |
| (7) पतिमण्डलप्रतिद्वन्द्वि-द्वन्द्वीनिपताकस्य                 | पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवाभ्या (भ्याः) दिपरनु- |
| (8) राजस्य  | कीर्तिवर्गवत्तभमहा-                     |
| (9) तनयो  | नयविनयादिगुणविभू (भू) साश्रयः           |
|   | श्रीसत्या-                              |

*Second plate : first side.*

- |  |                              |
|--|------------------------------|
| (10) श्रमश्रितीरित्वभमहाराजः           | नमश्शतसंघसंसक्तपरनृपतिपरा-   |
| (11) जपेत्पलध्वपरमेधमपरनामधेयः         | सर्वनाशपथभक्तु वा विदितं म-  |
| (12) या                                | यानापीनगर्भीमधितिश्रुतात्मनः |
| (13) ये                                | शक्तनृपतिसंशसराशतपु          |
| (14) पदागाशस्यावा                      | सुधैराननिमित्तं              |
| (15) रातस्य                            | रासिप्रसंगीयाप               |
| (16) चतुर्वेदायोरम्बेद (र) कूलनामधेयाय | मनापिशोरात्मनः               |
| (17) कृष्णुनरतः                        | कदम्पधामदक्षिणतः             |
|  | माहारागिप्रोम                |
|  | पुण्या-                      |
|  | तैत्तिरीयाय                  |
|  | ज्येष्ठश्रमणे                |
|  | तगराभिगांमने                 |
|  | रांस्क-                      |
|  | यामः                         |

*Second plate, second side.*

- |                      |          |       |          |                      |
|----------------------|----------|-------|----------|----------------------|
| (18) सनिधिः          | सोपनिधिः | सकुपः | सोपनिकरः | पञ्चमहापमनिर्वाप-    |
| (19) नार्थमृदसपुर्वक | दन       | [11]  | अथममरायो | वैरागाविनृपतिभिरनुम- |

† I do not know of any inscription of a person in the grants of the Western Chalkya; but, as the brother is always mentioned, usually under the name of *Śaṭyagraha*,

with *Śaṭyagraha* as one of the names of the Eastern dynasty, and in the second plate of the latter grant is the father of the brother, there is no doubt that the





name is *Umbarakhāda*, of the kindred of *Vāsishṭha* and of the school of the *Taittiriya*s, an inhabitant of (the city of) *Tagara*, who is acquainted with the four *Vēdas*. This my gift should be recognized and increased by other kings who may come after me. He shall incur the guilt of the five great sins<sup>¶</sup> and shall dwell for many thousands of ages in hell, who, through ignorance or because he esteems himself incapable of decay or immortal, may confiscate it; he, who preserves it, shall dwell for the same duration of time in heaven!<sup>¶</sup>

And it has been said by the holy *Vyāsa*, the arranger of the *Vēdas*:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with *Sagara*, &c. O *Yuddhisṭhira*, best of kings! carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; preservation (of a grant) is better than making a grant! He, who bestows land, enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; he, who revokes (a grant) or connives at such an act, shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! They, who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in dried-up hollow trees in the forests of the *Vindhya* mountains, which are destitute of water! What good man would resume those gifts which have been made in former times by kings, and which produce piety and wealth and fame, but which, (if revoked), are like the remains of an oblation that are vomited forth?<sup>¶</sup>

#### No. XXVIII.

This is a Western *Chālukya* copper-plate grant from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection, and a transcription of it is given in his MS. collection, Vol. I., p. 17. The original, which belonged to the same person as the original of No. XXVII., and was also obtained through Gen. Fraser, consists of three plates about 3½" long by 3½" broad. The facsimile does not show whether there is any emblem on the ring with which the plates are strung together. The characters are of much the same standard as those of No. XXVII., and the language is Sanskrit.

It records a grant made by *Vikramāditya I.*, or *Vikramāditya-Satyāraja*, the son of *Pulikēśi II.*

No date is given, either in the year of the

*Śaka* era, or in the year of *Vikramāditya's* reign. The language, again, is decidedly more inaccurate than is usually the case. And the concluding passage, which commences in line 34, and which, in addition to its irregularity of diction, contains the *Prākṛit* or *Marāṭhi* word *pannāḥ*, '65y', is in all probability a later addition, an attempt being made to imitate the antique writing. But, down to line 34, the characters of the original appear to be genuinely antique.

The genealogy differs from that of the *Yōwōr* stone-tablet inscription, followed by Sir W. Elliot and transcribed in Vol. I., p. 258, of his MS. collection, which gives *Amara* as the son of *Pulikēśi II.* and *Ādityavarmā* as the son of *Amara*, and makes *Vikramāditya I.* the son of *Ādityavarmā* and, thus, the great-grandson of *Pulikēśi II.* With reference to this discrepancy in the genealogical account, I have to remark,—on the one hand;—1. that, down to the mention of *Vikramāditya-Tribhuvanamalla* (*Śaka* 998 to 1049), the genealogy given in the *Yōwōr* inscription only professes to be derived from some unspecified copper-plate grant of earlier date; and 2, that the inscriptions of *Vinayāditya I.*, the son of *Vikramāditya I.*, which I shall give in another paper, agree with the present in making *Vikramāditya I.* the son of *Pulikēśi II.*, and in omitting any mention of *Amara* and *Ādityavarmā*. And, on the other hand; that, as the reign of *Vinayāditya I.* commenced in *Śaka* 402-3, then if only *Vikramāditya I.* intervened between him and *Pulikēśi II.*, there is, taking into consideration the date which is allotted to *Pulikēśi II.* in No. XIII. of this series, a full century occupied, at first sight, only by the two reigns of *Pulikēśi II.* and *Vikramāditya I.* In line 16 of this inscription, however, we have a distinct indication that *Vikramāditya I.* did not immediately succeed his father, whoever that father was, but was ousted for a time. And, if we admit the possibility of this fact of an interruption of the rule of the *Chālukya*s being due to their having no capable leader by reason of *Vikramāditya I.* being only of

¶ Probably the ancient city mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* and *Ptolemy*, and of which the remains may be traced over a wide area, on the plateau to the south of Uchch, about four miles from *Dandakbhāṭ* (formerly *Dera-*

*giri*, and later on to the ruins temples of *Dura*—*Ep.*

¶ *Vinayāditya*, a Brahman, deriving satisfaction from that, adding with the sake of a virtuous precept associating with any one guilty of those crimes.

tender years at the time of the death of Pulikēśi II., and allow that the reign of Pulikēśi II. continued till about Śaka 550, which is perfectly possible, the lapse of time is sufficiently well accounted for.

In the case of such a discrepancy as the present, between a stone-tablet and a copper-plate grant, I should be inclined, *ceteris paribus*, to allow a preferential authority to the stone-tablet, as being a record of a more public nature and in every way less easy to fabricate. But, in the present instance, we have the concomitant testimony of other copper-plate grants in support of the one under notice. And the stone-tablet, with which it is at variance, pro-

fesses only to be based upon an earlier copper-plate grant, and consequently is, at the best, of only precisely the same authority as a copper-plate grant; and it has, moreover, all the style of being a touched-up and amplified version of the original.

Accordingly, I accept Vikramāditya I. as the son, and not the grandson, of Pulikēśi II. And I would further suggest the probability of Amara and Ādityavarmā being really not of the Chālukya family at all, but two of the three confederate kings, who reigned upon the sovereignty after the reign of Pulikēśi II., and from whom Vikramāditya I. wrested it again.

*Transcription.*

*First plate.*

- [1] स्वस्ति [II] जयत्वाविभूतं विष्णोर्वाराहं धौमितार्णवं दक्षिणोऽन(च)तदंशय-  
 [2] विश्वान्तभुवनं वपुः [III] श्रीमता सकलभुवनसंस्तूपमानमानव्यस-  
 [3] गोत्राणां हारिणि(ती)पुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभि(भिः) सप्तमातृभिरभिवादिता-  
 [4] नां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकन्याणपरम्पराणां भगवन्मा-  
 [5] रायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणव-  
 [6] शीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलुक्यानां कुलमल(लं)कं(कं)रिष्णोरश्वमेधावभू-  
 [7] यस्मानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुलकेशिवह्निभमहाराजस्य ययौ-  
 [8] नः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपातिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविभु-  
 [9] दकीर्ति(तिं)श्रीकीर्ति(तिं)वर्मप्रि(प)धिबीवलभमहाराजस्य पौत्रः समर-

*Second plate: first side.*

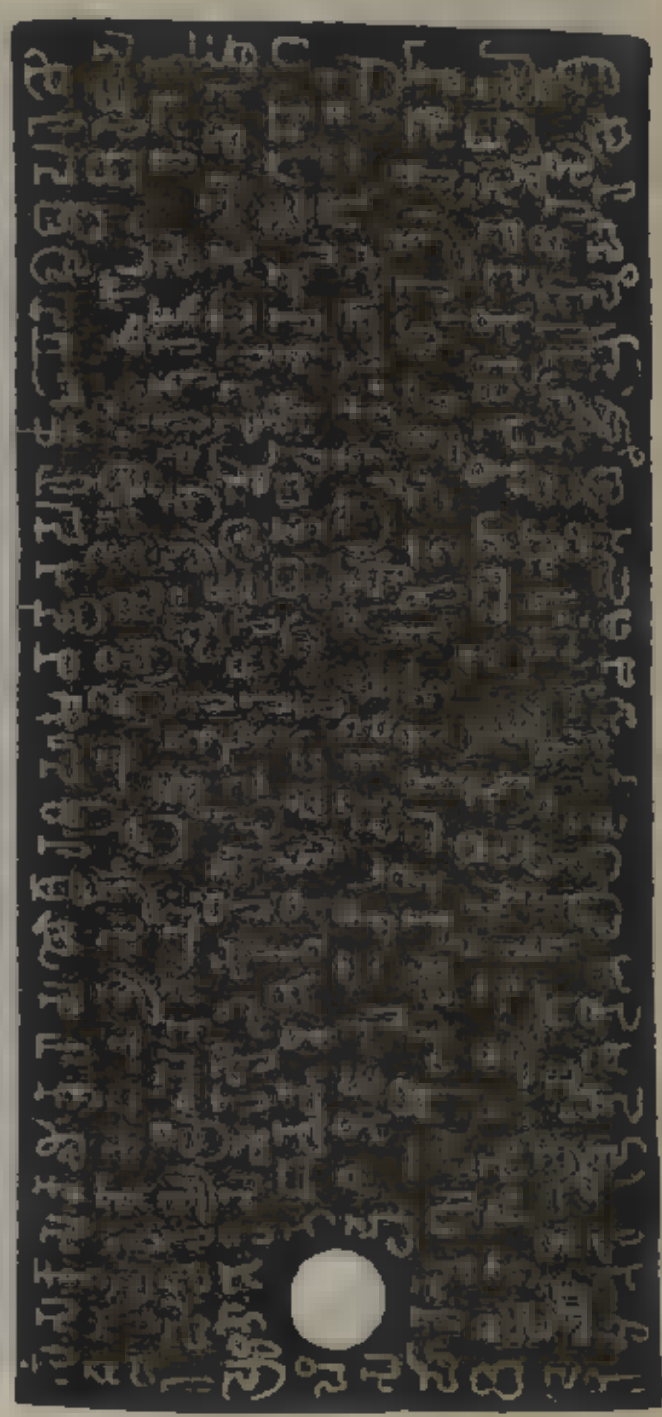
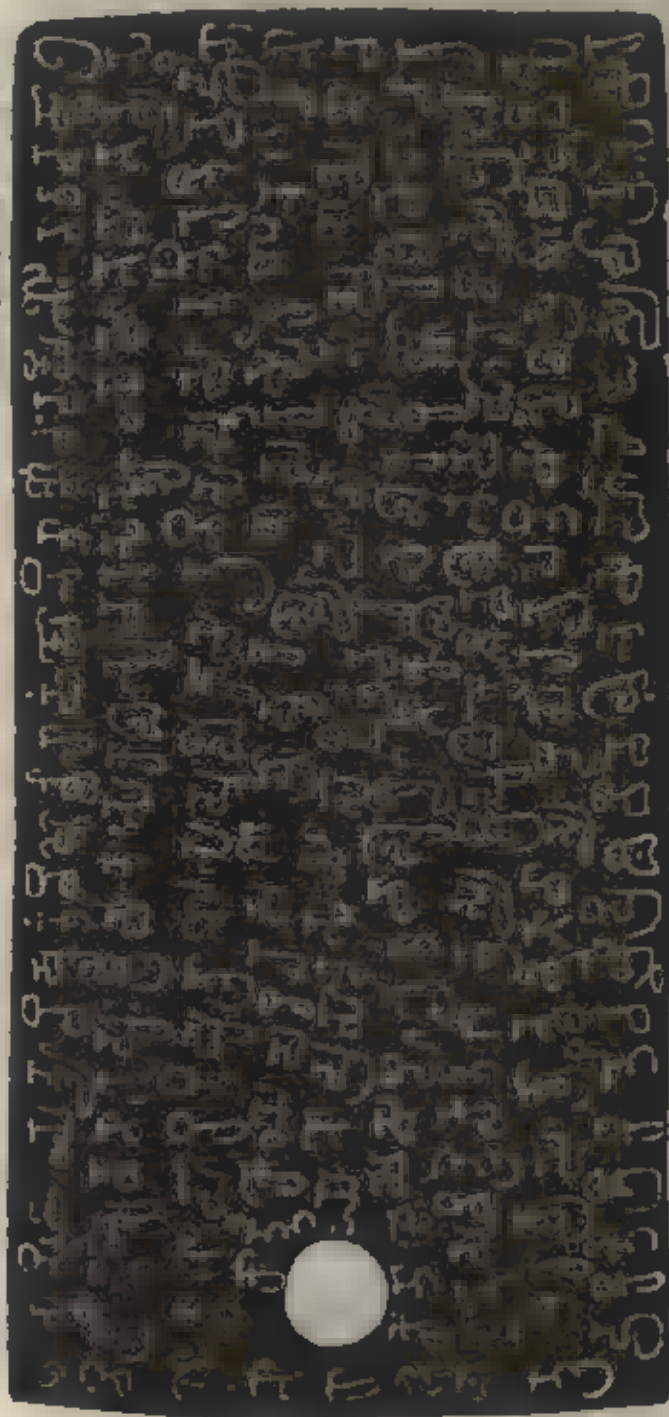
- [10] संसक्तसकलोत्तराप्येश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजं(योपल)व्यपरमे-  
 [11] श्वर(रा)परमा(ना)वधेयस्य सत्त्वाश्रयश्रीप्रि(प)धिबीवलभमहाराजाधिराजप-  
 [12] रमेश्वरस्य प्रियतनयः चित्रकण्ठाख्यप्रवरतुरंगमे(ले)केनैव  
 [13] प्रेरिता(ली) नेकसमरमुखेण रिपुनृपतिरुधिरजलसादनरसानायमनज्व-  
 [14] लि(लिं)तधवल्लनिकितनिखि(निं)शं(शं)धारया धृतपरणीभरभुजगभोग-  
 [15] सद्गुणानिभुजविजितभिभिगीणुः आत्मकवचाममानेकर-  
 [16] हार(रा)स्वगुरो(रो) श्रियमवनिपतित्रिता(तया)न्तरितामामकं(साकृ)त्(त्)य कनैका-  
 [17] शिष्टिवाशेषराज्यभरस्तस्मिन्वाज्यत्रयेणः विनष्टानि देवस्वं(स्व)ब्रह्म-  
 [18] देयानि धर्मयशोभिवृद्धये स्वमुखेन स्थापितवान(न्) रणशिरसि  
 [19] रिपुनरेन्द्रान्दिशि दिशि जिवा स्ववंशजान्(ऽ) लक्ष्मी(हमी) प्राप्तपरमेश्व-

\* Some emendation seems necessary here. I would suggest *jala-siddhanta-siddha-siddhanta-jalika*, and have adopted this in my translation.

† This syllable, *-ka*, is superfluous, the usual form, and, I apprehend, the only correct form, being *ātmasā-kṛitya*.

‡ This syllable, *-na*, is superfluous, as the locative *raṅga-traya* is required with *tanu*. Or, if *raṅga-trayāna* is to be upheld, *tanu* must be corrected into *tanu*.

§ We must read here either *sva-rashika-jādan*, or *sva-rashika-jāda*.



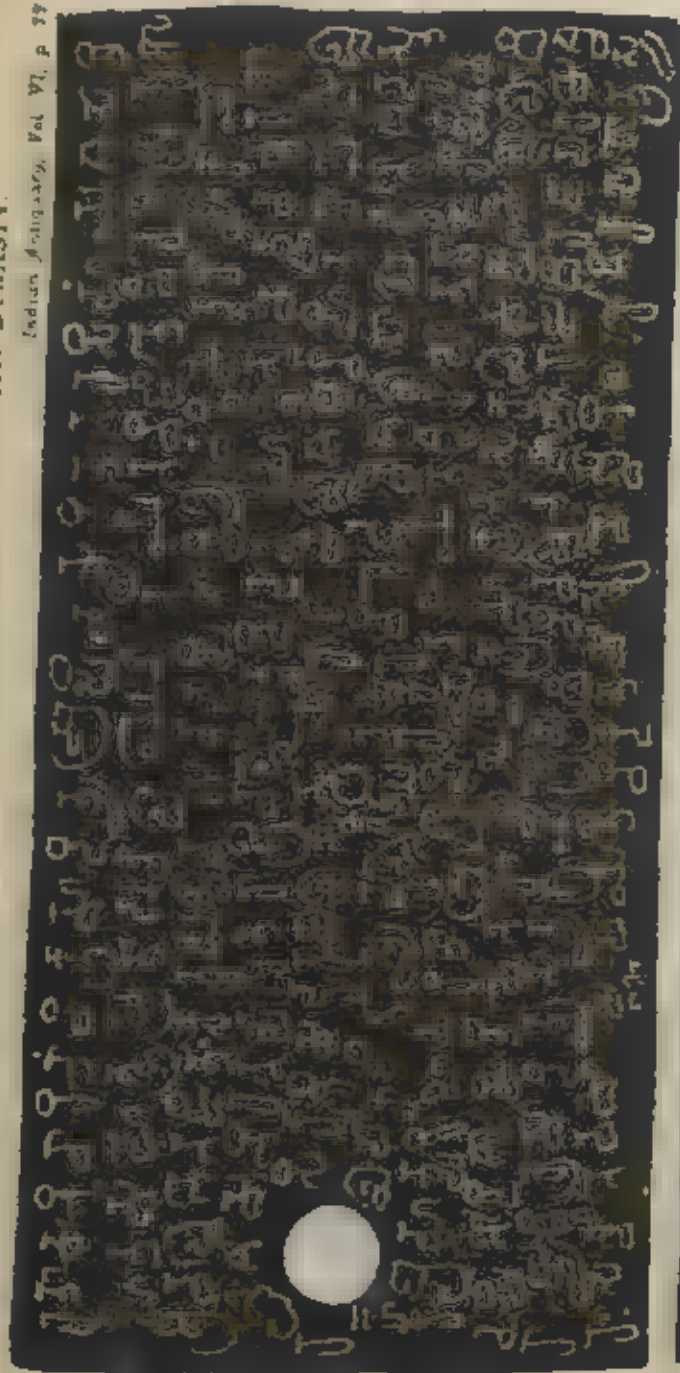
11 a.



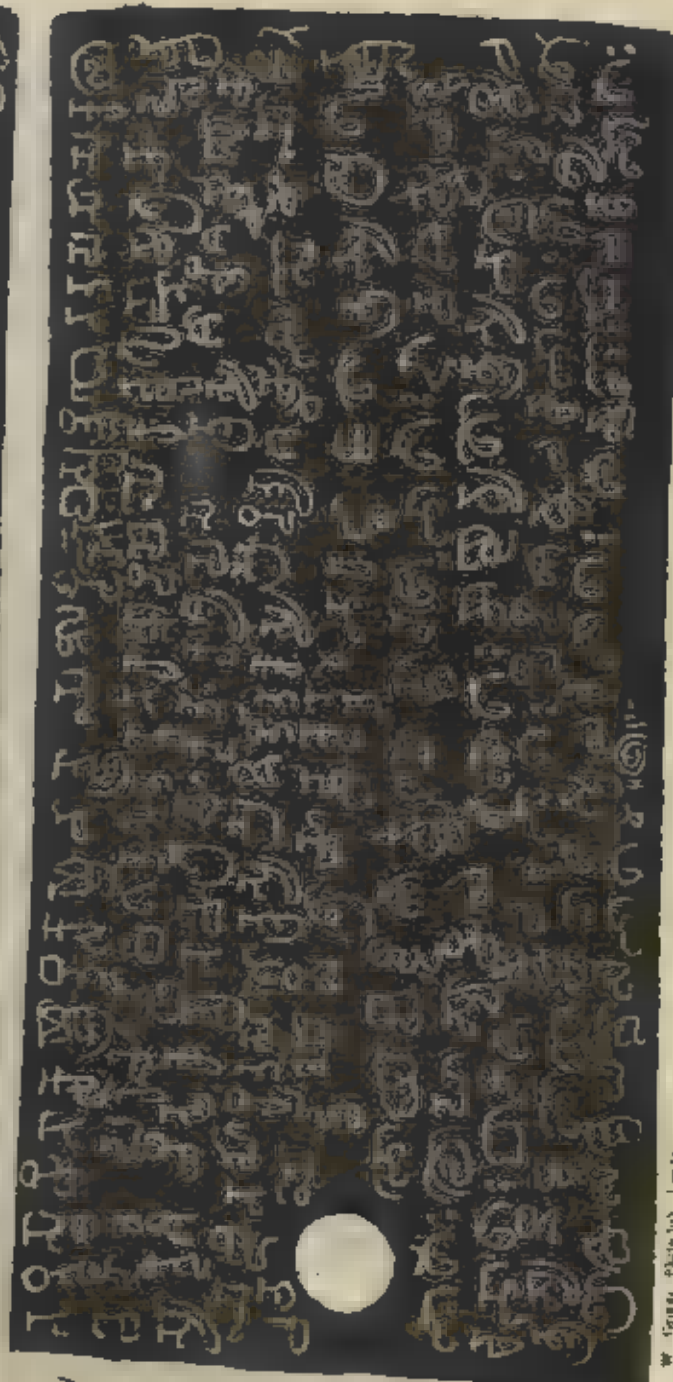
# CUPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 39

116.



117.





## Second plate ; second side.

- [20] रतामनिवारितं विक्रमादिश्र(यः) [II] अपि च मृदितनरसिंहयशसा वि-  
 [21] हिते(त)महेन्द्रपतापविलयेन नयन\*विशितेश्वरेण प्रमुखा  
 [22] श्रीवलभेन जितः कृतपलवमर्द(हो) दक्षिणदिग्युवतिमन्नकाञ्ची(विच)कायो(पां)  
 [23] भृशमभिरक्षाभिः सुतरा(रो) श्रीवलभममिदं वहति स्वमन्यवन्तः रण-  
 [24] रतिकश्रीमदुरुवलस्कन्ध(भ्यो) यो राजमलशब्दविहितमहामल-  
 [25] कुलपाणजिवस्यः [II] दुत्त(र्त्त)घं(कुय)दुष्करविभेदविशालसाला दुर्गाधदुस्त-  
 [26] रदुह्यरिखापरि(री)ता अयाहि येन जयतेभरपोतराजं(ज)काञ्चीव  
 [27] दक्षिणदिशाक्षितिपेन काञ्ची [II] स विक्रमाक्रान्तसकलमहीमण्डलाधि-  
 [28] राज्यो विक्रमादिश्रसय्याश्रयश्रीभिः(१)यिनीवलभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-  
 [29] रः सन्निविमहापति [I] विदितमस्तु वो स्माभिः कौशिकसगोत्रस्य

## Third plate.

- [30] नन्दिस्वामिना(ने) कृष्ण(ष्ण)तिकृष्(क्ष्)चान्द्रायणादिकेन बहुविधेन तपसा सकल-  
 [31] वेदान्तपरमार्थाधिगतसत्तवे(स्वा)न(ष) कण्णविषये कन्दुगुल्लमयामपूर्व-  
 [32] स्यादिक्षि चिन्तकृष्णमक्षयो दत्तः [I] काश्यपसगोत्रस्य शान्तिशर्मसोम-  
 [33] याजिन(ने) हारितसगोत्रस्य अशितितर्कस्य\* आदिश्रशर्मणे सोमयाजिन  
 [34] एतयोर्द्वयो[र\*\*]वि यामार्दन्दनम् [II] भरद्वाजगोत्रस्य†† अगुन्धु(!)-  
 [35] भोयोपिदिशर्मणे द्वादशभागः दामशर्म एक-  
 [36] भागः लोहस्वामि एकभागः माण्डव्यगोत्रस्य मलस्वामि ए-  
 [37] कभागः नादिशर्म एकभागः पिदिशर्म एकभागः काश्यपगो-  
 [38] त्रस्य निह्नु(!)भोयोदोणशर्म एकभागः गन्दभोयो एकभागः [I]  
 [39] यामि सवे पञ्चासभागम् II

## Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Vishnu, which agitated the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right tusk!

The great-grandson of the Great King Śrī-Pulakṣī-vallabha, whose body was

purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, who are of the kindred of Mānavaṇya (&c., as in No. XXVII.);—the grandson of the favourite of the world, the Great King Śrī-Kirttivarmā, whose name was established in the territories (&c., as in No. XXVII.);—the beloved son of the

\* Some verb, such as chakṛa, 'he made', or prapadya, &c., has to be supplied here to complete the sentence.

\* A better reading would be anya for anyone, as the latter is hardly capable of use in the sense of anya or will, which is evidently intended here.

† The reading intended is probably abhiraman=api.

† The letters are clear, but what they are intended for is not very apparent.

‡ Probably the reading intended is mahāmalā-kulāṇa-parājitavān.

\* Probably the reading intended is addita-tarṛtṛya.

\*\* This letter is omitted altogether in the original.

†† From here to the end the characters are of a larger and inferior type, and this portion seems to have been added at a later date. The language also is very inaccurate, and the use in the last line of the Prākṛit or Mārāṭhī word pañcās, 'fifty', is peculiar.

favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, Satyāśraya, who was possessed of the second name of 'Supreme Lord' acquired by defeating Śrī-Harṣavardhana†, the warlike lord of all the country of the north;—(was) Vikramāditya, who,—borne by one horse of the breed called Chitrakapṭha‡, and having with his arm, that was like the coils of the serpent who sustains the burden of the earth, conquered those who were desirous of conquering him,—though many blows fell upon his armour, acquired for himself, with his pure and sharp and cruel sword that was irradiated by the elixir which consisted of tasting the blood of the hostile kings in the front ranks of many battles, the royalty of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy|| of three kings, and who, having effected the subordination of the whole kingdom to one (sovereign), reestablished, by his own (word of) mouth, in order to increase his piety and fame, the grants which had been made to gods and Brāhmaṇas, but had been destroyed by those three reigns, and, having conquered the hostile kings in country after country in the van of war, without any impediment (made)¶ the goddess of the fortunes of those of his lineage to possess the position of supreme lordship. And again, when he was conquered by the lord, Śrī-Vallabha\*, who trampled upon the fame of Naraśimha† and effected the destruction of Mahēndrapratāpa and surpassed even Īśvara in the art of government,—he achieved the ruin of the Pallavas, and, though delighting much in Kāñchikī‡, which is, as it were, the wanton girdle of the woman who is the country of the south, he bears preëminently the condition of being the favourite of the goddess of fortune. Having shoulders that delighted in war and were glorious and of great strength, he con-

quered§ that family of mighty wrestlers|| who were possessed of the title of 'Royal Wrestler.' By him, the ruler of the southern region, was Kāñchi captured, the mighty abode of enmity that was hard to be surmounted and difficult to be borne,—which was girt about by a moat that was very deep and difficult to be crossed,—and which was as it were the girdle of the sea-king¶ Jayatōśvara.

He, Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, who possesses the supreme sovereignty over all the countries of the world, which have been invaded by his prowess, thus issues his commands to all people:—

"Be it known to you. The village of Chintakūṭha, to the east of the village of Kandugū, in the district of Kaṇṇa, has been given by us to Nandivāmi, of the lineage of Kāśyapa, who has attained the excellence of the supreme knowledge of the whole of the Vēdānta by means of his manifold penances which comprise the Kricchhara and Atikricchhara and Ohāndrāyana and other ascetic exercises. And half of a village each has been given to Śāntiśarmā, of the lineage of Kāśyapa, who celebrates the Sōma sacrifice, and Adityaśarmā, of the lineage of Hārita, who has studied the science of reasoning, and who celebrates the Sōma sacrifice."

Twelve shares\* (were given) to Agundabhōyōpiddiśarmā, and one to Dāmaśarmā, and one to Lōhasvāmī, of the Bharadvāja gōtra. One share (was given) to Bhallaśarmā, and one to Bādiśarmā, and one to Pidiśarmā, of the Māṇḍavya gōtra. One share was given to Nijabhōyōdōpaśarmā, and one to Gandabhōyō, of the Kāśyapa gōtra. In the whole village there are fifty shares.

\* I do not know to what dynasties Śrī-Vallabha and Mahēndrapratāpa belong. From the context, Śrī-Vallabha may perhaps be a Pallava king.

† Whether the god or some king is alluded to, is not clear.

‡ Kāñchi, the capital of the Pallavas: see No. XIII., Transcr., I 13, Vol. V., p. 74.

§ See note § to line 21 of the text, which I corrupt here.

|| What particular family is alluded to, is not clear. It was probably from this conquest that the Chālukyas came to assume, as secondary names, titles ending in malla, — Yodhamalla, Abaramalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c.

¶ Pētādja, lit. 'the king of ships.' Who Jayatōśvara was, I do not know.

\* See note ¶¶ to l. 34 of the text.

† Cf. No. XIII., Transcr., I 11, Vol. V., p. 70.

‡ So, 'speckle-throated.'

|| Tritya, 'a collection of three', denotes clearly some confederacy that was formed against Vikramāditya. Probably the reference is to the three kings of Chāla, Pāṇḍya, and Kōṭṭa, who, as we learn from the inscriptions of Vijayāditya I., were conquered by Vikramāditya I. Or, the reference may be to the Trivāṇṇa-Pallava, the Pallava, whose kingdom consists of three dominions, of Vijayāditya's inscriptions, who, while possessed by Vijayāditya at the command of his father, Vikramāditya, and whose leader, previously overcome also by Vikramāditya himself, is described as having been "the cause of the humiliation of that family (of the Chālukyas) which was as pure as the rays of the moon."

¶ See note ¶ to line 30 of the text; as it stands in the original, the sentence is incomplete, being without a verb.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON THE MUHARRAM FESTIVAL.

I have seen many accounts of the Muharram ceremonies, and it is well known that the Indian form of them is confined to this country, and even here regarded with disfavour by many of the more educated Banaja. I do not think, however, that attention has been drawn to their exceeding resemblance, as observed in some places, to the Hindu processions of gods' cars and *palika*. In the course of my own service I have been obliged to spend many weary hours in the saddle, keeping order about the *idols*, but never noticed this feature of the festival so much as this year. The scene was Kalyān, a part of the Thānā collection, inhabited by about 12,000 souls, of whom, at the outside, about 2,500 are Muhammadans. Nearly all these are of the Sunni sect, and of the race called Kōhkanī Muealmāna,—descended chiefly, I believe, from Arab settlers on the coast. There were half-a-dozen *idols* and as many *panjās*, or standard-bearers.

On the ninth night of the Muharram most of the *panjās* and one *idol* paraded particular streets with music and lights. This is usual; what is, I believe, less so is that each of the *panjās* went to visit its neighbours, when greetings were exchanged by bows of the Punch and Judy sort, and by a dance of the attendants of both host and guest round a hole full of fire. The rest of the 'fan of the fair' was of the usual type,—shouts of 'Dhā' and 'Ūm,' fireworks, dances,

"Songs and quavers, roaring, humming,

Guitars, and every other sort of strumming."

On the tenth day, when the *idols* were taken to be cooled (*dhāyid karayd*) in a tank, the start and progress of every one of them was impeded by dozens of Hindu women rushing out with female infants, whose noses and ears it is considered auspicious to pierce for the first time literally under the *idol*. Some brought out water to pour out under the *idols* (not before them); and every one threw sweetmeats and coloured threads upon them, the fall of which on the ground was thought a great misfortune.

Some of the *idols* belonged to the tombs of saints, and each of these had before it a censor, the ashes from which were distributed by attendant *saḡḡas* to Hindu women (at one house, at least, to Brāhmanis), who made themselves "beautiful for ever" therewith on the spot, and in the sight of all men.

Whenever one *idol* came to the place of another, or of a *panjā*, both solemnly circumambulated the fire-pits, and the attendants danced round them also, both before and after.

It is impossible not to see in these ceremonies

the strongest resemblance to the mutual visits of Hindu *idols* borne in *rathas* (chariots) or *palika*, to the distribution of ashes from Gossains' fires, the wild fire-dances of the Holi, and the occasional sacrifice of life under the wheels of the *rathas*.

W. F. SINCLAIR.

THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD 'MEHWAS'.

The derivation of the little words 'Mehwās' and 'Mehwās,' so commonly used in Gujarāt, has not, as far as I know, been hitherto attempted, except by Sir John Malcolm, *Central India*, vol. I. p. 216, where he says:—"The chiefs on the Nerbudda are generally called Mowassees, which refers to the place they have chosen for their residence, *moosse* signifying, in the colloquial dialect of the country, a stronghold or fastness." The words occur in the Persian histories of the province, and are commonly used in the English correspondence and records regarding Gujarāt. In the Persian histories the word is generally used in conjunction with the word *Girds*, thus *Girds* and *Mehwās*, or in contradistinction to *Bāki* or settled districts. Both Colonel Walker and Mr. Kinloch Forbes use the word *Mehwās* as signifying 'country inhabited by turbulent tribes,' or 'strong country' where those who exercised control over the province could with difficulty penetrate; and, in its modern meaning, a *Mehwās* holding, no doubt, implies the possession of a more than ordinary amount of independence, and the absence, more or less, of the subordination which distinguishes other more ordinary features. But the original signification of the word, as far as I am able to ascertain, is merely a contraction for 'Māhi wāsi,' or 'dweller on the Māhi.' *Mehwās* would therefore be 'a dwelling on the Māhi,' and I believe both *Mehwās* and *Mehwās* are used only in Gujarāt and part of Mālwa, in which latter province the Māhi has its source. Dr. Bühler informs me that he considers this derivation the correct one, and that there are analogous derivations. Thus he quotes *māhiśa*, Sanskrit for 'buffalo,' which has been contracted into *mehās* = *dhāśa*, and other words. And Joshi Atanurām Dalabhrām of Haroda informs me that this view is supported by the following *dhāśa* :—

श्लोक.

मही महीमंदलगा विभाति

प्रभूतचौरा निवसन्ति यत्र

रालोपि चौरस्तरुणोपि चौर-

श्वोरानिना न प्रसवन्ति नार्यः ॥ १ ॥

"The river Mahi is one of the most excellent in the world.

There reside only thieves;

Children even are thieves, the young men are also thieves.

And except thieves women give birth to none other."

Under the *Marāṭhās*, as is well known, tributary *Unjarit* was divided into two portions, viz. *Mabi Kāṭhā* and *Kāṭhildwāḍ*, and this broad definition of the *Mabi* tanks would include all the *Mehwās* holdings. The *śloka* quoted sufficiently shows the predatory character of the inhabitants from the earliest times.

The first instance of the use of this word that I am acquainted with, occurs in the *Davidshardya* (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 74), and it is there translated as 'forest.' This shows that so far back as early in the 13th century *Saivast* the word was in common use for a holding in difficult country. Mr. Sinclair has drawn my attention to Professor Dawson's notes to *Minhaj-us-Siraj* (Elliot, vol. II.); and while I cannot agree with that distinguished scholar that so palpably *dryan* a word as 'Mehwās' is derived from the Semitic root *مسي* *مسي* or *مسي* it seems probable that the word 'Mehwās' or 'Mowās' had become so generally accepted a term for a holding in difficult country, like that on the banks of the *Mabi*, that it may have reached distant *Dihli*, and thus come to *Minhaj-us-Siraj*'s knowledge.

JOHN W. WATSON,

Acting Political Agent, *Kowā Kāṭhā*.

#### EXPLORATIONS AT KORKOI AND KĀYAL.

By THE REV. DR. B. CALDWELL.

I visited *Korkoi* once many years ago, and, though my visit was a hurried one, yet from what I saw, and from the inquiries I made, I came to the conclusion that *Korkoi* (in *Tamil* properly *Kolkoī*, emphasized into *Korkoi*), though now so insignificant, was to be identified with the *Kāḍyon* of the *Greeks*, which *Janssen* had identified with *Kilakarai*, a place on the *Madura* coast. The *Greeks* came to *Kāḍyon*, to purchase pearls, certainly soon after the *Christian* era,—probably many years before,—and represented it as the head-quarters of the pearl trade between *Capo Kumari* and the place they called *Kāpū*, properly *Kōṭi*, now *Kāmo-varam*, which was also an emporium of the same trade. It must have been regarded as a considerable place at that time, seeing that from its name they called the *Gulf of Mannar* the *Kolchie Gulf*. It was easy to conclude also that this was the *Korkoi* to which all native traditions pointed as the cradle of South Indian civilization,—the place

where the three brothers *Choran*, *Chōlan*, and *Pāṇḍya* were said to have been born and brought up, and from whence they set forth to form dynasties and kingdoms,—or, as might more readily be admitted, the place where the rule of the *Pāṇḍya* commenced, and from whence they afterwards migrated to *Madura*. The meaning of the name *Korkoi* is 'an army, a camp.' The interest of this identification was heightened by the conclusion at which I arrived at the same time, that an insignificant place called *Old Kāyal*, about halfway between *Korkoi* and the sea, was to be identified with the *Onel* of *Marco Polo*, the most important city and seaport on the eastern coast of India during the Middle Ages (See Colonel *Yule's Marco Polo*). The sites of two famous places were thus discovered in the same neighbourhood, and a glance at the geology of the neighbourhood disclosed the reason why each had been abandoned in turn. Both places are situated on the delta of the *Tamraparai*,—*Korkoi* within five, *Kāyal* within two miles of the sea,—and each was originally on the sea-coast. As the silt accumulated in the sea near the mouth of the river, or as the land rose,—or from both causes,—*Korkoi* was found at length to be too far inland for the convenience of a sea-borne trade, and *Kāyal* (meaning a 'lagoon opening into the sea') rose in its stead on the sea-shore, and attained to still greater dimensions. *Kāyal* carried on an immense direct trade with *China* and *Arabia*, the evidences of which are found lying all over the open plain on which the city stood. In time, however, through the continuous operation of the same causes, *Kāyal* came to be too far from the sea; and accordingly, shortly after the *Portuguese* arrived on the *Coromandel Coast*, they abandoned *Kāyal*, and established themselves instead at *Tuticōrin*, which has ever since been the principal seaport of *Tinnevely*, there being no river near to silt up the harbour and roads. It would seem as if *Korkoi*, though probably never so important an emporium of trade as *Kāyal*, must at one time have been nearly as large. This is proved by the relics of pottery, &c. scattered about the country for miles, and especially by the circumstance that places, such as *Alkasālei* ('the Mint'), which are now at a distance from *Korkoi*, are ascertained, by the inscriptions I have found on the walls of the temples, to have been portions of *Korkoi* originally.

Whilst in *Korkoi* and the neighbourhood I employed ten or twelve coolies for four days to make excavations here and there, under the superintendence of one of my assistants; whilst it was made the duty of the choir boys—much more a pleasure to them than a duty—to examine every shovelful of the earth that was thrown up, to see whether it contained any objects of interest. The Collector



of the District, Mr. Stuart, kindly sent me a peon, to let the people of the place see that nothing illegal or improper was going to be done, and in return I sent him a list of the articles found, though unfortunately they were of no particular interest.

The geology of the place seemed to me more interesting than its antiquities. The whole of the country in this neighbourhood is included in the delta of the Tāmraparānt, the great river of Tinnevely; and this place is situated in the last-formed portion of the delta, lowest and nearest the sea, so that the mode in which the delta was formed, which is doubtless more or less the mode in which all deltas have been formed, could be easily studied. The upper stratum is composed of stiff alluvial clay, which had been brought down by the river and deposited in the bed of the adjacent sea. Every portion of this alluvium contains sea-shells in great abundance,—not merely sea-shore shells, but deep-sea shells, such as the *chank* and the pearl-oyster. So abundant are they that in places where the surface of the ground has been washed away by rains, and cultivation has not been carried on, the white shell-covered surface glistens almost like water in the moonlight, and in some places as you walk along the roads, especially near Kāraman-galam, the shells go crackling under your feet as they would by the sea-shore when the tide is out. This being the last formed portion of the delta, the alluvial stratum is very shallow. The average depth cannot be more than six feet, and at the bottoms of tanks I have found it no more than three. Underneath this I invariably found a layer of grit-stone (called by the people "salt-stone"), rarely more than a foot in thickness, composed of the larger grains of sea-sand, such as lie on the surface, mixed with comminuted shells. This had evidently been the surface of the ancient sea-bed, for underneath I invariably came upon beautiful white sea-sand, in smaller grains, containing great quantities of unbroken shells. Doubtless the grit-stone had been formed by the infiltration of the alluvium from above. I found it impossible to ascertain the depth of the sand, or what it rested on, for after digging into it for a few feet the hole always got filled with water, and the water flowed in so fast that baling out was useless. Strange to say, some of the shells I found in this ancient sea-bed retained a portion of their original colour. One in particular—a *Conus*—looked as if it had been alive only a few years ago. What makes this so remarkable is that this portion of the delta must have been inhabited at least 2500 years ago, and it must have been many ages earlier that the deposition of the alluvium commenced.

I hoped by making excavations in Korkai and

the neighbourhood to find some traces of the Greeks, but in this I was doomed to be disappointed. The ancient level of the village is about eight feet below its present level, which of itself is a proof of great antiquity. When the diggers reached this depth they invariably found traces of human habitations, shreds of Indian pottery, &c., but nothing of the nature I hoped to find. On the surface we found two Singhaliese copper coins (I conclude them to be Singhaliese from the management of the script), but the inscriptions were quite obliterated. I also found two images of Buddha, sitting in his usual attitude of contemplation. One of them was out in the fields, the other in the village. I suspected that the latter was worshipped, though it was known to belong to a different religion. The people strenuously denied this, but one morning when I happened to pass I saw a garland of flowers which had been placed by some person round its neck. The person who did so evidently thought that if ever Buddha got his head above water again, he had a chance of being remembered for good! The most interesting things that were found were three of those mysterious topachal urns which have hitherto puzzled everybody. The natives know nothing about them, and the common opinion amongst Europeans is that they pertained to a race which died out, but of which no relic remains except these urns. The urns are made of the ordinary pottery of the country, but there are always some little vessels found inside, some of which are beautifully shaped, with a polish or glaze which the potters of these days cannot imitate. Two of the urns I found contained no bones, but only traces of bone-dust; but one, a monster urn, 11 feet in circumference—unfortunately found broken—contained a complete set of entire human bones, including a perfect skull. The circumstances in which this urn was found were very interesting. The people to whom it belonged had dug down through the alluvial soil of the delta, and the grit-stone till they came to the white sea-sand, and in this they had deposited the urn. The grit-stone had then partially re-formed all round, and I found the cavity of the skull filled up with grit-stone. The notion invariably entertained by the natives of these days is that the people buried in these urns were a race of pygmies, but the bones found in this urn were admitted by the natives who were standing about when it was opened to be those of a full-grown man of the usual size. Strange to say, a deputation of women came to my tent one day for the purpose of seeing the bones.

I visited Old Kāyā (Marco Polo's *Cael*) twice, and set my excavators at work for a day in a place about two miles from the present village,

which represents only the western boundary of the ancient city. At a depth of three feet beneath the present surface they came on the *chunammud* floor of a house, but found nothing of importance. The extent of the site of Kāyal was so great that it would take a month, instead of a single day merely, to explore it properly. I found, however, the whole surface of the ground, literally for miles, covered with evidences of the perfect truth of Marco Polo's statements respecting the trade of the place, confirmed by those of the Mohammedan historians. According to these statements, Kāyal was frequented by great numbers of vessels from the Arabian coast and from China—(*junks*),—in one of which latter Marco Polo himself arrived; and accordingly I picked up everywhere on the open plain broken pieces of China porcelain of all qualities, and broken pieces of Arabian pottery. I could easily, if I had chosen, have collected a cartload, but the pieces had been broken again and again by the plough and the feet of bullocks, so that, though the material in each case was obvious enough, all trace of the shape of the article had disappeared. Old Kāyal, or what remains of it, is now inhabited almost exclusively by Labbia (native Muhammadans) and Roman Catholic fishermen.

The people of these parts, as generally throughout India, have not the remotest notion of the object Europeans have in view in searching for antiquities. Whatever we may say, they think our real object is to endeavour to discover hidden treasures; and this they consider a very risky business, for all hidden treasures are in the custody of demons, who will not allow them to be rifled with impunity. At Kōrkei, before my explorations commenced, many of the people expressed an earnest hope that I would not make any excavations near any temple or image, because, although very likely there might be treasure underneath, the demons in charge would be so enraged that they would destroy the village outright. I assured the people that I would take care not to come near any temple or image, and I scrupulously kept my word. My old friend Mānikudaggar of Aramugamangalam professes to have received a dreadful fright some years ago from the demons that watch over hidden treasure, when he helped Mr. Puckle, the then Collector of Tinnevely, to make some explorations near Kāyal. The night after the first day's exploration a she-demon appeared to him in

a dream, and asked him in terrible tones how he dared to meddle with her treasure. In the morning when he awoke, he found—dreadful to relate—that his feet were fastened round the back of his neck in such a way that he was unable to loose them without assistance! I need scarcely add that no further part in the exploration was taken by him. I wanted him to tell me the story; but he was afraid, I suppose, I should laugh at him, and so I failed; but he told it quite gravely to my assistants, and has told the story so often that he evidently believes it himself now. Even Europeans, it seems, are not quite so free from danger as they suppose. Many years ago there was a Collector of Tinnevely, it is said, who determined to dig for the treasure which was believed to have been hidden in a certain place by a woman who intended to make use of it in some subsequent birth, and which for the time being, of course, was under the custody of demons. He was warned that something dreadful would happen, but, being an European, he did not care. He pitched his tent near the place, and the whole of the first day was occupied by himself, his peons, and his coolies in digging. At length, as night drew on, they came to a carefully built stone receptacle; and, justly concluding that this was the place where the treasure was hidden, the Collector set a watch over it and went to sleep in his tent, with the intention of opening the stone receptacle the next morning. The next morning came, and the Collector found himself, not in his tent, but in bed in his own bungalow at Palanketta; the tent was found pitched at the other side of the river, and of the excavations that had been made the previous day not a trace remained.\*

#### EXCAVATIONS AT KĀYAL.

The Caul of Mr. Polo having been identified by Dr. Caldwell as Kāyal, a port at the mouth of the Tamraparni river, in Tinnevely. The ancient city—whose name signifies a lagoon—was one of those enormous emporiums of the East, the first mentioned of which is Ophir. At Kāyal the sea has greatly receded, for the Tamraparni river, rushing down through the clay and rice-fields of Tinnevely, has, in the course of centuries, made for itself a large delta. The Caul (Kāyal) of Marco Polo is thus described by him:—"Caul is a great and noble city, and belongs to Ashar, the eldest of the Five Brother-Kings. It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the west, as

\* From the appendix to the Rev. Dr. Caldwell's *Second Journal of Evangelistic Work in Tinnevely*, 1870.

† Vide Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed. 1875, vol. II, p. 357.

‡ The Five Brother-Kings were descendants of the old Pandion race, and gave themselves the title of the Pañcha-Pādūyāsi, acknowledging an subordination to any other princes. In the *Pandion Chronicle* the great king

Vishvanatha Nāiker, who was installed ruler of Madurai and the adjacent countries of the south in B.S. 1482 (A.D. 1359), is spoken of as defeating them. The words of the *Chronicle* are:—"On coming to Madurai he constructed seventy-two bastions to the fort, and appointed seventy-two Palliyabereys (Polygars), corresponding with the bastions. He also caused the fort of Tiruchinappalli to be

from Harina, and from Kis, and from Adon, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in the city of Caol. The king possesses vast treasures, and wears upon his person great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state, and administers his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city. This king has some 300 wives, for in those parts the man who has many wives is most thought of." Marco Polo goes on to speak of the one another of the five brother-kings of the South Indian land, of whom the chief was the king of Caol, and in all of whom, in their disputes, the mother, who was then alive, acted as a mediator. He also alludes to the use of the betel-leaf in Caol.

The following extracts (dated June 23, Shephard's Land—Zidiyarkadu, Tinnevely), from a private letter by Dr. Caldwell, written on the outskirts of Kâyal, will be read with interest:—

"I sent my coolies last evening to dig for sepulchral urns in the lowest ground in the neighbourhood. These are 'jars'—*salunnaittutali*—in which a race of people, of whom nothing is known, used to bury. Before long they found one in the deepest part of a tank which is now dry. It was a stoneware, eleven feet in circumference. Unfortunately it had been so often soaked in water that it was found broken in three. The contents, however, were perfect,—the bones of a man with an exceedingly perfect skull. There is a small hole in one part of the skull, apparently made by a weapon. The grand interest, however, is this. This place is a portion of the Tâmaparadelta, and the ancient people had dug right through the alluvium of the delta till they had come to the white sand underneath, in which they had deposited the urn. The upper stratum of the sea-sand has generally turned into a grit-stone, through the infiltration of the alluvium deposited above. The grit-stone accordingly had formed round the urn, and even inside, and the cavity of the skull is filled with compact grit-stone! The teeth are very perfect

and complete. Altogether, the skull would be an interesting addition to a naturalist's studio. I have found no traces of the Greeks here, but plenty to prove that the place is of great antiquity. I have had my coolies digging for several days, and wherever they dig they find nothing till they get to a depth of about eight feet. Then brick floors, &c. are found. The thorough excavation of a place like this would prove very expensive. The Collector sent me a peon, to be present as a sign of Government authorization. I am to send in a list of what I find to the Government.

"A certain Dr. J—, of Berlin, was in Tinnevely in the beginning of the year. He made a considerable collection of urns, skulls, &c., which he carried off to Germany without communication with the Madras authorities. For this the Collector, it is said, was reprimanded."

"I am taking the greatest possible care not to irritate the people in any way, so I make no excavations near their temples, and have not dug about the numerous images of Buddha, even though they are not now worshipped. There is an image of Buddha, near Kâyal, which the people have turned back upwards, and the washermen use it for beating their clothes upon."

"Saturday 24th.—I have been this morning to Kâyal again, and returned. This time I went in a palanquin, and did my journey comfortably. I went two miles beyond what now remains of Kâyal, and still found myself only in the centre of the remains of the great city of Marco Polo's time. I marked out several places for excavation, and left ten men to do as much work as ten men could do in a day. . . . I intend to cross the mouth of the Tâmaparai, and see Pinnai-Kâyal."

"Yesterday my people found a couple of urns at Mâramangalam. One was as large as the one found at Kerkol, but empty. The interesting of that is that it only contained the base of the skull. The other was a smaller one, which my coolies were able to take out whole. It contained two beautiful little polished kalasams, or vessels, but no bones. The inside is black, and so are the kalasams. . . ." —*Athenæum*, 12th August 1876.

### BOOK NOTICE.

MURKISSAN PIGRAI'S Bible: Sayk 'Abbasma. (The New Testament portion of the Annâdâi Paragaph Bible in Roman Urdu.) London: The Hongkong Trust Society, 1876. This is the first part issued of a Commentary

built. He likewise conquered the five independent powers in the south, who acknowledge no earthly superior." Many of the Palliyas, however, Polyvura, constituted by Vishvanâtha Nâker, exist to the present day. The minister Palliyas, given in the feudal tenure of rendering military service and defending the holdings of the metropolitan fort allotted to their holders, are well known; most of them were

on the whole Bible under the title of *Shashvâdâ Agri's Bible*. (We must confess that we stumble on the threshold; the word Bible may pass, but

forfeited in the Polygar war, which fills so many pages of Wilks and Hume, and the history and traditions of each, which doubtless survive in the families, would, if collected, throw much light on the antiquities and affairs of the days of the Southern Empire.—M. J. W.

§ See the last chap. Appendix, to Dr. C.'s *Comp. Grammar*.



surely not in the English spelling.) The work is published in London by the Religious Tract Society. It extends to 644 pages royal 8vo, comprising both the text of the New Testament, and notes about equal in extent to the text itself. The whole is in the Roman character. Dissertations on several important points are given. Two carefully constructed maps enhance the value of the work,—one presenting Palestine as it was at the Christian era, and another showing the travels of the Apostles.

■ indicates progress on the part of missions in India, and a considerable amount of education as prevailing in the native Christian community, where a work of this kind is required. For we presume the Commentary is not intended chiefly for the missionaries, European or American, but for the native churches.

The version adopted is that of the North India Bible Society; the commentary accompanying is now published for the first time.

We must put a force on our inclinations and refrain from entering on the many and difficult questions connected with the translation of the Scriptures. Is the *textus receptus* to be followed even when recent investigation has shown its readings to be inaccurate? How far is it desirable that versions should be literal, striving ■ give the exact sense even when the idiom of the language is sacrificed? Questions of this kind start up at once; but we resolutely pass them by.

One of our chief complaints against our own, generally excellent, English version, is the variety of renderings given to the same word. Much of the force of a passage is often, in this way, missed. For example, in 1 John ii. 24 the verb *μειν* occurs three times, the repetition being emphatic and significant; but, with ingenious perversity, the English translators dissipate the force of the passage by using three different words—*abide*, *continue*, *remain*. We have just now turned to the Vulgate, and find it uses *maneo* once, and *permaneo* twice, which is a near approach to what we insist on. In the version before us we find two different words employed—*dwelt* once, and *abode* twice. We object to this, though the rendering is better than that of the English translation. So in Heb. xii. 27, 28, our translation gives two words—*shaken* and *moved*—where the Greek, with evident purpose, has only one. The Hindustani, we are sorry to see, follows here the bad example of the English. Jerome was wiser.

The Commentary—on which, as new, we should especially comment—seems executed with much care and no small success. It is simple, and as

brief as is consistent with perspicuity. Thus, on the verse "The Word was made flesh" (John i. 14) it sufficiently explains the meaning, and so supplements, or rather corrects, the somewhat peculiar rendering of the text, *Kaldm newjissom* 44d. And, throughout, the annotations are unpretending, sensible, and such as will recommend themselves to the members of Protestant churches generally.

On the question of style we must express ourselves with some hesitation. We start with a perfect abhorrence of that

"Babylonish dialect

Which learned pedants much affect."

We shudder when Urdu is stuffed full of Arabic and Persian terms, and when Hindi or Bengali becomes half Sanskrit. Further, we hold that while Urdu and Hindi must both advance, they should do so not on divergent, but if possible on convergent, or at all events parallel lines. Sanskrit and Arabic are wide as the poles asunder. We hope to have, in the future, not an Arabicised Urdu and a Sanskritised Hindi, but two dialects of one language not much more apart, perhaps, than the "Jobanese" of the great lexicographer, and the Saxon English of Addison or Swift. Now we by no means think this Commentary so faulty as many, or even most, Urdu compositions. Still it is *higher* than we expected or desired. We believe it is somewhat too much so for the native Christians generally, even for those who speak Urdu. To the multitudes of Hindi-speaking natives much of it must be unintelligible. Such, briefly, is our judgment on the style, and we feel bound to express it, although we are fully aware that all the munshis, and many of the missionaries, will take a different view.

We are very glad to see this work appear in Roman character. It is to the credit of the missions planted among the Hindi-speaking and Urdu-speaking populations that, instead of the cumbrous Devanagari and the rather enigmatical Persian, they should so often employ the clear, compact, and comparatively inexpensive Roman letters. The array of discritical marks looks by no means formidable. The type is small, in order to keep the size of the work within moderate bounds, but the letters are perfectly distinct. The getting up of the whole book is remarkably good, and most creditable to all concerned.

We congratulate the venerable missionary Dr. Cotton Mather, who is, we believe, the translator of the notes and dissertations, and also the editor of the work. Dr. Mather has performed his important task both diligently and successfully.



## SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Esq. C.S.

(Continued from p. 72.)

## No. XXIX.

THIS and the following two inscriptions carry us one step further in the Western Châlukya genealogy, being Sanskrit copper-plate charters of Vinayâditya-Satyâ-âraya, the son of Vikramâditya I. of my last notice.

The present one is from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection, and is marked as having been found at 'Togurakode' in the Kerpâl District. It consists of three plates, about 9½" long by 4" broad. It is not stated whether the seal of the ring connecting the plates bears any emblem. The characters are the customary Western Châlukya characters derived from the Cave-alphabet, and nearly fully developed into the Old Canarese alphabet. They are not so neatly formed as those of the inscriptions last published by me, and they have a decided slant from left to right. It is also to be noted that the practice as to writing the *Asavâra* is not uniform; sometimes it is written above the line, as was the rule in the earliest adaptations of the Cave-alphabet, and sometimes,—in *âgrah(gre)-vîrânta*, l. 1; *canîsa*, l. 13; *mâna-kriśṅga*, l. 17; and *chakṣhala*, l. 31,—on, or just a trifle below, the upper line of the writing.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 612\*, and records a grant by Vinayâditya, made by him in the tenth year of his reign, in celebration of some victory, while encamped on the banks of the Pampâ river or lake. The locality is certainly the Hampe, Vijayanagara, or Bijnagar of modern times,—referred to in Sanskrit books by the name of 'Pampâkṣhâtra,'—on the south bank of the Tuṅgabhadra, in the Ballâridistrict. There is a sacred pool at Hampe which is still called 'Pampâsarôvara,' and Mr. Sanderson, in his *Canarese Dictionary*, gives 'Hampe,' or 'Pampâ,' as another name of the Tuṅgabhadra itself. Mr. Garrett, also, in his *Classical Dictionary*, gives 'Pampâ' as the name of a river that rises at Rishyamûka in the Dekkan. And 'Rishyamûka' is the name by which a small hill on the north of

the ruined town of Hampe is still known. Whether 'Pampâ' is another name of the Tuṅgabhadra, I cannot say. But this conjunction of names leaves no doubt as to the neighbourhood in which Vinayâditya's camp was pitched at the time of making this grant, and as to the part of the country that had just been subjugated by him.

I cannot trace on the map the villages affected by the grant, or the district,—named in line 28; where, however, there is some doubt as to the exact reading,—in which they were situated. The grant was of certain dues, perquisites, or taxes, called *Âdityaśchhamarumanna* and *Mâraśchhamarumanna*. These are Dravidian terms, which I am not able to explain; but one component part of them is plainly the Sanskrit *uichha*, 'gleaning.'

The record of the grant was made by Râmapuṣṣyavallabha, Vinayâditya's Minister for peace and war.

In the epithets applied to Vikramâditya I., a clear allusion is made to a confederacy that was formed against him by the three kings of Chôla, Pândya, and Kôrala, and to some interruption of the Western Châlukya rule that was effected by the leader of the Pallava, the lord of Kânchi. I have had occasion to allude to this already, in my introductory remarks to No. XXVIII. of this series. It would seem that the results of the conquest of the ruler of Kânchi by Vikramâditya I. were not very decisive or permanent. For we find Vinayâditya again campaigning against the Pallavas, as the leader of his father's army. And a short inscription at Pattadakal in the Kalâdgi District, recently uncovered by me and thus brought to light for the first time, states, almost in so many words, that the great temple thereof, the temple of Virûpâkṣhâdêva as it is now called, or of Lôkâśvaradêva as it was then called, was built by Lôkamahâdêvi, the queen-consort of Vikramâditya II., expressly to celebrate another victory over the king of Kânchi by her husband, who was the great-grandson of Vikramâditya I.

\* According to the original, "six hundred and eleven years of the Śaka (era) having elapsed."

† Plates xxviii. and xxxi. of Mr. Bagees's *Archæological Report for 1873-4*.

## Transcription.

## First plate.

- [1] स्वस्ति [II]† जपस्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्[कु]राहं क्षोभितार्णवं दक्षिणोभतदंष्ट्रायं(य)विश्रान्त-  
 [2] भुवनं इषुः [II] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तुयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हा-  
 [3] रितीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवादितानां कार्तिकेयपरि-  
 [4] रक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराणां भगवन्प्रायणप्रसादसमा-  
 [5] सादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणवशांकृताशेषमहीभृतां चतुर्व्या-  
 [6] नां कुलमलङ्कारिणोर्भूमेधावभूयस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपु-  
 [7] लकोशिवलभमहाराजस्य सूनुः पराक्रमकान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृ-  
 [8] पतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविभुदकीर्तिः कीर्तिवर्ममंशुधिवीवलभमहारा-

## Second plate: first side.

- [9] जस्तस्यात्मजस्समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरा[पथे]श्व[र]श्री[ह]र्ष[व]र्द्धन-  
 [10] [प] राजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयः [तस्या]श्रयश्री-  
 [11] [पृ]थिवीवलभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्त्रिभि[म]सुतस्य विक-  
 [12] [मादि]त्यपरमेश्वरमहाराजस्य मतिसहायसाहसमाप्तमधि-  
 [13] गतनिजवंशसमुचितचितराज्यविभवस्य विविधर[सिद्ध]सि[त]-  
 [14] समरमुखगत[रि]पुनरपतिविजयसमुपलब्धकीर्तिपताकावभा-  
 [15] सितदिगन्तरस्य हिमकरकरविमलकुलपरिभवविलयहेतु-  
 [16] पल्लव[प]तिपराजयानन्तरपरिगृहीतकाञ्चीपुरस्य प्रभावकु-

## Second plate: second side.

- [17] [लिङ्गदलि]तच्योलपाण्ड्यकेरळधरणीधरक[न]यमानमानभृंगस्य अभन्यसम-  
 [18] वन[त]काञ्चीपतिमणिमकुटकुटकिरणसलिलप्रभिषिक्तचरणकमलस्य श्री[वि]स-  
 [19] मुद्रमध्य[ष्य]वर्त्तितभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वरस्य सूनुः पितुराजया नालि[ले]न्दुशेखरस्येव  
 [20] सेनानीर्द्वैसन्नलमातिसमुद्रतं तैराज्यपल्लववल्लमवष्टभ्य समस्तविष-  
 [21] यप्रशमनाद्विहिततन्मनोनुरञ्जनः अत्यन्तवत्सलनाड्यधिशिर इव श्री-  
 [22] रामत्वादासुदेव इव नृपांकुसलान्तरधुराम इव राजाश्रयत्वाद्भर-  
 [23] त इव विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवलभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-  
 [24] द्धारकस्सर्वानेवमाज्ञापयति [I] विदितमस्तु वो स्माभिरैकादशोत्तरषट्तेषु  
 [25] शकैर्वर्षेयतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे दशमे वर्त्तमाने पद्मा-  
 [26] [त]टमधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारे कार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां भारद्वाजसंग्रहस्य दे-

## Third plate.

- [27] वशार्मणः पौत्राय दुर्गाशर्मणः पुत्राय भीमशर्मणे सर्वसास्त्रविशारदाय ने-  
 [28] दवेदांगविदे पेदे[दे]कु[क]न्विषये तो . . . इदमामे मादित्युच्छमभूमणो गु-  
 [29] ल्लेखेष्ट[न्दि]ष्टमामे मादित्युच्छमभूमणो वरेष्टमामे मादित्युच्छमभूमणो वरेष्ट-

† There are no marks of punctuation in the original. I | § Two letters are illegible with any approach to our  
 insert them for the sake of clearness. faintly here.

11a

REF ID: A61714



*[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme blurring and fading. The text appears to be organized into several horizontal lines across the page.]*

*[The text in this image is extremely faded and illegible.]*



- [30] ग्रामे माङ्गलमञ्जुमन्त्रो . . . १ सभा(भो)गो दनः [II] तदागामिभिरस्मद्वैरन्वैश्व राजभि-  
 [31] रायुरैश्वर्यादीनां विलसितमचिरांश्चंचलमवगच्छद्विराचन्द्रार्कधराणर्ण-  
 [32] बस्थितिसमकालं स्वदत्तिनिर्वृत्तेशं परिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्या-  
 [33] सेन [I] बहुभिर्बुधया भुक्ता राजभिस्समरादिभिर्व्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य त-  
 [34] दा फलं [II] स्वदातुं सुमहच्छस्यं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं दानं वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयो नृपा-  
 [35] लनं [II] स्वदत्तां परदत्ता(सां) वा यो हरेत् वसुध्वरां पष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठापां जयते कि-  
 [36] मिः [II] महामान्धिविद्वहिकश्रीरामपुण्यवत्तमेन लिखितमिदं शासनमिति [II]

*Translation.*

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Bear, that was manifested of Vishnu,—which agitated the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand trunk!

The son of the great king Śrī-Paṇḍita-śivalābha,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the glorious Chalukyas, who are of the kindred of Mānavya, which is praised over the whole world, and who are the descendants of Hārīti, and who are nourished by seven mothers who are the seven mothers of mankind, and who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity by the protection of Kārttikēya, and who have all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the Bear, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nārāyaṇa,—(was) the great king Kīrttivarmā, the favourite of the world, whose pure fame was established in Vanavāsi and other territories of hostile kings that had been invaded by his prowess.

His son (was) Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord,—who acquired the second name of 'supreme lord' by defeating Śrī-Harshavaradhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north.

His dear son (was) Vikramāditya, the

supreme lord, the venerable one,—who acquired, only by his impetuosity assisted by his intellect, the appropriate and accumulated regal power of his own family; who illumined the distant regions with the banner of his fame, that was acquired by the conquest of hostile kings who engaged in wars of various kinds that were brought to an end (by him)\*; who seized the city of Kāñchi after the defeat of the leader of the Pallavas, who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of that family† which was as pure as the rays of the moon; who rent open with the thunderbolt that was his prowess the proud summits of the haughtiness of the three mountains which were the kings of Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, and Kēraḷa; who had the lotuses which were his feet besprinkled with the waters which were the rays of the watering-pot which was the jewelled diadem of the lord of Kāñchi, who bowed down before no other (but who performed obeisance to him); and who was the supreme lord of the whole extent of the earth included within the three oceans.

His son‡, Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas, whose kingdom consisted of three (component) dominions, as The General§ did arrest the strength of the Daityas|| (at the command) of him¶ who bears the young

\* Two letters are quite illegible here; only the Vinaya after them is discernible. Some would mean *the*, *the*, or *periphrastic*, in apposition with *Adityarichkanagumanna* and *Adityarichkanagumanna*, stands here in the original, but I cannot decipher it in the facsimile.

† 'Vidhāya-vaśā-sita-jamara', &c., II. 13-14; also here seems to be the past participle passive of *ś*, 'to destroy, finish, bring to an end.'

‡ The Chalukya-*vaśā*, which was one of the offshoots of the Śālavāsa or 'race of the monkey.'

§ The construction of the original, II. 10 to 14, is different, being, in outline, 'Sityaśraya | Tat-prisya-satyaya Vikra-

madityaya śraya Vinayādityaś śrayaśraya', which could only be literally followed by taking the relative pronoun as the basis of the construction in the translation. In all such involved passages, it is preferable to avoid the use of the relative pronoun as much as possible, by breaking up the sentences.

§ Kārttikēya, the leader of the armies of the gods.

|| The demans, the descendants of Diti.

¶ Śiva. Kārttikēya being the son of Śiva, this is another point of comparison hinted at in the epithets applied to Vinayāditya.

moon on his crest-tuft, and having pleased his mind by bringing all countries into a state of quiet, was like Yndīśāhīra on account of his excessive affection, and like Vāṇudēva\* on account of his being the beloved of the goddess of fortune, and like Paraśarāma on account of his being the elephant-god of kings, and like Bhārata on account of his being the refuge of kings†, — and issues his commands to all people:—

"He it known to you! Six hundred and eleven years of the Śaka (era) having elapsed, in the tenth year of (Our) augmenting and victorious reign, at (Our) victorious camp which is located on the bank of the Pampā (river, or lake), on the day of the full-moon of (the month) Kārtika, there is given by Us, with the right of enjoyment, to Bhīmaśarmā, who is pre-eminent in all the sacred writings and who knows the Vēdas and the Vēdāṅgas, the son's son of Dēvaśarmā and the son of Durgāśarmā, of the lineage of Bhāradvāja, . . . . . §, (viz.) the Adityaśarmā-manna at the village of Tō . . . . . du (and) the Mānuśarmā-manna at the village of Guḷa vēḷuḷaga, (and) the Mānuśarmā-manna at the village of Varōyū, (and) the Mānuśarmā-manna at the village of Bāt-tōyū, in the district of Pōdōkūl. This (grant, or charter) should be preserved by future kings, whether they belong to Our lineage or to other families, as long as the moon and the sun and the earth and the ocean last, just as if it were a grant bestowed by themselves, bearing in mind that the charms of life and riches &c. are as evanescent as the lightning. And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings from Sāgara downwards: he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! It is a very easy thing to bestow a grant oneself, (but) the preservation of (the grant of) another is difficult; (if the question is) whether giving or preserving (is the more commendable act),—preservation is better than giving! He

is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been bestowed, whether by himself or by another! This charter has been written by Śrī-Rāmapanyavallābha, the High (Minister), who is entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war."

### No. XXX.

This is another from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection. It is marked as having been obtained through Captain Newbold from the Kārnāḍ district. The original consists of three plates about 9" long by 4" broad, and the seal of the ring connecting them bears the emblem of a bear. The characters are still more carelessly formed than those of the preceding; so much so that in lines 28 to 42, where many proper names occur, the reading is in many places very doubtful. This is, in fact, the most indifferent specimen of an early copper-plate charter that I have yet seen. The slant of the letters from left to right is still more distinct than in the preceding grant.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 614, (according to the original, 'six hundred and thirteen years of the Śaka [era] having elapsed'), in the thirteenth year of Vinayāditya's reign, and, like the preceding, records a grant to celebrate some victory that he had just gained. At the time of making this grant, he was encamped at the village of Eḷempandalō, and the principal grant is of the village of Mucapiparu. This village was somewhere on the north bank of the Kṛishṇavērṇā, i. e. of the Kṛishṇā after its confluence with the Vērṇā. Except thus far, I cannot identify the locality in question; and the other two names in line 25 are very doubtful. The grant was made at the request of Vinayāditya's son, Vijayāditya, who at that time was holding the post of Yuvarāja, and who succeeded his father on the throne. The record of this grant, again, was made by the Peace and War Minister, Rāmapanyavallābha.

\* Krishna

† Supply, to complete the comparison, the second meaning intended in 'Śrī-dharmatā', viz. 'just as Vāṇudēva was the beloved of the goddess Śrī, &c. because he was an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the husband of Śrī or Lakṣmī.'

‡ In No. 93 of Major Dixon's collection (see below) he called 'Vinayāditya-Rājārya.'

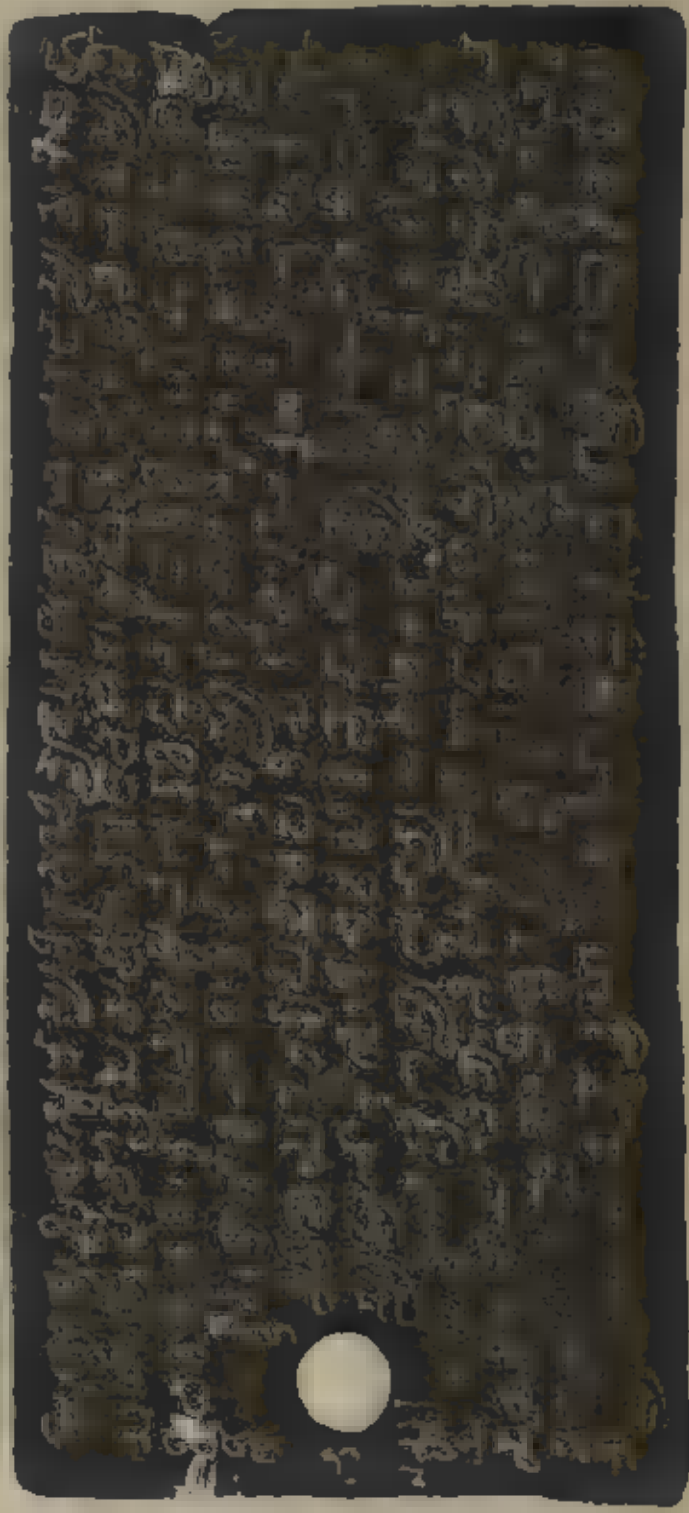
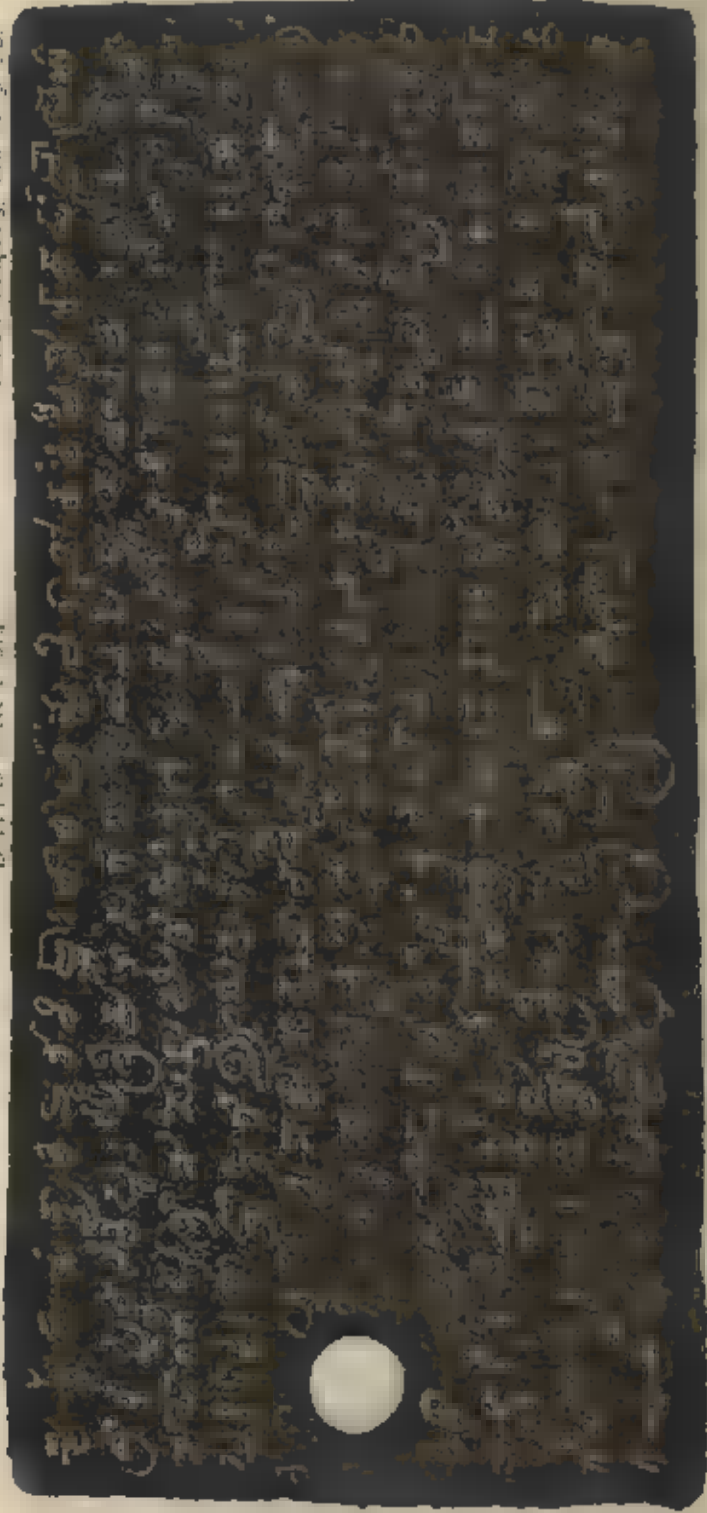
§ See note to l. 30 of the text: some such word as *pitṛ*, *duc*, or *pergulaite* has to be supplied here.

|| Conf. Gadag Inscription No. 2, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III., p. 500, Transcription line 13. The Vērṇā would seem to be the Vēṇā or Vēyā near Sāṭhā. The 'Kāḷa-Kṛishṇavērṇā', or 'the Krishna and the Vēḷ of the confluence', of line 13 of a Dēvāgiri-Yādava inscription at Khēdrāpur in the Kōḷhāpur territory (published by me in the *Jour. As. de R. As. Soc.*, N. xxxiii., vol. XII.), seems to be another form of the same name.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYA DYNASTY

DAVID SAKA 613

Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 28.



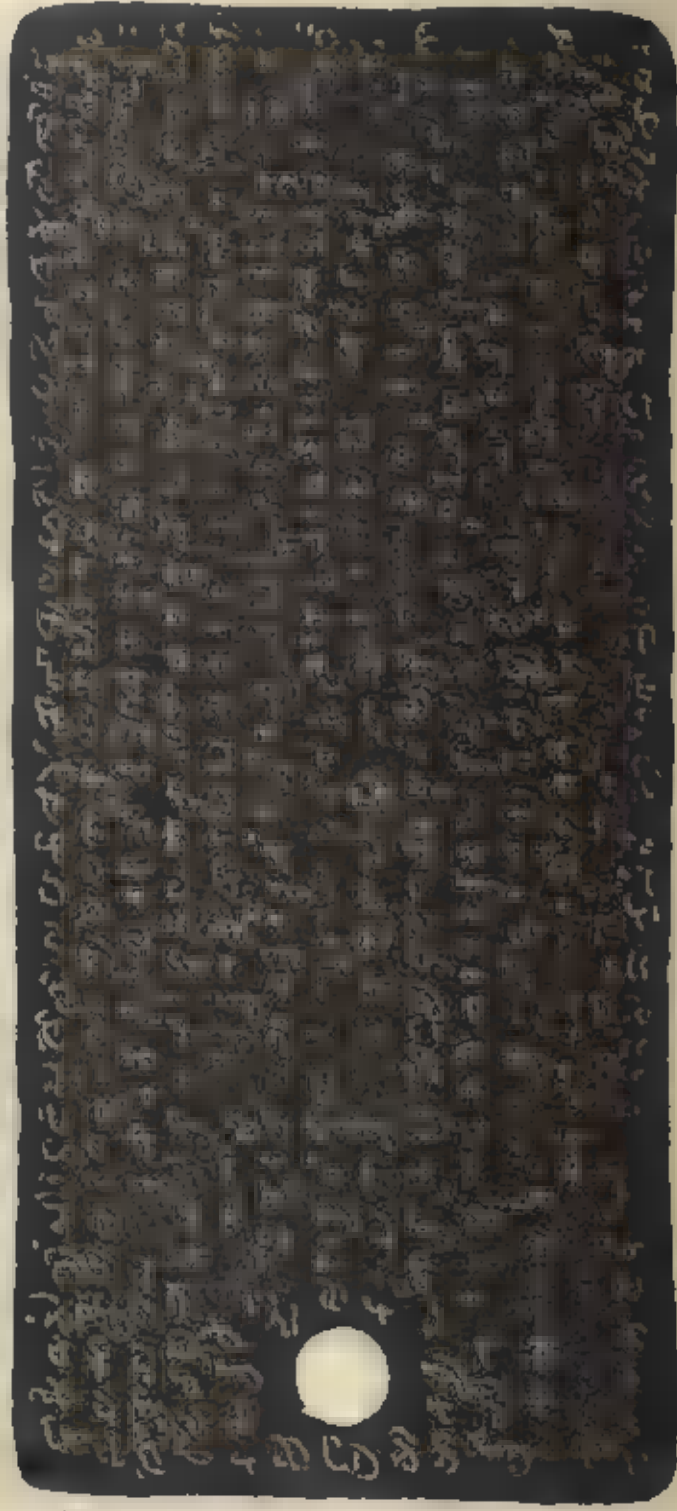
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY.

Indian Antiquary Vol. VI p. 89.

DATED ŚAKA 614



116.



117.



## Transcription.

## First plate.

- (1) स्वस्ति [11] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोः नाराहं सोभितार्णवं दक्षिणोभतदेष्टुमवि-  
 (2) श्रान्तभुवनं वपुः [11] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूपमानमानव्यसगोत्रा-  
 (3) णां हारी(रि)तीपुत्राणां समलोकमातृभिस्तप्तमातृभिरभिर्वादितानां कार्तिकेय-  
 (4) परिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्मारायणपसादसमासादित-  
 (5) बराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चतुर्व्यानां कुलमल-  
 (6) करिण्योरश्वमेधावभूयस्मानपवित्रीकृतगानस्य श्रीपुलकेशिवलभम-  
 (7) हाराजस्य सूनुः पराकमाकान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धवि-  
 (8) भुदकीर्तिः कीर्तिवर्म्मेशविनीवल्भमहाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्तमरसंतकस-  
 (9) कलोन्नरापयेश्वरश्रीहर्ष(र्ष)वर्द्धनपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वराप-  
 (10) रनामधेयस्तत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवलभमहाराज(जा)धिराजपर-

## Second plate; first side.

- (11) मेश्वरस्तान्त्रियसुतस्य विक्रमादित्यपरमेश्वरभृशरकस्य मतिमहा-  
 (12) पसाहसमानसमधिगतनिजवंशसमुपचितराज्यविभवस्य वि-  
 (13) विभरसितसितसमरमुखगतविपुनरपतिविजयसमुपलब्ध-  
 (14) कीर्तिपताकावभासितदिगन्तरस्य विमकरकरविमलकुलपरि-  
 (15) भवविलयदेतुपलवपतिपराजयानन्तरपरिगृहीतकाञ्ची-  
 (16) पुरस्य प्रभावकुलिशदलितश्लोकाण्ड्यकेरळधरणीपरतृ(त्र)-  
 (17) यमानमानशृंगस्य अनन्यसमवनतकाञ्चीपतिमणिमकुट-  
 (18) कुटकिरणसलिलाभिविकशरणकमलस्य भिसमुद्रमध्यव-  
 (19) निभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वरस्य सूनुः पितुराजया बालेन्दुशेखर-  
 (20) स्येव सेनानीर्दित्यवलमतिमुदतं वैराग्यपतवबलम-

## Second plate; second side.

- (21) वष्टभ्य समस्तविषयप्रशमनाद्विहितमनो नुरज्जुनः अत्यन्तवन्तल[न्त्रा]-  
 (22) युधिष्ठिर इव श्रीरामत्वादासुदेव इव नृपाकुशलात्परशुराम इव राजाश्व-  
 (23) यन्त्राद्वरत इव विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवलभमहाराजाधिराज-  
 (24) परमेश्वरभृशरकस्तर्जुनेवमाज्ञापयति [1] विदितमस्तु वो स्मभिः वधोदक्षो-  
 (25) त्ररपट्टतेषु शक्रवर्षेध्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयरान्यसंगन्तरे एका-  
 (26) दक्षो वर्त्तमाने एतुपुन्दलेयाममधिवसति विजयस्कन्धाकारे मा-  
 (27) घपौर्णमास्यां श्रीविजयादित्यसुत(व)राजविजापनया कृष्णवेर्णाया उ-  
 (28) त्ररतटे गन्धतत्रये बेलहि(1)ण(1)०(1)मागे भुसुणिपञ्चनाभयामः प्रो(1)के(1)भ्यो  
 (29) ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दत्तः [1] तेषां नामगोत्राण्युच्यन्ते [1] कौशिकसमोवाय रविशर्म्मद्वि-

\* The original has no marks of punctuation.

\* The proper reading, as shown by No. XXIX, l. 21,

No. XXXI, l. 19, and No. 5 of Major Dixon's copper-plate grants, Pl. II, a, l. 15 (see below), is 'vishva-sha-mand', &amp;c.

- [30] वेदाय पुनः कौशिकसगोत्राय आदित्यपदंगविदे काश्यपसगोत्रा-  
 [31] य शिवशर्मणे कौत्ससगोत्राय महाकालाय कौशिकसगोत्राय दास-  
 [32] शर्मणे कौ(1)त्स(1)सगोत्राय देव(1)शर्मणे कामु(1)कायनसगोत्राभ्यां संकर-

## Third plate.

- [33] स्वामिशर्मणां भारद्वाजसगोत्राय पति(1)शर्मणे काश्यपसगोत्राय देवशर्मणे भारद्वा-  
 [34] जसगोत्राय मादिशर्मणे काश्यपसगोत्राय त(1)मानशर्मणे वा.....† कौशिकस-  
 [35] गोत्राय दासशर्मणे व.....‡ त्रिशतो(?) यामा नाम.....§ सत्या(?)भया दत्ता(?)  
 [36] कदुदपने(?)पु(?)नामयामे भारद्वाजसगोत्राय दोणशर्मणे पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्त्तनं राजमाने-  
 [37] न क्षेत्रं कौण्डिन्यसगोत्राय वृद्धशर्मणे तथा पञ्चशक्तिनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं कौशिकसगोत्राय आदित्य-  
 [38] पदंगविदे तथा पञ्चशक्तिनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं तस्यैव सिद्धकूरे पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं  
 [39] प्राजापत्यं काश्यपसगोत्राय देवशर्मणे राजमानेन पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं  
 [40] मानव्यसगोत्राय शमुदेवाय(1) यु(1)सासाय तथा पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं  
 [41] मानव्यसगोत्रायै ब्राह्मण्यै द्वादशनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं प्राजापत्यं सत्ति(1)क(1)रयामे कौण्डिन्यसगो-  
 [42] त्राय हे(?)तिशर्मणे पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं प्राजापत्यं [I] उक्तानि नामगोत्राणि वृत्तयश्च [II] त-  
 [43] दागामिभिरस्मद्वैश्वैश्वैरा राजभिरायुरेभ्यर्थादीनां विप्रमित्रमचिरांमु(शु)चंचलप्रवा-  
 [44] ञ्छद्विरायन्तार्कधरणैश्च स्थितिसमकालं यशश्चिपुभिः स्वदन्तिनिर्वृशेण परिपालनीयं [II]  
 [45] उक्तञ्च [I] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधरां षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विद्यायां जायते कृमिः [II]  
 [46] इति [II] महासाधिविप्रहिकम्भीरामपुण्यवल्भेन लिखितमिदं शासनं [II]

## Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Bear, that was manifested of Vishnu (&c., as in No. XXIX.)!

The son of the great king Śrī-Puṣpakāśi-vaṇṇaśha,—whose body was purified (&c., as in No. XXIX.)—(was) the great king Kīrtti-varṇa, the favourite of the world, (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His son (was) Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His dear son (was) Vikramāditya, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who acquired (&c., as in No. XXIX.)||

His son, Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his

father (&c., as in No. XXIX.),—thus issues his commands to all people:—

"Be it known to you! Six hundred and thirteen years of the Śaka (era) having elapsed, in the eleventh year of (Our) augmenting and victorious reign, at (Our) victorious camp which is located at the village of Eljūmpundāḍi, on the day of the full-moon of (the month) Māgha, at the request of the Yuvardja Śrī-Vijayāditya, the village of Musuqiparva, in the division of Vāṭabhiṣṭa (?), in the three Gaṇyatas, on the north bank of the Kṛishṇavāṭṛa, is given by us to the Brāhmanas (herein) mentioned. Their names and gōtras are declared. To Raviśarṇa, of the Kauśika gōtra, who is familiar with two Vēdas; to Āditya, again of the Kauśika gōtra, who is acquainted with the Śha-

† There are seven letters here, which I cannot read with any approach to certainty.

‡ Similarly, there are eight letters here, of which I can make no intelligible words.

§ Here, again, there are four, or perhaps five, letters, of

which I can make no sense. And such letters as are clear in the latter part of this line do not give any satisfactory meaning.

|| Excepting the *μ*, i. 'somugachita' in l. 13, for 'somugachita-chita' in l. 14 of No. XXIX.

*deśa*†; to Śivaśarmā, of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; to Mahākāja, of the Kaṇṭha *gōtra*; to Dāśaśarmā, of the Kauśika *gōtra*; to Dōvaśarmā (?), of the Kaṇṭha (?) *gōtra*; to Śaṅkaraśarmā and Svāmīśarmā, of the Kāmukāyana *gōtra*; to Patīśarmā (?), of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; to Dōvaśarmā, of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; to Mādīśarmā, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; to Tamānaśarmā (?), of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; . . . . .

to Dāsaśarmā, of the Kauśika *gōtra*; . . . . . †

At the village of Kaduvaparāpa (?), (there is given) to Dōvaśarmā, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, a field of the measure of twenty-five *nivartanas* by the royal measure; likewise a field of the measure of fifty *nivartanas* to Vṛiddhaśarmā, of the Kaṇṭhīya *gōtra*; likewise a field of the measure of fifty *nivartanas* to Āditya, of the Kauśika *gōtra*, who is acquainted with the *Shadāṅga*, (and) he has also a field of the measure of twenty-five *nivartanas* at (the village of) Sīdhakūra, for the *Prājāpatya* rites (?); a field of the measure of twenty-five *nivartanas* by the royal measure to Dōvaśarmā, of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; likewise a field of the measure of twenty-five *nivartanas* to Vāsudōva, . . . . . ‡ of the Mānavya *gōtra*; (and) a field of the measure of twelve *nivartanas* to a Brāhmaṇy woman of the Mānavya *gōtra*, for the *Prājāpatya* rites (?). At the village of Sattikakara (?), (there is given) a field of the measure of twenty-five *nivartanas* to Hōtīśarmā (?), of the Kaṇṭhīya *gōtra*, for the *Prājāpatya* rites (?). The names and *gōtras* have been declared, and the shares. This (grant, or charter) should be preserved by future kings, who are desirous of acquiring fame, whether they belong to Our lineage or to other families, &c. And it has been said:—He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c. This charter has been written by Śrī-Rāmapuṇyavallabha, the High (Minister) who is entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war.

## No. XXXI.

This is from No. 3 of the photographs of copper-plate grants at the end of Major Dixon's collection. The original consists of three plates, and is stated to be at Harihar in Maieśr: I tried to obtain it to edit from, but failed to trace the owner of it. The original plates would seem to be very well preserved; but the photograph is imperfect in several places, owing to the letters not having been properly filled in with white paint or chalk when it was taken. The characters are of a much better standard than those of either of the two preceding inscriptions, and do not slant as much. The *Anusudra* is uniformly written above the line.

This inscription, again, records a grant made in celebration of some victory gained by Vinayāditya. It is dated in the Śaka year 617, (according to the original, 'six hundred and sixteen years of the Śaka [era] having elapsed'), in the fourteenth year of his reign, while he was encamped at the village of Kanañjapattana near the city of Harḍha-pura. These places must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Banawāsi and Harihar; and possibly 'Harḍha' should be 'Harḍha', and is the old name of 'Harihar.' The grant was of the village of Kīrṇakāgāmaśi, or 'the smaller Kāgāmaśi', in the Edevajal division and in the Vanavāśi district. The grant was made at the request of Ājavarāja, who was probably the hostile king just subjugated by Vinayāditya. I take it that *Ājara* has to be interpreted here as a proper name; but it might also be taken as the present relative participle of the Canarese *āra*, 'to rule', in which case *Ājara-rāja* would mean 'the reigning king'; this, however, does not give any suitable sense. The record of this grant, again, was made by the Peace and War Minister, Rāmapuṇyavallabha.

In line 21 the Haihayas are mentioned among the royal races subjugated by Vinayāditya. Lōkamahādēvi, the wife of Vikramāditya II., the grandson of Vinayāditya, was from this family.

† Also 'Fiddhā'; the six works auxiliary to the Vēdas;—1, *Sikha*, 'the science of proper articulation and pronunciation'; 2, *Chāṇḍa*, 'metre'; 3, *Yātīya*, 'linguistic analysis, or grammar'; 4, *Nirvāṇa*, 'explanation of difficult Vēdic words'; 5, *Jyōtiṣa*, 'astronomy'; and 6,

Kaipo, 'ceremonial rules.'

• See note to l. 34 of the text.

† See notes to l. 35 of the text.

‡ 'Tudēdyā' is unintelligible, in l. 40.

## Transcription.

## First plate.

- [2] स्वस्ति [11] जयत्वाविष्कृतं विष्णोर्ब्राह्मं क्षोभितार्णवं दक्षिणोभतदंष्ट्राविश्रान्तभु-  
 [3] वनं वपुः [11] श्रीमता सकलभुवनसंस्तूपमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारी(रि)तीपुत्राणां  
 [4] सप्तलोकमातृभिस्तप्तमातृभिरभिर्वादितानां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याण-  
 [5] परंपराणां भगवन्मारायणमसादसमामादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणव-  
 [6] शीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलुवयानां कुलमलं(ल)कूरिण्योरभमेधावभृयस्त्रानप-  
 [7] विचीकृतगानस्य श्रीपुलिकेशिवलभमहाराजस्य सनुः पराकमाकान्तवनवा-  
 [8] स्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविभुदकीर्तिः श्रीकीर्तिवर्मशयिबीवल-  
 [9] भमहाराजस्तस्यान्मजरामरसंसक्तसकलौत्तरापथेश्वरश्री-  
 [10] हर्षवर्देनपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयः सत्या-  
 [11] श्रमश्रीशयिबीवलभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्तद्विपसु-  
 [12] तस्य विक्रमादित्यपरमेश्वरभृशरकस्य मातिसहायसहितमावस-

## Second plate : first side.

- [13] मधिगतनिजवंशसमुचितचित्तराज्यविभवस्य विविधरसितसितसमरमुख-  
 [14] गतरिपुनरपतिविजयसमुपलब्धकीर्तिपताकावभासितदिगन्तस्य हिमकर-  
 [15] करनिमलकुलपरिभवविलयहेतुपलवपतिपराजयानन्तरपरिगृहीत-  
 [16] काञ्चीपुरस्य प्रभावकुलशालितचोलपाण्ड्यकेरळधरणि(णी)धरत्रयमानमानभृ-  
 [17] गस्य अनन्यसमवन [तथा] काञ्चीपतिमणिमकुटकुटकिरणसलिलाभिषिक्तचर-  
 [18] णकमलस्य त्रिसमुद्रमध्यवर्तिभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वरस्य सनुः पितु-  
 [19] राजया वाली(ले)न्दुशेखरस्येव सेनानि(नी)दैत्यबलमातिसमुद्धतं पैराज्यपलव-  
 [20] बलमवटभ्यः(भ्य) समस्तविषयप्रशमनादिहित[त\*]मनोनुरं(र)जूनः अत्यन्तवसल-  
 [21] त्वापुधिष्टि(ष्ठि)र इव श्रीरामत्वादासुदेव इव नृपाकुशन्वाप्तरशुराम इव रामाश्रयत्वा-  
 [22] द्धरत इव पलवकलंभकेरळदैहपविळमलवचोलपाण्ड्यादाः(दा) येनाळु... + गाँदै-  
 [23] म्मौलैस्तमभृत्यताम्हीताः(ता) विनयादित्यसत्याश्रमश्रीशयिबीवलभम-

## Second plate : second side.

- [24] हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभृशरकससर्वाभिव्यक्तापयति [1] विदितममस्तु के स्माभिः घो[र]शो[र]र-  
 [25] धृतेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे चतुर्दशे वर्त्तमाने  
 [26] हरेषपुरमत्स्यासन्ने करज्जपयाममभिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारे कार्तिकेयपूर्ण-  
 [27] मास्या श्रीमदालुवराभविवापनया नत्स्यसगोत्रस्य श्रीशर्मणः सोमया-  
 [28] जिनः पौत्राय मारशर्मणः पुत्रायः शानशर्मणे वेदवेदांग-

\* Except in lines 27, 28, 29, and 30, the original has no marks of punctuation.

† This letter is omitted in the original.

• This letter is, also, omitted in the original.

† Two letters, probably part of some proper name, are quite illegible in the photograph here.

‡ This word is followed in the original by the letter *ra*,

with a dot like an *anusvara* on each side of it. This is an old mark of punctuation, and is out of place in this passage. It occurs several times in the inscriptions at Pattadakal, which I have recently examined in original, and from which I first learnt the meaning of it; as a published instance see PL. xiv., No. 26, of Mr Burgess's *Archæological Report for 1875-4*,—[1] *Ext. Vedigama prathime* [2] *yam kappiddu* : *Trans.*, "Ext. Vedigama made the image."



- [28] वारगाय वनवासि(सी)मण्डल एदे(दे)वेभूमि किङ्कागामासि-  
 [29] ना[म]मामस्तभोगस्तर्कुनाधपरिहारोपेतो दत्तः [1] वेगगागामासि-  
 [30] यामपश्चिमभाग(?)तो कृतं क्षेत्रं [1] च तस्य क्षेत्रस्य  
 [31] सीमा पूर्वोत्तरदिग्भा(ग्भा)गे सिरिगोदुयामसीभि पूलि-  
 [32] वतु । तत भागत्य । कर्कुपुरिगोदु । तत वेदा(?)दु । तत

## Third plate.

- [33] भाले ॥ तत १. . . . . क । तत नित्त कतु(?) । तत प्रागतो नेभि-  
 [34] ६(?) । तत कुपुपके ॥ तत दक्षिणदिशमाव्य १. . . . . कट्ट [1]  
 [35] तदामाभिभिरस्मदंयै[र]नैश्च राजभिरायुरैश्चप्यादीनां विलसितमचिरांभुवच्च-  
 [36] लमवगच्छद्विराचन्द्रार्कधराण्णवस्त्रिस्त्रिमे(म)कालं पशभिचि(चि)भूमिस्सदत्तिनि-  
 [37] विक्षेपं परिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1] बहुभि-  
 [38] वृक्षुधा धुक्ता राजभिस्सगारादिभिर्ष्य ॥ पश्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य  
 [39] तदा कलं [1] स्वन्दातुं मुमहच्छस्यं दुस्तमन्यस्य पालनं दानं वा पाल-  
 [40] नं चेति दानाच्छेयो नु पालनं [1] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेति(त) वसुधरो च-  
 [41] ष्टि र्वैसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः [1] महासर्पिधविमहिक-  
 [42] श्रीरामपुण्यवत्समेन लिखितमिदं शासनं [1]

## Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Vishṇu, (do., as in No. XXIX.)!

The son of the great king Śrī-Pulikāṭṭi-vallabha\*,—whose body was purified (do., as in No. XXIX.)—(was) the great king Śrī-Kīrttivarmā, the favourite of the world, (do., as in No. XXIX.).

His son (was) Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, (do., as in No. XXIX.).

His dear son (was) Vikramāditya, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who acquired (do., as in No. XXIX.).

His son, Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one—who, having at the command of his father (do., as in No. XXIX.), (was) like Bhārata, on account of his being the refuge of kings, and by whom the Pallavas, the Kaṣṭhās, the Kēraṣas, the Haihayas, the

Vīṣas, the Maṣas, the Chōṣas, the Pāṣas, the Śyās and others were brought into a similar state of servitude with the Āṣas . . . rgas and others, who were hereditarily (subject to him),—thus issues his commands to all people:—

"Be it known to you! Six hundred and sixteen years of the Śaka (era) having elapsed, in the fourteenth year of (Our) augmenting and victorious reign, at (Our) victorious camp, which is located at the village of Karañjapātra in the neighbourhood of (the city of) Harāśāpura, on the day of the full-moon of (the month) Kārttika, at the request of the illustrious Āṣavarāja, the village of Kīrūkāgāmāsi, in the Edovoḷa division in the Vanavāsi district, is given by Us, with the right of enjoyment, and free from all opposing claims, to Śhaśarmā, who is thoroughly well versed in the Vēdas and the Vēdāṅgas, the son's son of Śrīārmā, who performed the Sōma sacrifice, of the Vāṭayagōtra, (and) the son of Māraśarmā. (Also there is given) an uncultivated (?) field

\* Two letters are quite illegible in the photograph here.

† Two letters are illegible in the photograph here.

\* In No. XXVIII, l. 7, No. XXIX, ll. 6-7, No. XXX, l. 4, and Major Dixon's copper-plate grant No. 6, Pl. I, l. 4,

the name is spelt 'Pulikāṭṭivallabha.' In ll. 3 and 7 of the Ahoḷa inscription, No. XIII, the reading is distinctly 'Pulikāṭṭi.' In No. XXVII, l. 4, it is 'Pulikāṭṭivallabha.'

† See note to l. 21 of the text.

‡ Abhyāsa; l. 20.

on the west of the village of Pārgāgamāsi. And the boundaries of that field (*ara*):—On the north-east, . . . . . || in the boundaries of the village of Sirigōdu; coming thence, (*the village of*) (?) Karvānarigōdu; thence, (*the village of*) (?) Pērdātu (?) ; thence, (*the village of*) (?) Ālāro; thence . . . . . ¶ thence, a stone (?) . . . . . \*; thence, to the east, (*the village of*) (?) Nēriṣa (?) ; thence, (*the tank, or village, called*) Karupakero; thence turning to the south, . . . . . -kātṭa.† This (*grant, or charter*) should be preserved by future kings, who are desirous of acquiring fame, whether they belong to Our lineage or to other families, &c.‡ And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdās:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, from Sugara downwards; &c.‡ It is a very easy thing to bestow a grant oneself, &c.‡ He is born as a worm in order for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.‡ This charter has been written by Śrī-Rāmapuṇyavallabha, the High (*Minister*) who is entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war.”

Before leaving this part of my subject, I should notice two more inscriptions of Vinayāditya.—1, No. 5 of Major Dixon's copper-plate grants. The original is at Surab in Maisūr, and seems to be fairly well preserved; but the photograph is too small and indistinct for me

to edit from it. Down to 'djēṇpayati,' Pl. II., a, l. 17, the language is the same as in the corresponding part of No. XXIX. now published. It is dated in the Śaka year 616, (according to the original, 'six hundred and fourteen years of the Śaka [*era*] having elapsed'), the thirteenth year of his reign, and apparently on Saturday, the day of the sun's commencing his progress to the south. It records another grant in celebration of a victory, and is issued from the camp at the village of Obitrāsōdu in the district of Tōravara or Tōramara. The grant is made at the request of the Great King Śrī-Chitrāpāda, the son of Upēndra. The name of the village bestowed seems to be Sāthivoge, in the Edovoḷal division, and near to Vaijayantipura or Vanavāsi. The record of this grant, again, is made by Rāmapuṇyavallabha, the Peace and War Minister.—2, No. 98 of Major Dixon's Collection; a stone-tablet 3' 6" high by 1' 10" broad at Baḷagāmvo. The photograph is so small,—only 3½' by 1½',—and so blurred, that only a few detached and familiar words can be made out here and there. The language is Old Canareso. It records a grant by one of the Sāndraka family, while Vinayāditya-Rājāśrayaṭ was the reigning paramount sovereign. It does not seem to be dated. At the top of the stone is an elephant, standing; this is the earliest stone-tablet that I am aware of with any emblems on it.

### PAPER-MAKING IN THE HIMĀLAYAS.

BY THE LATE CHARLES HORNE, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

At a time when the scarcity of rags for paper-making, combined with an increased demand for the manufactured article, has set every one seeking for substances wherewith to manufacture, I have thought that a short account of the paper-making in the Himālayas might prove of interest.

The reports on the manufacture of paper in Japan, published as a Parliamentary paper (No. 4 of 1871), have shown how the inner bark of various trees, notably the mulberry, is there used. That used in the Hills of India

is from the *Daphne papyracea*, a shrub abundant at certain heights, and the paper produced is very tough and durable. I almost fear, however, that the material could neither be supplied in sufficient quantity, nor that it would bear the heavy cost of carriage to the coast. I will, however, gather together all I can find on the subject scattered in various works, and then conclude with my own experience in the matter, as for many years I was in the Hills and witnessed the manufacture.

Almost every one who has been residing at

§ i.e., 'the larger Kāgāmāsi.'

|| Pālinṣtu, ll. 31-2; meaning not known.

¶ See note to l. 33 of the text.

\* Nittu, l. 35; meaning not known.

† See note to l. 34 of the text.

‡ Conf. 'Rājāśrayaṭ Śāstrāya,' No. XXIX., ll. 22-3, and in the corresponding place in each of the remaining inscriptions.

Naini Tal, the well-known sanitarium in Kumaon, and has had a garden, must well know the *Daphne* plant, the bark of which, as the plant grows ready to hand, is stripped off and used for tying up plants, securing trellis-work of *raungdi* (or small bamboos), and for all kindred uses. Many a sportsman, too, has been saved from an unpleasant slide by catching at its tough twigs, off which, however, the bark sometimes slips in the hand, leaving a white slippery core. Still I fear that where a large quantity would be required, as for export, it would be very hard to obtain.

I will now, however, without further digression, proceed firstly to detail the accounts of others.

In *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. p. 8 is a paper by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Nipal, on the native method of making the paper denominated in Hindustani 'Nipilao.' It is extracted online, as it is not susceptible of abridgment:—

"For the manufacture of Nipilao paper the following implements are necessary, but a very rude construction of them suffices for the end in view:—

1st.—A stone mortar, of shallow and wide cavity, or a large block of stone, slightly but smoothly excavated. 2nd.—A mallet or pestle of hard wood, such as oak, and in size proportioned to the mortar, and to the quantity of boiled rind of the paper plant which it is desired to pound into pulp. 3rd.—A basket of close wicker-work, to put the ashes in, and through which water will only pass drop by drop. 4th.—An earthen vessel or receiver, to receive the juice of the ashes after they have been watered. 5th.—A metallic open-mouthed pot, to boil the rind of the plant in. It may be of iron, or copper, or brass, indifferently; an earthen one would hardly bear the requisite degree of fire. 6th.—A sieve, the reticulation of the bottom of which is wide and open, so as to let the pulp pass through, save only the lumpy portion of it. 7th.—A frame with stout wooden sides, so that it will float well in water, and with a bottom of a cloth only so porous that the meshes of it will stay all the pulp, even when diluted and diffused in water, but will let the water pass off when the frame is raised out of the cistern.

"The operator must also have the command of a cistern of clear water, plenty of firewood, ashes of oak (though I fancy other ashes might

answer as well); a fireplace, however rude; and lastly *quant. suff.* of slips of the inner bark of the paper tree, such as is peeled off the plant by the paper-makers, who commonly use the peelings when fresh from the plant—but that is not indispensable. With these appliances and means to boot, suppose you take four *bars* of ashes of oak, put them into the basket above mentioned, place the earthen receiver or vessel beneath the basket, and then gradually pour five *fers* of clear water upon the ashes, and let the water drip slowly through the ashes and fall into the receiver. This juice of ashes must be strong, of dark lark-like red colour, and in quantity about two pounds; and if the first filtering yield not such a produce, pass the juice through the ashes a second time. Next, pour this extract of ashes into the metal pot already described, and boil the extract; and so soon as it begins to boil, throw into it as many slips or peelings of the inner bark of the paper plant as you can easily grasp, each slip being about a cubit long and an inch wide (in fact the quantity of the slips of bark should be to the quantity of juice of ashes such that the former should float freely in the latter, and that the juice shall not be absorbed or evaporated with less than half an hour's boiling). Boil the slips for about half an hour, at the expiration of which time the juice will be nearly absorbed, and the slips quite soft. Then take the softened slips and put them into the stone mortar, and beat them with the wooden mallet till they are reduced to a homogeneous or uniform pulp, like so much dough. Take this pulp, put it into any wide-mouthed vessel, add a little pure water to it, and churn it with a wooden instrument, like a chocolate mill, for ten minutes, or until it loses all its stringiness and will spread itself out when shaken about under water. Next, take as much of this prepared pulp as will cover your paper-frame (with a thicker or thinner coat, according to the strength of the paper you need), toss it into such a sieve as I have described, and lay the sieve upon the paper-frame and let both sieve and frame float in the cistern; agitate them and the pulp will spread itself over the sieve; the grosser and knotty parts of the pulp will remain in the sieve, but all the rest will ooze through into the frame. Then put away the sieve, and, taking the frame in your left hand

as it floats on the water, shake the water and pulp smartly with your right hand, and the pulp will readily diffuse itself in a uniform manner over the bottom of the frame. When it is thus properly diffused, raise the frame out of the water, easing off the water in such a manner that the uniformity of the pulp spread shall continue after the frame is clear of the water, and the paper is made.

"To dry it the frame is set endwise near a large fire, and so soon as it is dry the sheet is peeled off the bottom of the frame and folded up. When (which is seldom the case) it is deemed necessary to smooth and polish the surface of the paper, the dry sheets are laid upon wooden boards and rubbed with the convex entire side of the conch-shell, or, in case of the sheets of paper being large, with the flat surface of a large rubber of hard smooth-grained wood; no sort of size is ever needed or applied to prevent the ink from running. It would probably surprise the papermakers of England to hear that the *Kuchár* Bhotia can make up this paper into fine smooth sheets of seven yards square.

"This paper may be purchased (in 1831) at Katmandu, in almost any quantity, at the price of seventeen annas *sikká* per *dháru* of three *bars*, and the bricks of dried pulp may be had at the same place for from eight to ten annas *sikká* per *dháru*. Though called Nipálese, the paper is not in fact made in Nipál Proper. It is manufactured exclusively in Cis-Himálayan Bhót, and by the race of Bhotia denominated (in their own tongue) *Bangbo*, in contradistinction to the Trans-Himálayan Bhotia, whose vernacular name is *Sakpo*. . . . . To return to our paper-making—most of the Cis-Himálayan Bhotia east of the Káli river make the Nipálese paper; but the greatest part of it is manufactured in the tract above Nipál Proper, and the best market for it is afforded by the Nipálese people, and hence probably it derived its name; a great quantity is annually made and exported southwards to Nipál and Hindustán, and northwards to Sakya-Gúmbo, Digarchi, and other places in Transmontane Bhót. The manufactories are mere sheds, established in the midst of the immense forests of Cis-Himálayan Bhót, which afford to the paper-makers an inexhaustible supply, on the very spot, of the firewood and ashes which they consume so largely: abundance of clear water (another requisite) is likewise pro-

curable everywhere in the same region. I cannot learn by whom or when the valuable properties of the paper plant were discovered; but the Nipálese say that any one of their books now existent which is made of palmyra leaves may be safely pronounced on that account to be five hundred years old, whence we may perhaps infer that the paper manufacture was founded about that time. I conjecture that the art of paper-making was got by the Cis-Himálayan Bhotia via Lhasa from China, a paper of the very same sort being manufactured at Lhasa, and most of the useful arts of those regions having flowed upon them, through Tibet, from China, and not from Hindustán.

"P.S." (*abridged*.) "Dr. Wallich has fully described (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. XIII. p. 387) the paper-plant. 'The raw produce or pulp (beaten up into bricks) has been sent to England, and declared upon competent authority to be of unrivalled excellence for the manufacture of that sort of paper upon which proof engravings are taken off.'

I subjoin the botanical description of the paper-producing plant, with a few remarks for the reader who may not be a botanist.

As far as my own experience goes, this plant is but small, being a shrub of generally three to four feet; although, I am told, it often grows higher. The thickness of the stem is not generally greater than one's finger, and it would bear cutting down every year; although of course by this process, in such a cold climate as that in which it grows,—at 5000 to 9000 feet above the sea-level,—it should properly be left some two or three years to grow up again. Even without maceration in water the inner as well as the outer bark is easily separated from the wood. For tying purposes, both inner and outer bark are used at the same time.

The leaves are small and glabrous, being somewhat glossy; and the flower is insignificant, but with a slightly pleasant odour. The berries, which come on the tree in April to June, are showy, red, and very acid. It will grow where there is very little soil,—preferring, however, like most plants, leaf-mould caused by the decomposition of the fallen oak-leaves,—and has a stout hold by its fibrous roots in the rocks below. As I have never visited Nipál and the forests spoken of by Mr. Hodgson, I have never seen it growing in great profusion, but it is scattered



over a wide area, being found, as briefly put by Mr. Edgeworth, 'from Bhutan to Chambo.' In Major Madden's paper (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XVII. Pt. I. p. 368) on the Turace and outer mountains of Kumaon, he speaks of both the white and purple flowering varieties of the *Daphne cannabina*,—"sit-barua," a synonym of *papyracea*, as being found at Naini Tal; also the *Daphne sericea* or "*Chumla*." He adds that the Nipal paper is made from the *Wikstramia salicifolia* of Jacquemot, and from the purple flowering variety of *D. cannabina*. There must be many other inner barks of shrubs on the hills which would make paper; but until these have been tried it is of no use to speak of them.

Moorcroft, the well-known Himalayan traveller, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XII. p. 375, speaks of the plant, but he merely imagines that the paper is made from a shrub, not unlike butcher's-broom (!), called "*Setharua*." He adds that it is strong, and used for *lupia* (or bills of exchange). A glance at the flower will show that he could not have been much of a botanist. In vol. XIII. p. 383 of the *Asiatic Researches* is a paper by Dr. Wallich—"Description of some rare Indian plants." In this, "*Daphne cannabina*" (Loureiro ?) is described in nearly the same terms as those used by DeCandolle and above quoted. The English observations appear worthy of quotation, as our notices of this plant are in general very scanty.

"Among the extensive and constant supplies of plants and woods from Nipal which the Botanic Gardens (Calcutta) owe to the liberality of the Honourable Edward Gardner, Resident at Kathmandu, are also specimens and plants of the paper shrub, which, I am informed by this gentleman, grows very commonly in that country, and when in flower is exquisitely fragrant. It appears that there are two varieties, — one with perfectly white, the other with reddish flowers; both are used for ornament and for the manufacture of paper, of which I am enabled to present to the Society's museum specimens of various dimensions and texture. The common kind measures generally about two feet square. The first kind measures ten feet in length and four feet in breadth, and it is manufactured chiefly in Doti, a province to the eastward of Kumaon. It approaches in softness and size to that which is made in China, and

it is not improbable that some of the latter may be produced from the same material. Loureiro mentions that paper is manufactured in the neighbouring kingdom of Cochin-China from the bark of *Daphne cannabina*, which seems to differ only in having opposite leaves, — a circumstance which may perhaps be owing to culture. It comes extremely near to *D. uloni* of Thunberg and *D. indica* of Osbeck, which (at least that described in the *Flora Cochinchinensis*) Dr. Sims, with great propriety, suggests may be only a variety of the former. The question respecting the identity or difference of these three plants can be settled only by those who have the means of comparing them.

"I am indebted for an account of the manner of preparing this paper from the bark of this charming shrub, and for some parts of the description given above, to the communications of Lieut. H. R. Murray, and to the following notes extracted from the official correspondence of that gentleman with the Military Board at Calcutta:—

"The *sit-barua*, or paper shrub, is found on the most exposed parts of the mountains, and those the most elevated and covered with snow, throughout the province of Kumaon.

"In traversing the oak forests between Bhimil and Kangar, and again from Almora to Champant, and down towards the river, it has come under the immediate observation of the writer of these communications that the *sit-barua*, or paper plant, only thrives luxuriantly where the oak grows; so that it is not likely that it will succeed in the plains. It is hardy, and attains a height of five or six feet, blossoming in January and February, and ripening its acid red fruit about the end of April. The paper prepared of its bark is particularly calculated for cartridges, being strong, tough, not liable to crack or break, — however much bent or folded — proof against being moth-eaten, and not in the least subject to dampness from any change in the weather; besides if drenched or kept in water for any considerable time it will not rot. It is invariably used all over Kumaon, and in great request in many parts of the plains for the purpose of writing *naab-namis*, or genealogical records, deeds, &c., from its extraordinary durability. It is generally made about one yard square, and of three different qualities. The

best sort is retailed at the rate of 40 sheets for a current rupee [1s. 10d.], and at wholesale 80 sheets. The second is retailed at the rate of 50 sheets for a current rupee, and 100 at wholesale. The third is of a much smaller size, is retailed at 140 sheets, and wholesale 160 to 170 for the rupee. The following is the very simple method of manufacturing this paper:—

“After scraping off the outer surface of the bark, what remains is boiled in fair water with a small quantity of the ashes of the oak,—a most necessary part of the ingredients, which have the effect of cleaning and whitening the stuff. After the boiling, it is washed, and immediately beat in a pulp with small mallets on a stone, so that when mixed up in a vat with the finest water it has the appearance of flour and water. It is then spread on moulds or frames made of common bamboo mats.”

Thus ends Wallich's notice of this interesting plant.

From what has been here written, the general inference would appear to be that the pulp, in bricks or otherwise, could not be procured in any large quantity for the supply of paper factories; although, as in many other cases, it might be employed to usefully supplement existing and available materials.

Perhaps the Society of Arts was the medium through which, as Mr. Hodgson states, the pulp was supplied to the English manufacturers,

who pronounced so favourably upon it, or it may have been through the Court of Directors. From the character of the plant, and the elevation at which it grows, I am of opinion that it might easily be grown in England, even on poor soils. Lieut. Murray says it is found on the bleakest spots; but my experience is quite to the contrary. I have always found it growing best with forest trees, even in shade, and nourished by the free leaf-mould formed of the decayed oak-leaves. At the same time I am bound to admit I have found it growing in other situations, more bleak and exposed. Major Hay, who was long in the hills, always found it with and under trees, and agrees with me that it seldom exceeds three feet in height.

(Extract from Journal in 1845.)

Near the residence of a Lāmb at Kardang, in Lāhūl, we saw a number of Bhutās making paper from the bark of a tree they say they get in Kāllū, called “Bujil,” a species of *Daphne*. A number of people were beating it into a pulp, which others made into round balls; and, a little further on, the paper was being made in oblong and square forms of a large size, entirely for the purpose of having religious books printed on it, and not for sale. The form was made of a light wooden frame, covered with rather a coarse cloth, on which the pulp was mashed. I saw a quantity of the paper drying, but not the process of putting it on the cloth.

## NOTES ON THE CAVE OF PANCHALEŚVARA IN MOUJE BHAMBURDE, TALUKA HAVELI, ZILLĀ PUṢĀ.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Esq. C.S.

This cave is mentioned by Dr. Wilson in his first *Memorandum on the Ancient Remains of Western India*, and by Mr. Fergusson, who gives a woodcut from a sketch by Daniell,\* tolerably accurate as representing the style of architecture, but failing as regards the general appearance of the place. It has also been at least twice photographed, but I am not aware that any copies are now in print. During the past monsoon I had an accurate plan taken of it, which is now with the Archaeological Surveyor, and I think the following notes may be useful.

It is in “a rocky hillock forming a gentle

swell of the ground” close to the cattle bazar of the village of Bhamburde, opposite Puṣā, immediately north of a small hill crowned by a Muhammadān pirasthān, and east of a large quarry.

The entrance is through a tunnel about twenty feet long and five wide. This—which has suffered a good deal from time, and is now partly supported by masonry—opens into the east side of a court averaging 95 feet north and south by 90 east and west, and ten feet below the surface of the ground around. The centre of this court is occupied by the Nandi pavilion, which is remarkable and, I believe, unique.† It is hewn

\* *Jour. As. Soc. Br. E. As. Soc.* vol. III. pt. ii. p. 55; Fergusson's *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 448.

† A square pavilion stands in front of the large Śaiva cave at Ambā or Mominābād.—Ed.

out of the rock *in situ*, and was originally supported by twelve pillars round the outside, and four in square in the centre. The four eastern pillars have come down during the last five years, with that part of the roof which they supported. Between the outer circle and inner square of pillars is an annular cistern about two feet deep, which was within my time kept filled with water. The Nandi and four inner pillars rest upon an insulated plinth or pedestal in the cistern. The roof of this pavilion is externally carefully smoothed and dressed into the shape of an umbrella, except at the very top; where the original rock surface remains,—not having been high enough, apparently, for the architect to finish his design. There is no trace of his having made any structural addition, either here or over the main cave. The rest of the courtyard is almost filled up by a modern wall and garden.

The façade of the cave occupies the whole west side of the court, and is 96 feet long, exclusive of the thickness of two pilasters. These and eight free-standing pillars, plain and square, with bracket capitals, support the roof in front. The caves are very narrow, and dressed below; the entrance, a flight of five steps up from the court, and three down again into the cave, is between the centre pillars. The outer steps are flanked by two stone tigers couchant, hewn *in situ*. An aisle eight feet wide separates the front row of pillars from another precisely similar, having a great false architrave; and nine feet farther in is a third row of the same character, but having only three pillars and a pilaster to the south of the central interval, as the south side of the cave here contracts eleven feet at a right angle, the north side retaining its direction. Between the third pillar from the south and fourth from the north is a small Nandi hewn *in situ*; and 6½ feet inside of this third row of pillars is the shrine, containing three cells hewn in a mass of rock 39 feet long in front by 27½ deep to rear, left standing from floor to ceiling. The central cell is occupied by the linga of Mahadeva Panchaleśvara; to his left is Bhavāni, to his right Gaṇapati. A

wide and dark passage leads round the back of the shrine, and it would seem that the architect meant to have supported all this part of the cave with pillars and pilasters symmetrical with those in front; but much of the work remains merely blocked out. The maximum depth of the cave (in the north-west corner) is 75 feet. The northern section is now divided from the rest by a mud wall. Between the pilasters on the true north wall I found some traces of figures,—whether blocked out for sculpture, or destroyed, it was impossible to say,—and thought I recognized the outline of the Śaiva Aśhṭa Mātṛa. Below them were a few conventional ornaments, especially that derived from the Chaitya, and found in many Hindu caves, as at Elephanta. On the faces of the great Nandi's island-pedestal are panels of a pattern which suggests a similar derivation from the Buddhist rail. There are no other sculptures, but a few unintelligible marks in the south wall, and I found no inscription whatever. There is a small cell; the front supported by two pillars, in the south-west corner of the court; and in the hill, about a mile behind, there are three or four more, which are mere square cells. Modern Hindunism has the whole set in full possession, has adorned the cave of Panchaleśvara with marvellous frescoes, and even hewn new images in the cells on the hill. There is nothing to show that the great cave has not always been, as now, a Śaiva temple. As regards its chronological position we have but little evidence. The long open front and rows of pillars point to the period of the Bādāmi caves; the Nandi pavilion hewn in the court reminds one of Elora and the solid shrine of Dhokeśvara, which is in fact the nearest Brahmanical cave (38 miles off as the crow flies), and the one which to my mind presents most points of affinity. All of these, however, are much more ornate than the cave of Panchaleśvara, which, for its originality and vigour of design, deserves to be a good deal better known than it is, though lying at the very doors of one of the largest European stations in India.

### THREE KŌSGŪ INSCRIPTIONS.\*

BY THE REV. P. KITTEL, MERKARA.

The following Old Kanarese inscriptions in

\* Cf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 360 et seq.; vol. II. pp. 155 et seq.; vol. III. pp. 223 et seq.; p. 302. As evinced by the

the letters of the period (resembling those of

pronunciation of Kanarese, Kōdaga, and other peoples, the name of this country is K ō s g ū (not Kōsgu with the long

















[illegible][illegible]

Prosperity to Jinn's order.\* When the eight hundred and ninth year of the time past since the Saka king (S. 3800) was announced, Inel\* Sakyavajra King of the Western, the supreme king of the virtuous assemblage, the great landlord of Kāśya (Kāśyaputra), the protector of Nandagiri, in the eighteenth year when (1875) the kingdom inaugurated the fortunate P'ramananda was born, performed, on the lucky fifth day of the month Phalguna, P'ramananda, who has been many oblations to all the (other) gods, gave even the twelve hundred\* (that formed) the lotus on the shores of the great river, for the Jain temple at the Word of Truth of the P'ramananda\*, the Saka was handed down who was a disciple of Siddhanti, the Great Lord of the established church. The ninety-six thousand people, the five (celestial) chiefs, the seven masters of the great river, and the eight fathers for the generations regarding this. The thousand Mahes\*, the

five hundred people, and the five spokesmen (*int*) the guardians of it. Any one who destroys this becomes a person that is guilty of destroying Burmese, a thousand persons, a thousand brown cows, and, of the entire) two great crimes. The teacher Soga's writing. It is for paying the government of full weight, as well to eight hundred and ten, especially

## 111.

- <sup>1</sup> Sivaśaṣṭyaślokaḥ Kingśhivamūlā |  
<sup>2</sup> dharmamūlā āpādetājam Kṛmā-  
 Tīlāpāṭaśaṣṭyaślokaḥ Nāṭyaśaṣṭyaślokaḥ  
<sup>3</sup> Kṛmāślokaḥ śrīmānāṣṭyaślokaḥ  
<sup>4</sup> Kṛmāślokaḥ Vāṇāślokaḥ 7. Hymnāślokaḥ  
<sup>5</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 10. śrīdharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>6</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 11. dharmāślokaḥ  
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<sup>96</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 101. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>97</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 102. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>98</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 103. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>99</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 104. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>100</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 105. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>101</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 106. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>102</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 107. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>103</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 108. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>104</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 109. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>105</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 110. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>106</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 111. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>107</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 112. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>108</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 113. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>109</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 114. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>110</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 115. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>111</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 116. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>112</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 117. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>113</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 118. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>114</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 119. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>115</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 120. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>116</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 121. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>117</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 122. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>118</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 123. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>119</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 124. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>120</sup> dharmāślokaḥ 125. dharmāślokaḥ  
<sup>121</sup> dharmāśloka

Example 1

Hail! Satsavakya King of a realm,  
the supreme King of all the virtuous *samant* (臣),  
this exalted lord of Kalyāṇa (福源), the pro-  
fessor of Nandaparit: the fortunate P'ei-mu-  
in a rank 4. When P'ei-mu reached the distant  
Jedaka K'ei-yueing, the son of that Mu-pu-  
da, the order fixed was this: he set down (set)  
the gold of land and man (人) gold (金)  
of full weight, as well as a hundred *shian* (仙)  
(仙) partly in wood, partly, to be extended to be  
a grant for ages. Hail to A-yu's letters  
(函) K'ai-ho (合) a blessing to the foreign  
floral prosperity!

## BOOK NOTICE

Journal of Textiles and Textiles Administration, by James Kennedy, DCL, F.R.S., completes the third volume (the complete works<sup>12</sup>) of the new edition of the *Œuvres de J. de La Motte*. London: John Murray, 1975.

When the religious and literature of India had assimilated to the determined severity of the first

5 The syllable *o* was at first omitted in the original, and afterwards, though not clearly, inserted before the place in the line.

The house for is not in the loop, but something more significant is about to happen.

¶ According to No. 1 and to the meaning that is required, the *re* is expressed by a *re* in the original; before *quid* *re* is a slip of the pen. \* *re* 'hemp.'

From this it appears to follow that the large  
ditches, or large trenches, originally were intended for  
landmarks.

great company of European scholars, the equally attractive field of architectural art was not long waiting to welcome native explorers, and the blank left by the neglect and ignorance of the two preceding centuries of European settlement and conquest was rapidly filled up. It was thus discovered that, how-

\* If, if the syllable *pt* had not been supplied under the line in the diagram, the thousand (per cent) bill. A) all sorts of it is strange that here a thousand. Mailboxes are numbered and the number is quite distinct, witness in No. 1 the only number I can make of the initials in distinct letters is that of 'four', of that of 'thousand' there is no trace at all.

5. *Историческое значение*

1. The name in Assyria is the same.

7 The subject—Ergonomics.

ever strong might be the claims of India to an old and high civilization, there were no material evidences of it which could claim a place beside the similar memorials of Egypt, Assyria, and Greece.

This achievement was accomplished by the labours of Buchanan, Wilson, Sykes, Mackenzie, and Prinsep,—not to mention other names nearly as great; but it was reserved for a later writer, Mr. James Fergusson, to leave the limited field of more or less provincial inquiry, and to bring together, in one comprehensive body, the composite results of all that had been effected by the several preceding investigators.

When one considers the influence the religions of the Indian races have on all their action and aspirations, and the aid to a proper comprehension of such influence which is afforded by an intelligible acquaintance with the architectural remains of the country, the Government and the public alike are under a deep debt of obligation to one who has done, and is doing, so much in this important sphere of knowledge. And the feeling of obligation must be accompanied by a large admiration for the learning and energy of a writer who has effected single-handed, without Government assistance, not only the first popular introduction of the subject to the European and Asiatic public, but who, after a lapse of upwards of thirty years, still maintains his position as the sole and most able instructor of the world in this section of antiquities. The effect which the writings of Mr. Fergusson have had on the knowledge and taste of the present generation is admittedly great; numbers must owe to his architectural works their first awakening from the ignorance or indifference about the country and its peoples which distinguishes but too many of the European residents of this country.

The learned societies of Europe and the East have long acknowledged all this by every means in their power; but the general public has few opportunities of doing so, and we have therefore thought fit to preface this brief notice of the work under review with some tribute of admiration and respect for one who has done so much to aid in the intelligent government of India, and to render attractive the country in which so many thousands of his countrymen have to find their homes.

It is impossible to deal here in any adequate way with the subject-matter of a work of this description. The space of the *Quarterly Review* would scarcely allow that to be done. It will only be practicable to refer briefly to the more marked features of the book, and to point out its unique and indispensable character for the purposes alike of the resident and of the European traveller.

Mr. Fergusson's *History of Architecture* first appeared in 1855, as part of his well-known *Hand-Book*. A new edition, very liberally enlarged, appeared in 1862, also as part of a similar general *History of Architecture in all Countries*. The present is therefore a third revision; but it has borne such an entire remodelling, and has been so considerably added to, that it is practically and undeniably a new and distinct work. The bulk of it, or more than 600 pages out of 750, is taken up by the Indian styles, to which the following remarks will almost exclusively refer; but the sections devoted to Europe, Siam, Cambodia, Java, and China are quite as complete as existing materials permit, and important as the best extant authority for the architectural history of the countries to which they refer.

The great features of the work are that it does not confine itself to the mere technicalities of architectural science, and that it expresses small sympathy with those who look at the knowledge of the exterior phases of structural art merely as so many means of æsthetic enjoyment, and as ends in themselves. On the contrary, while fully satisfying the reader who may take up the work with no higher objects than those we have indicated, it aims at the broader and deeper task of illustrating and explaining, in the full spirit of modern architectural inquiry, the entire body of Indian history and progress. To effect this is a Titanic operation, demanding a very familiar comprehension of the varied results of the philological, ethnological, and mythological research of the last century, as well as a personal acquaintance with much of the area of a great country still insufficiently supplied with communications; but, vast as the toil involved may be, it has been gone through with never-flagging freshness, and with results which speak plainly for themselves.

To proceed to particulars: the illustrations—which, with a few exceptions, are of the extreme beauty and accuracy of the earlier editions—have been increased in number from 200 to 400, and there are two good maps in which the principal non-Muhammadan architectural localities are plainly laid down in colours. If we mistake not, these maps are the first of their kind, and will be found of the utmost value. The body of the text is preceded by an Introduction in which the origin, movements, and statistics of the pagan races are clearly and laboriously disentangled from the repelling difficulties in which they have, so far as the general reader is concerned, so long lingered; and at the end of the book about 50 pages are devoted to the disputed points of Indian chronology, which necessarily affect so closely the whole

framework of the author's conclusions. The rest is divided into seven Books, the two first and the last of which (those, namely, relating to the Buddhist, Jain, and Indo-Saracenic styles) apply more or less generally to the whole country, and derive their titles from the respective creeds which have now, or had formerly, similar universal lodgment: while the remaining four books (those, namely, devoted to the Himálayan, Dravidian, Chálukyan, and Northern or Indo-Áryan styles) are limited by the geographical or ethnical boundaries which the titles themselves define.

As the oldest existing works are those of the Buddhist period, the author commences with them, and this section will be found to be a marked advance on the previous editions, both in text and illustrations. It is still impossible to announce the discovery of any remains anterior to the time of Áśoka, or the second half of the third century before Christ, but the work which has been done in filling up the gaps behind that starting-point in the architectural history of India is great and important. First, and foremost, it is shown that the store of information we have derived from the beautiful and peculiar tope railings has been unexpectedly and lavishly increased by General Cunningham's discoveries at Barhut, in the state of Rewa. The rail found at this spot is said to date 200 B.C., and offers to furnish us with as full information of the worship and life of that remote age as do the richly sculptured similar works, of a later period, at Sanchi, Amravati, and elsewhere. Next, there are fresh illustrations and particulars of the gloomy and impressive Chaitya caves at Bháji, Bedá, Násik, and other places on the western side of India—excavations which are also believed to be prior to the Christian era; and, finally, plans are furnished, with all that can be made out, of the remains of the extensive structural monasteries of the Panjáb, which may be found to be almost as old, and which offer to settle so many points of complexity left undetermined by the examination of the cave examples. The last-mentioned discoveries have attracted more popular attention than such matters usually do, owing to the marked traces they disclose of Grecian influence in their orders and sculpture, and would attract more if most of the objects found were not buried in the Láhore museum. The foregoing are merely the more prominent features of novelty in the Buddhist section. It is quite impossible here to say more, as every page teems with facts or illustrations which bring this remote period of the history of India much nearer to us than has yet been effected for that of some much later times.

The second book deals with the Jaina styles, to

which we believe the author was the first to direct the attention they deserve, not only on account of their beauty in arrangement and ornament, but also for their present significance as the architectural expressions of a peculiar and wealthy sect whose building tendencies have not been exhausted by the passage of two thousand years. In the earlier editions of his book Mr. Fergusson was unable to point to any Jaina work earlier than the eleventh century, but he now shows that discovery at Mathurá may be reasonably expected to throw back the date, perhaps to the first or second century before Christ. If research proceeds at this pace, and is followed up by intermediate supporting facts, we shall shortly be better acquainted than we are at present with the exact relations of Buddhism and Jainism, and we shall stand face to face with a style which can boast alike of a remote antiquity and a present active progression and development. The history of the Jaina styles, if it is ever completed, may place us in possession of one of the most remarkable chapters in the architectural history of the world.

The clusters of temples reared by this sect at Pátinál, Girná, Ába, and Parasuráth are amongst the most striking groups India anywhere affords, and the beauty of individual examples ranges from that of the smallest shrines to that of the massive and lofty towers which still crown the summit of the fortress of Chitor, at Rájpútána. All will be found effectively illustrated and treated by Mr. Fergusson, as well as accompanied by an exposition of the history and belief of their founders. There is one effective feature in the Jaina temples—shared in to some extent by those of the Chálukyan style—which reminds one strongly of the Ptolemæic structures of Egypt. We refer to the half-length screens placed in front of or between the pillars of the porticos. Those who some years ago tried so hard to find resemblances between the Egyptian and Indian styles can hardly have failed to notice this, but we do not remember their having done so.

Book III. ranges over the entire extent of the Himálayas, not omitting the utterances of some hope that the architectural treasures of Tibet will not much longer remain sealed to the subjects of the—in that direction—powerless Empress of India. With respect to Kaámír there is small novelty, but the Nepálese and Kángará divisions for the first time take their proper place, and are copiously illustrated.

Of the Book devoted to the Dravidian style, it is only needful to point to the last chapter, relating to the civil examples, as the remainder of this part of the work deals with ground already well trodden.

though it will by no means be exhausted until a successor to Colonel Mackenzie appears.

The Châlakyan style has received only quite a recent recognition, and a great deal yet remains to be revealed regarding it; but we think it is destined to take a very high place in popular favour. These specimens of it range upwards from the Krishnâ to the Mahârâshtrî and Taptî. None of the Krishnâ examples are of much antiquity, but all, without exception, are of considerable originality and very great beauty of detail, and a greater contrast could not be imagined than that between these tasteful and lavishly decorated structures and some of the more or less clumsy and repulsive—though otherwise interesting and important—buildings of Orissa, whose boundary they touch on the north-east. We must confess we have personally a strong admiration for the Châlakyan style, and the Bombay presidency is to be congratulated on possessing so fair a share of its examples, if suitability to European taste is to be any criterion in our judgment of Indian architecture.

The next Book, containing the history of what the author calls the Northern or Indo-Âryan style, is much longer than the foregoing, as it embraces the immense area between the Indus and Brahmaputra west and east, and the Himâlyus and Vindhys north and south,—not without extending here and there into the ground appropriated principally by other orders. The author explains why he has adopted this title for the style that prevailed among the Hindus in Northern and Central India from the seventh century to the present day; but, although we cannot presume to offer a better name for it, we think the alternative term Indo-Âryan is much wanting in distinctiveness, as it embraces alike the structural Hindu works of the North-West Provinces, Orissa, and Central India, as well as some of those of Dhârwarâ, and the Brâhmanical rock-cut temples of that district and of the western presidency generally. This important section contains much that we cannot pretend to have yet done much more than skimmed, and we would only point to its multitude of illustrations, and its merits as containing, amongst other novelties, the results of Râjendra-lâla Mitra's researches in the north-east, and of those of the Bombay Archaeological Survey in the south-west; while in this instance, as in others, the chapter on the civil architecture is new and attractive.

It only remains to refer to the book devoted to the Muhammadan orders. Although the examples of the works of the Patidâns and Moghuls are so wide-spread and striking, they have been less fortunate in illustration than the provincial styles of Bijâpur and Ahmadâbâd, and Mr. Fergusson's

account of them—in the continued absence of adequate illustration in the Bengal Archaeological Reports—must long remain our only means of enlightenment. It omits illustrations of none of the more important groups—those, namely, of Gwalior, Delhi, Jaunpur, Bengal, Gopâr, Mâwâ, Kuthbga, and Bijâpur; and, under two sections of these heads there are material additions, both in text and drawings—mostly the entire work of the author himself, as it is not necessary to remind the readers of this journal that Mr. Fergusson's labours are nowhere confined to mere compilation or criticism of the work of others; he is always equally at home in the Buddhist, Jaina, Hindu, and Saracenic styles, and has his own materials and long-digested conclusion in all cases. Chief among the new features of this Book is a complete set of drawings—elevation, plan, and section—of the great Tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, near Âgrâ—a work which has hitherto never been properly dealt with.

With respect to our knowledge of the main features and principal examples of the Muhammadan styles little now remains to be performed, but a great deal yet remains to be done in detail. The province of the Panjât, for instance, which contains one of the old capitals—Lahor, surrounded by Moghul monuments of the greatest historical interest and beauty,—is entirely unknown to the architectural public, and apparently will long remain so, although even some of its minor cities, such as Multân and Sirhind, contain buildings second to none in interest in their proper grade. The coloured tile-work decorations of Lahor and Multân have yet to be illustrated, and it may be predicted that they will delight those who admire that vivid and beautiful, though perishable, class of ornament.

When commencing our remarks it was stated that they would be limited to the Indian section. But we cannot close without some reference to the author's chapter on the architecture of the island of Java. This will prove of absorbing interest to those who are unacquainted with the previous editions of the work, or with the Dutch and other books from which the information is drawn. We are so accustomed to consider the Indian races as non-maritime and unenterprising beyond the seas, that, although many years have elapsed since the discovery of the Indian origin of the Javan works, the new facts and illustrations now furnished by Mr. Fergusson cannot fail to be widely acceptable, and to brighten the interest which has always been felt in this romantic chapter in the history of Eastern architecture. Not the least valuable and curious feature of the remains of Java



is that of the disclosure of traces of tree and serpent worship,—two forms of early religious veneration which are apparently destined to afford a wide ground of controversy for some years to come,—a ground which Mr. Ferguson has hitherto made peculiarly his own. Many of the new

illustrations in this volume, although inserted for other purposes, would serve as additions to those of the author's great special work on this subject,—of *Tree and Serpent Worship*.

W. S.

*Editor.*

MISCELLANEA.

DONATION OF ORIENTAL MSS. TO THE  
EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

Mr. John B. Baillie, of Leys, has presented to the University a fine collection of Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit manuscripts, formed by his grandfather, Lieutenant-Colonel John Baillie, who wished them made heirlooms of his estate of Leys. His representatives, however, being desirous that they should be placed in some public institution, have handed them over to the University of Edinburgh under certain conditions, one of which is that they are to be kept separate as the "Leys Collection." Among them is a complete copy of the *Mahābhārata* in the form of a roll 228 feet long, 5½ inches wide, profusely illustrated in colours and gold, representing scenes from the poem. The writing (Devanāgarī character) is very minute, there being twelve lines in every inch. This MS. is perhaps one of the most beautiful of the kind that has reached this country. Another fine MS. is a copy of the *Shāh Nāmā* of Firdausi, also richly illustrated with illuminations of Oriental scenes. The rest of the collection consists of historical works, *firmāns* beautifully illuminated, &c., and numbers in all about 125 volumes. —*Scotsman*.

TRANSLATION OF A JAPANESE SONG.

The woods are green in summer time,  
And bright with blossoms gay;  
The murmur of the happy leaves  
Sounds all the golden day.

But here a tree, by lightning struck,  
Is black, and bent, and bare;  
It lifts its arms like phantom fell,  
And dims the sunny air.

A bird, that built its dainty nest  
Among branches blossomed-o'er,  
Still sings upon the withered bough  
As blithely as before.

O fond and faithful as the bird  
That haunts the leafless tree,  
Though darkest clouds of sorrow came,  
My sweet love stayed with me!

DR. GOLDSTÜCKER'S THEORY ABOUT  
PĀNINI'S TECHNICAL TERMS.

By PROF. RĀMKRISHNA G. BRĪNDĀRKAR, M.A.

The following article on Goldstücker's Pāṇini was published in two issues of *Natives Opinion*, 21st and 23rd August 1864. Appearing in a mere newspaper, it probably did not then attract the notice of scholars generally, and is now inaccessible. I am encouraged to reprint it in the *Indian Antiquary* by the suggestion of Prof. F. Kielhorn in a note in his article on the *Mahābhāṣya* (ante, vol. V. p. 261). I have given it as it was, save misprints, and a remark of a personal nature omitted from the last paragraph.

Dr. Burnell, in his recent work, *The Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, has adopted Prof. Goldstücker's theory about Pāṇini's technical terms, which, as was shown by me twelve years ago, is based on a misapprehension of the sense of certain passages in the *Mahābhāṣya* and Kaiyata, and like him is led to awkward conclusions. He gives some technical terms used by the older grammarians, which, he says, Pāṇini does not define in accordance with the theory. Of these, however, *ekasaghuṇa*, *dvaisaghuṇa*, and *bahuvrīchī* are defined in I. 4. 103. *Upanasarga*, *nipāta*, *dhatu*, and *pratyaya* Pāṇini defines likewise, but, as observed by me in the following paper, he defines them by enumeration, or by unfolding the denotation of the term instead of the connotation, and in the case of *dhatu* in the latter way also. All Indian grammarians so understand him, and Pottanjali himself does so. *Dhatu* is defined in I. 3. 1. This *dhātu* is interpreted in several ways. First, that *bhā* and others are *dhatu*, i.e. the name *dhatu* is given to *bhā* and others. The effect of this, we are told in the *Mahābhāṣya*,\* is that these get the name from the fact of their being put in that list. Secondly, *bhā* and others which are of the nature of *ad*, i.e. which show action, are roots; and thirdly, *ad* and others which are of the nature of *bhā*, i.e. signify being, are roots. What is to be gathered from the last two is that words which show action or being

\* अदेन धातुसंज्ञेनैवैतदुच्यते । p. 230a.

are roots. This is a connotative definition. After finishing his explanation in this way, Patanjali says, "Well, then, if we have got a connotative definition now, the enumeration should not be made,"† which means that the purpose of a connotative definition and enumeration is the same, viz. the explanation of a term. In the same manner the word *niṣṭha* is explained in I. 4. 56. This is an *adhikāra*, wherefore the term is so repeated in each of the *sūtras* that follow, up to I. 4. 97; and the sense is that all the particles contained in these *sūtras* are *niṣṭha*. *Upasarga* is defined, i.e. explained by enumeration, in I. 4. 59. As to *pratyaya* it is defined in III. 1. 1. This also is an *adhikāra*, and by this *adhikāra* we are told a name is given to certain things which are set forth in the following *sūtras*, to which the *adhikāra* extends.‡ *Śhaviṅhyat* and *Varṇamāna* are an *saṃjha*, or technical terms, of Pāṇini,—they are no more so than the words *bhāṣa*, *adhyāna*, and *parikṣa*, which are also used. The same remark applies to *anta*, *pradhāna*, and *prayatna*. *Anusvara*, like *vīraṅga*, is merely the name of a sound, and is not a *saṃjha*, the object of which in Pāṇini's grammar is abbreviation, or to be able to state much in a short compass.

Then follow terms which, according to the theory, Pāṇini should not define, but as a matter of fact he does. Dr. Burnell gives reasons why he does, the chief of which is that Pāṇini's new *anubandhas* and the *pratyādhāra sūtras* rendered the definition of these terms necessary. Prof. Goldstücker's theory is that Pāṇini does not define those terms which admit of an etymology and which are "known and settled otherwise." Now these terms have an etymology, were settled by the previous grammarians, were known before Pāṇini, Pāṇini uses them in the same sense, and there is no difference whatever: why, then, should he define them if the theory be true? What difference does his new system of *anubandhas* and the *pratyādhāra sūtras* make? He would be justified in defining them only if he used them in a different sense. But this is not the case. And if his new *anubandhas* make any difference, why should he not define the names of cases, *prathamā*, *dvitīyā*, &c. where also he has got new *anubandhas*. There are also some terms with the definition of which his innovations have nothing to do, but still he defines them notwithstanding they were used by writers who are believed to have preceded him. Pāṇini defines *saṃhitā* as *parāḥ saṃnikarṣah* (I. 4. 108), and these are exactly the words in which Yāska explains the term.§ Yāska uses

the terms *abhyāsa* and *abhyanta*|| also, and in Pāṇini's definition of them there are no *anubandhas* or *pratyādhāras*. The first of these observations will also stand against the reason advanced by Dr. Burnell for defining *anuvārika*. Pāṇini's definition of *anuvārika* he considers to be no definition. I do not see why. It is as good a definition as that of *gṛāḥ* or *vṛiddhi*. The sense of the *sūtra* (II. 3. 48) is, "the first case used in addressing is called *anuvārika*." In the definition of *upadhā* Dr. Burnell thinks that the reason given in the *Mahābhāṣya* for the use of *alah* is to avoid making it apply to the indicative letters. I do not find this reason in that work. The quotation given in the footnote to support the statement means quite another thing. Its purport is this:—A question is raised whether the "*alah*" is to be taken as an adjective to *anīya*." The answer is, "Yes, it deserves to be so taken." What follows is a *varṇika* setting forth an objection against this construction. The objection is, "If *alah* is to be taken as an adjective to *anīya*, there should be a prohibition against (the application of the term to) a collection of letters," i.e. in this construction, the sense of the *sūtra* is "what precedes the last letter (i.e. the end in the shape of a letter) is *upadhā*," in which case the term would apply to the two letters *ā* of the root *āda*. A long discussion follows, with which we have nothing to do at present. I need say nothing more.

PĀṆINI, HIS PLACE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE; an Investigation of some Literary and Chronological Questions which may be settled by a Study of his Works. By Theodor Goldstücker: London, Trübner & Co.

Dr. Goldstücker is undoubtedly one of the most learned, laborious, and accurate European Sanskrit scholars we have known, and the wide and, in many cases, precise knowledge he has shown of Indian grammatical literature is particularly striking to a Hindu, especially when we call to mind that he has not had the advantage of oral instruction, which is available only in India. Of course a minute knowledge of the complicated and subtle speculations of Indian grammarians can only be acquired after a hard study of at least five years, and from a Pandit-teacher. But much of what they have written is barren and useless, and no European Sanskritist, or Indian scholar of the new stamp, would consider it worth his while to study it. The doctor's critical acumen, the skill with which he has brought together stray facts to illustrate and

† यदि तर्हि लक्षणं कियते नेदानीं पाठः कर्तव्यः।

‡ शब्दार्थः। आधिकारिकेषु पदमयसु कियते।

§ p. 33, l. 2, Roth's ed.

|| p. 40, l. 2 from bottom; p. 41, l. 8; p. 74, l. 2; p. 83, l. 2 from bottom; p. 94, l. 8.

prove his points, and the success with which he has combated the opinions of several scholars, command our admiration, though we are rather inclined to think he has handled some of his German friends somewhat roughly. His book is, however, not without its weak points, and there are three or four places where it appears to us to be particularly so. It is not our intention at present to write an elaborate review of it, but we will notice one point which bears materially on his theory about Pāṇini, the Indian grammatical legislator.

At page 186, Dr. Goldstücker lays down the four following propositions:—

1. That his (Pāṇini's) Grammar does not treat of those *saṃjās* or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise.
2. That this term *saṃjās* must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology.
3. That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols.
4. That such terms as *ti*, *gha*, and *bā* were known and settled before Pāṇini's Grammar, but that nevertheless they are defined by Pāṇini, because they are not etymological terms.

These four statements contain, according to Dr. Goldstücker, the principles which guided Pāṇini in the composition of his work, and are deduced as conclusions from one of his *sūtras*, Patañjali's *Bhāṣya* on it, and Kātyāyana's gloss on the latter. Leaving these points for fuller examination at the end, let us in the first place consider if these principles are worthy of being made the basis of a stupendous grammatical superstructure, and bear an air of truthfulness about them, or if there is any external evidence to support them.

According to the first two statements, Pāṇini does not propose to teach *saṃjās*, and such *saṃjās* only as have an etymology. Does he, then, propose to teach *saṃjās* which are without etymology? The "only" would show that he does propose this. What, then, is meant by *saṃjās* without etymology? Are such *saṃjās* as *Paṇchallāḥ*, *Varaṇāḥ*, *Angāḥ*, which are given by the commentators as instances of this *sūtra* and the previous one to which it refers, and which, therefore, are the *saṃjās* Pāṇini, according to them, does not propose to teach,—are these *saṃjās*, we ask, without etymology? If they are, according to Dr. Goldstücker, Pāṇini should teach them. If they are not, no instance can be given of a word existing in the language which is a *saṃjās* without etymology. If we bear in mind that two schools of etymology existed in India, *viz.* *vyutpatti pakṣa*, according to which all words have an

etymology, and *vyutpatti pakṣa*, according to which some have, and some have not, and that Pāṇini belonged to the latter, as is asserted and believed by all Sāstris, such words as *paṇchallāḥ* and *angāḥ* are *saṃjās* without etymology. And if this be joined with Dr. Goldstücker's statement it will follow that Pāṇini should teach them. But as a fact he does not, if we believe the commentators. Now with regard to the *vyutpatti pakṣa*, we see that the rule in question contradicts its doctrine, for according to that *pakṣa* all words, *saṃjās* included, have etymology, while the rule makes a distinction between words *with* and words *without* etymology. If we suppose, then, that Pāṇini belonged to this *pakṣa*, and at the same time that he observed the rule given by Dr. Goldstücker, we must either suppose him to have possessed an extremely illogical mind, or *namo* have proposed such a rule for his guidance. Upon either view of etymology, therefore, we maintain that the rule laid down in statements Nos. 1 and 2 could not have been followed by Pāṇini. We perfectly agree with statement No. 1 if it be separated from No. 2 and not interpreted according to the sense of the word *saṃjās* given in the latter.

In the next two statements, this rule is applied to grammatical *saṃjās*. Such as are settled are not to be defined, but an exception is to be made in favour of such as have no etymology, *e.g.* *ti*, *gha*, *bā*, &c. We see no reason why Pāṇini should select for definition, out of settled *saṃjās*, such as have no etymology. For both those with and those without etymology are settled, *i.e.* have a fixed meaning. The mere circumstance of some *saṃjās* having etymology, which may be considered as the reason why they are not to be defined, is immaterial, as the presence of etymology in the one case is nearly the same thing as its absence in the other. The etymology of a technical term is not sufficient to explain its sense, and in some cases it affords no clue to it whatever. How can the etymology of the terms *bahuvrīhi*, *pratyaya*, &c. enable one to understand their grammatical signification? In so far, then, as words with etymology are used in philosophical treatises in a sense different from the etymological, or from that they have in common language, they are in the same predicament as unmeaning words, such as *ti*, *gha*, &c. We see, therefore, no reason why Pāṇini should have selected the latter for definition, and not the former.

Having laid down this theory about Pāṇini's technical terms, Dr. Goldstücker proceeds to test its accuracy with reference to several *saṃjās* which he knows were settled before Pāṇini's time, such as *pratyaya*, *prathamā*, *dehīd*, *śiṣya*, &c.



etc., and finds that he has not defined them, as they have an etymology. He then mentions other *sanjñas*, such as *karmadhāraya*, *sanyoga*, *anundhika*, *hrasva*, *ślegha*, *uddita*, *anuddita*, &c., and since they are defined and possess etymology, he concludes that they must have been first used by Pāṇini himself. We cannot help thinking that there is here an instance of the fallacy of reasoning in a circle, or of the *Anyomyāraya* of Hindu logicians. In order that Dr. Goldstücker's theory may be true, it is necessary that these defined *sanjñas* possessing etymology should be inventions of Pāṇini, and they are inventions of Pāṇini because the theory is true. Or, in plainer terms, the theory is true because these defined *sanjñas* are Pāṇini's inventions, and they are Pāṇini's inventions because the theory is true. These defined *sanjñas* may have been settled before Pāṇini's time, in which case the doctor's theory would be false. And in fact we have reason to believe that such *sanjñas* as *hrasva*, *ślegha*, *pluta*, *uddita*, *anuddita*, &c. were invented before Pāṇini. We are sorry we have not got any treatise on *Sikṣā* to refer to just now, but considering that the names for accents and for long and short vowels must have been very early invented by grammarians, as they are the most elementary distinctions, and likely to strike a lingual philosopher before many others, and bearing also in mind that if different terms for these had existed before Pāṇini, they would not have been altogether lost, and we should have known them, we are inclined to believe that the names in question were settled before his time. Dr. Goldstücker himself mentions one such word (एट्), and is not inclined to disbelieve that there may be many more. But the supposition he makes, to save his theory, that Pāṇini used them in a sense somewhat different from that in which they were before used, has, in our opinion, no basis.

We have all along used the word *definition* in Dr. Goldstücker's sense. He seems to understand by the term *definition* such a definition as is commonly given in European books, viz. that which unfolds the connotation or comprehension of a term. But the principal object of a definition is to point out or distinguish certain things (*definitum*) from the rest, and this may be done in other ways than by unfolding the connotation. Unfolding the extension or denotation is often an easier process, and may in several cases be resorted to. Even European logicians call this latter a definition, no less than the former. Sanskrit writers do not confine themselves to the former, but frequently use the latter and several other kinds. For instance, in Viśvanātha Pañchanana's *Mukṛdanti* (p. 71 Asiatic Society's edition)

the fallacy *anāikāntika* is defined as that which is any one of *Sādhārāṇa*, &c., i.e. *anāikāntika* is either *Sādhārāṇa*, *Asādhārāṇa*, or *Anupasanādrin*. The fallacy is thus defined by enumerating its several kinds. We need not stop here to quote other instances. Any one who takes the trouble will find many in any Sanskrit philosophical treatise. What we maintain, then, is that, so far as this view of definition is concerned (and we are convinced that that is the Hindu view), Pāṇini has defined the terms *pratyaya*, *taṭparusha*, *bahuvrīhi*, &c., which Dr. Goldstücker says he has not; but he has defined them by enumerating the several kinds or individuals contained under them. To Hindu writers such a definition is as good as the other, especially when the latter is difficult to give. We think Pāṇini in defining terms by enumeration was not guided by any such rule as the learned doctor lays down, but he simply consulted his own convenience. When he found it difficult to give a connotative definition, he gave a denotative one. How difficult would it have been to give a connotative definition of *bahuvrīhi*, for instance, containing as it does such compounds as *बलवर्त्ता*, *सुख*, *रुद्रादयि*, so different from such a one as *बलवन्वय*.

We now proceed to examine the principal evidence upon which Dr. Goldstücker's theory is based. As we said before, he quotes a *sūtra* of Pāṇini, the *bhāṣya* on it, and Kaiyaṣa's gloss on the latter, and deduces his theory from these. When we read this portion of the book for the first time, we were surprised to find that the doctor had not understood one of the passages correctly. The *sūtra* referred to is *निरक्षिप्य संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्* (Dr. Goldstücker's translation:—"Such master will not be taught by me, for it falls under the category of conventional terms which are settled (and therefore do not require any rule of mine); literally, "for it has the authority of a *sanjñā* or conventional term)."

This translation is generally correct. We would, however, translate it more closely, thus:—"About that no rule ought to be made, or, that should not be taught, for [the knowledge derived from] the meaning of conventional terms in common usage is an authority in itself." The word *संज्ञा* is explained by Patañjali as *संज्ञा*, which again Kaiyaṣa interprets by *संप्रत्ययः, व्यवहारः*, i.e. knowledge obtained (from usage). In a note on that portion of the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* (Cowell's edition), where this *sūtra* is explained, we find the following:—*संज्ञायां लोकप्रचारादयमेष प्रमाणत्वं*. "*sanjñas*—that is, usages—are here an authority or evidence."

The *bhāṣya* on this *sūtra* is as follows:—*किं वा*



एताः इतिवादिषुभादिष्वलक्षणानामप्यारक्षित्वम्। नैवार्हः। सक्तान्  
 कृत्वा। Dr. Goldstücker's translation:—"When Pā-  
 nini speaks of conventional terms which he will  
 not teach, because they are settled, does he mean,  
 by this expression, such technical terms as *fi*,  
*ghu*, *bha*, and the like? No; for *saṃjñā* is here the  
 same as *saṃjñāna*, understanding (i.e. a name  
 which has a real meaning, that may be traced  
 etymologically)."

We do not see whence he gets the first portion  
 up to "settled." If by implication, we do not think  
 it necessary to understand anything. There is  
 nothing even in the *śāstra* which has the sense of  
 the words "which he will not teach, because they  
 are settled." For, what Pānini says he will not  
 teach is that something which he has alluded to  
 in the last *śāstra* but one, and which we shall explain  
 hereafter. We do not deny that this sense may  
 be inferred from what Pānini actually says.  
 We have, however, a particular objection to the  
 expression "are settled" if it is to be made appli-  
 cable to the terms *fi*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c., and under-  
 stood to mean "settled before Pānini's time." There  
 is nothing in the original corresponding to the  
 words enclosed in brackets in the above  
 extract, nor is the sense deducible from any word  
 occurring in the Sanskrit passage. There is, no  
 doubt, the word *saṃjñāna*, but we do not know  
 upon what authority Dr. Goldstücker renders it  
 by "a name which has a real meaning that may  
 be traced etymologically." Kaiyaṇa explains it by  
 मयम, समयम, as noticed above, which means  
 "knowing, comprehending," as is evident from his  
 use of the word मयमति (differing from मयम only  
 in the form and not in the sense of the termina-  
 tion) in the sentence which follows. It is this—  
 न नमो योऽपि साः सिक्ता इति इत्युक्ते निरुक्तत्वादिष्वेवमति-  
 ह्यवमाना यमायमेव वृत्त्याता वरताः इत्यादिवाचिः— "As  
 when one pronounces the words आपा, दादा, सिक्ता,  
 वरी, the मयमति (knowledge or comprehension)  
 of a particular number and gender which is pro-  
 duced is authority, so is it in the case of वृत्त्याता,  
 वरता," &c. Our translation of the passage in  
 question is as follows:—"Is it on account of the  
 authority of (or evidence afforded by) such artifi-  
 cial *saṃjñā* as *fi*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c. that that (the thing  
 mentioned in a previous *śāstra* alluded to before)  
 should not be taught." "No," says he (Donardiya  
 —Patanjali). "*Saṃjñā* is knowing, comprehending."  
 Upon the whole, Dr. Goldstücker's translation  
 of these two passages is not very objectionable,  
 but they do not afford any basis for his theory,  
 except for that portion of it which is comprehended  
 in the first statement. But the quotation from  
 Kaiyaṇa is altogether misunderstood. It runs  
 thus:—

किं वा एता इति। प्रत्यासक्ति-वाक्यमयं पञ्चः। नैवार्हति।  
 प्रत्यासक्तिः सामर्थ्यं इत्यर्थः। नहि द्विगुभादिष्वलक्षणा यमायमेव पु-  
 नरवृत्तिवशाद्व्यवस्थितान्ये इत्युक्तमवयते। सक्तानामप्यार-  
 क्षित्वम्। मयम, समयम इत्यर्थः।

And Dr. Goldstücker's translation of this is as  
 follows:—

"The question of Patanjali is suggested by the  
 rule of analogy. His answer is in the negative  
 because the context itself has greater weight than  
 (mere) analogy. Now, though such terms as *fi*,  
*ghu*, *bha*, and the like, are settled terms, this cir-  
 cumstance would not have been a sufficient reason  
 in an etymological work (like that of Pānini) for  
 leaving them untaught, for they have no etymo-  
 logic. 'Understanding' (as Patanjali paraphrases  
*saṃjñā*), means mentally entering into, understand-  
 ing the component parts of a word (for it means  
 the words which admit of this mental process)."

In the first sentence of this, the word *analogy*  
 is not, we think, a correct translation of दृष्टान्ति,  
 though it will do. "Proximity" is the word that  
 is equivalent to it, and it ought to have been used  
 here, for a reason which we shall presently ex-  
 plain. But it is the third sentence that is the  
 most objectionable of all. We have no hesitation  
 in saying that the translation here is totally  
 wrong, and it is upon this misapprehension of the  
 sense of the original that the doctor's pecu-  
 liar theory is based. We hope our readers will  
 excuse us for the assurance with which we speak;  
 for we feel that no native scholar acquainted  
 with grammatical phraseology would ever think  
 of translating or interpreting the passage thus.  
 As Dr. Goldstücker translates it, he appears to  
 connect the nouns दृष्टान्तरम् and अतिशयम् with the  
 gerundivum द्विगुभादिष्वलक्षणा, and renders the former  
 by "being settled." But अतिशयम् ought really to  
 be taken with the gerundivum युक्तवृत्त्यातावरता;  
 then the translation would be "for leaving युक्त-  
 वृत्त्यातावरता untaught," instead of "for leaving them  
 (i.e. *fi*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c.) untaught," as the Doctor  
 translates it. युक्तवृत्त्यातावरता is rendered "an etymo-  
 logical work," which, if one remembers what the *śā-  
 tra* is about, he will at once see is altogether wrong.  
 The word can by no stretch of sense mean that.  
 शब्द means here "a rule," as it frequently and pri-  
 marily does, and not "a work." Various instances  
 may be quoted in support of this, the last *pāda* of  
 the verse about Uṇādi, एतन्मात्रमप्युदादिषु, being one.  
 सक्तानामप्यारक्षित्वम् is rendered as "having no etymology,"  
 for which, however, there is not the slightest  
 authority. सक्तं never means etymology; it means  
 connection. Besides, from the context it is clear  
 that the sentence cannot have the sense Dr. Gold-  
 stücker attaches to it. For, the whole subject

here discussed by these several writers is this:—The last but one *sūtra* of Pāṇini is *सुवि युक्तवत्-निवर्तने*, which is thus explained in the *Śiddhānta Kaumudī*:—*सुवि एति \*युक्तवत्निवर्तने इति । यच्चान्तो निवर्तनो जनपदः पञ्चालः । कुलेः भङ्गः । &c.*, meaning that when an elision called *सुवि* takes place, the gender and number (of the noun) are like those of the base; पञ्चालः &c. are instances. This requires some explanation. In virtue of the *sūtra* तस्य निवर्तनः १, २, ३१, the termination अण् should be added to the noun पञ्चालः; for instance, when we have to form a derivative signifying 'the place of residence or the country of the Panchālas,' a root of Kalatrīya (hence the above example from the *Kaumudī* is worded पञ्चालानां निवर्तनो जनपदः). Now, this termination is elided in virtue of the *sūtra* जनपदे सुवि १, २, ३१. If the termination were not dropped, the word expressing 'the country of the Panchālas' would be पञ्चालः. Then the question is, when it is dropped, what should be the gender and number of the noun signifying the country? Should it be masculine and singular, as the word जनपद country is? If so, the derived word would be पञ्चालः. But "No," says Pāṇini (in the *sūtra* सुवि युक्तवत् &c.); "the gender and number should be like those of the original base," which is पञ्चालः, and, consequently, masculine and plural. Hence the noun signifying the residence or country of the Panchālas is पञ्चालः. "Now," says Pāṇini (in the *sūtra* तद्विषयं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्), "what is the use of teaching by a rule the number and gender of these?" though he himself, in conformity with the practice of former writers, has done so. "They are to be learnt from usage, which has itself an authority, just as the gender and number of अण् and इति are, and the authority of a grammarian is not required. For पञ्चालः, अण्, &c. in the plural are actually the names of certain countries, and, as such, ought to be used in the plural, in deference to the existing usage, and there is no necessity of a grammarian's teaching it." Upon this Patanjali raises the question, "Pāṇini speaks of the authority (of usage in matters) of names. Are they such names as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c., which have an authority" (as used by Pāṇini, not necessarily by any other writer)? "No," says he. Kaiyaṇa explains why Patanjali put to himself such a question. "He was led," he says, "to it by the proximity of these artificial grammatical *sanjñas*, or that he wanted to determine which were the *sanjñas* meant by Pāṇini; because if he did not do so, a reader might, on

reading the *sūtra* in question, be led to think first of them (the grammatical names) rather than of any other, on account of their proximity to or connection with the science he is studying. In order, therefore, to avoid all such confusion, he proposes the question, and answers it by saying 'No.' "Why not? "(हे) Because," says Kaiyaṇa, "(विष्णुादिसंज्ञाः पञ्चालवत्)" the authority of the grammatical *sanjñas*, *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c. (न हे सुवि युक्तवत्) is no reason (as the authority of *sanjñas* is common language such as Panchāla, Anga, &c. is) why युक्तवत्पञ्चालम् (a *sūtra* or rule expounding that when a termination is elided by the use of the term सुवि, the gender and number are like those of the base) (अङ्गितवन्ते) should not be taught." And why is it no reason? "(संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्) Because there is no connection" (i.e. no connection between such *sanjñas* as *ti*, *ghu*, &c. and युक्तवत्). This is the whole sense of the three quotations. युक्तवत्, i.e. like the base, is the word used by Pāṇini in the last but one *sūtra* (सुवि युक्तवत्) &c.; and Kaiyaṇa first adds the word *सा* to it, when the whole means "the being like the base," and then the word *सा* is a rule, and thus the expression युक्तवत्पञ्चालम् signifies literally "the rule about the being like the base," and not an etymological work, as Dr. Goldstücker understands.

It will thus be apparent that Dr. Goldstücker's theory is based upon a misapprehension of a passage in Kaiyaṇa; and, now that we have explained its true sense, and have also shown that the theory is not supported by any external evidence, it must, we think, be given up. The first of the doctor's four propositions if separated from the second we agree with, as we have already intimated. Dr. Goldstücker's opinion, that the *sanjñas* *ti*, *ghu*, and *bha* were known before Pāṇini's time, may be true, for aught we know, but it does not at all follow from anything in the passages commented on. He was, no doubt, led to it by the expression विष्णुादिसंज्ञाः पञ्चालवत्, which he renders by "such terms as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, are settled terms." We would translate it as the authority of such *sanjñas* or terms as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c., and this authority they derive from their having been used and defined by Pāṇini. The whole grammatical literature based on his work does not admit the authority of any other person except him, his continuator and critic Kaiyaṇa, and his *śāstrakṛta*. And even if we take Dr. Goldstücker's translation, the expression "are settled terms" does not necessarily mean "settled" before Pāṇini's time, or by any other person than Pāṇini himself.

\* युक्त is explained as युक्तवत्, because in a word the sense of the base is intimately joined to that of the पञ्चाल or ter-

mination (see note 70, p. 540, Cowell's edition of the *Kaumudī*: पञ्चालार्थेन निवर्तनसंज्ञायाः युक्तवत् युक्तवत्).

Dr. Goldstücker has also misunderstood the sense of the *śloka* अथवाप्यप्रायेकवचनमप्यवयवमन्वाह, which is thus explained in the *Kaumudi*: अथवाप्येवमप्यवयववचनमप्यवयवमन्वाह। इति। अथवाप्येवमप्यवयवमन्वाह। i.e. "the saying that the sense of a termination is the principal sense of a word (and that that of the base is attributively joined to it) should not be taught. Why? Because the sense (of a word) is to be gathered from, or is established by, usage." We do not know whence Dr. Goldstücker brings in the idea of a compound and its "principal part" in his translation. We do not think it necessary to enter at greater length into the explanation of the *śloka* in this place.

We must here close our remarks; our space does not admit of a more lengthened notice. At least for the present. We hope our observations will be calmly and patiently attended to by European Sanskritists. In several cases, though not in all native students of Sanskrit have a greater right to be listened to than Europeans. We are also desirous that these few remarks should not give pain to Dr. Goldstücker, who, especially by his articles on our religious difficulties published in the *Westminster Review*, has shown himself to be our devoted friend, who sympathizes with our fallen condition, and is ready to help us by his friendly advice in our race towards a brighter future.

# THE FRAGMENTS OF THE INDIKA OF MEGASTHENES.

Collected by Dr. E. A. Schwabeck; Bonn, 1840.

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## INTRODUCTION.

India to the Ancient Greeks, even till a comparatively late period in their history, was all but a *terra incognita*. It is scarcely so much as mentioned by name in their greatest poets, whether epic, lyric, or dramatic. They did not, in fact, become distinctly aware of its existence till the time of the Persian wars. The first historian who speaks clearly of it is Hekataios of Miletos (a.c. 549-486), and fuller accounts are preserved in Herodotus and in the remains of his contemporary Ktesias, who having lived for some years in Persia as private physician to king Artaxerxes Mnemon, collected materials during his stay for a treatise on India, the first work on the subject written in the Greek language. His descriptions were, unfortunately, vitiated by a large intermixture of fable, and it was left to the followers of Alexander to give to the Western world for the first time fairly accurate accounts of the country and its inhabitants. The great conqueror, it is well known, carried men of learning with him to chronicle his achievements, and describe the countries to which he might carry his arms, and among his officers there were some who could wield the pen as well as the sword. Hence the expedition produced quite a crop of narratives and memoirs relating to India, such as those of Bauto, Diogenes, Nearchos, Onesikritos, Aristoboulos, and Kallisthenes. These works are all lost, but their substance is to be found condensed in Strabo, Plinius, and Arrianus. Subsequent to these writers were some others, who made considerable additions to the stock of information regarding India,—as Dëimaachos, who resided for a long time in Palibothra, whither he was sent on an embassy by Seleukos to Allitrocha-

dës, the successor of Sandrakottos; as Patroklos, the admiral of Seleukos, who thought that India could be circumnavigated, and who is called by Strabo the *best foundation* of all writers concerning India; as Timosthenes, admiral of the fleet of Ptolemaios Philadelphos, and author of a work on harbours; and, lastly, as Megasthenes, whose work on India was the principal source whence succeeding writers drew their accounts of the country. This work, which appears to have been entitled *Indika*, no longer exists, but has been so often abridged and quoted by the ancient writers that we have a fair knowledge of the nature and arrangement of its contents. Schwabeck, with great industry and learning, has collected all the fragments that have been anywhere preserved, and has prefixed to the collection an Introduction in Latin, the contents of which he has exhibited under the following heads:—

- I. De cognatione Indiarum, quales ante Megasthenem apud Græcos fuerint.
- II. De Megasthenis:—
  1. De Indico Megasthenis itinere.
  2. De Indico Megasthenis, communis argumentis.
  3. De Indico Megasthenis, auctoritate et pretio.
- III. De Scriptores, qui post Megasthenem de India scripserunt.

From this Introduction, and from another, written also in Latin, by C. Müller, the editor of the *Geographi Græci Minores*, the following extracts are translated.

Megasthenes was sent, as is well known, by Seleukos Nikator, on an embassy to Sandrakottos (Chandragupta), king of the Prasii, whose capital was Palibothra. Our first extract (from Müller) throws light on the relations which existed between these two sovereigns, and also on the



disputed point how far Seleukos had carried his arms into India when he attempted its conquest.—

"Justinus (xv. 4) says of Seleukos Nikator. He carried on many wars in the East after the division of the Macedonian kingdom between himself and the other successors of Alexander, first seizing Babylonia, and then reducing Bactriana, his power being increased by the first success. Thereafter he passed into India, which had, since Alexander's death, killed its governors, thinking thereby to shake off from its neck the yoke of slavery. Sandrokottos had made it free: but when victory was gained he changed the name of freedom to that of bondage, for he himself oppressed with servitude the very people which he had rescued from foreign dominion. . . Sandrokottos, having thus gained the crown, held India at the time when Seleukos was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos came to an agreement with him, and, after settling affairs in the East, engaged in the war against Antigonus (302 B.C.)."

"Besides Justinus, Appianus (Syr. c. 55) makes mention of the war which Seleukos had with Sandrokottos or Chandragupta king of the Prasii, or, as they are called in the Indian language, Prâchyaṣ.\*—He (Seleukos) crossed the Indus and waged war on Sandrokottos, king of the Indians who dwell about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him." So also Strabo (xv. p. 724):—"Seleukos Nikator gave to Sandrokottos" (i.e. a large part of Ariana). Conf. p. 659.—"The Indians afterwards held a large part of Ariana, which they had received from the Macedonians". "entering into marriage relations with him, and receiving in return five hundred elephants" (of which Sandrakottos had nine thousand—Plinius, vi. 22-3); and Plutarch, Alex. 62:—"For not long after, Androkottos, being king, presented Seleukos with five hundred elephants,

and with six hundred thousand men attacked and subdued all India." Phylarchos (Fragm. 28) in Athenæus, p. 18 D., refers to some other wonderful enough presents as being sent to Seleukos by Sandrakottos.

"Diodorus (lib. xx.), inserting forth the affairs of Seleukos, has not said a single word about the Indian war. But it would be strange that that expedition should be mentioned so incidentally by other historians, if it were true, as many recent writers have contended, that Seleukos in this war reached the middle of India as far as the Ganges and the town Palimbothra,—nay, even advanced as far as the mouth of the Ganges, and therefore left Alexander far behind him. This baseless theory has been well refuted by Lassen (*De Pentap. Ind.* 61), by A. G. Schlegel (*Berliner Calender*, 1829, p. 31; yet see Benfey, *Bruck u. Gruber. Encycl. e. Ind.*, p. 67), and quite recently by Schwanbeck, in a work of great learning and value entitled *Megasthenis India* (Bonn, 1846). In the first place, Schwanbeck (p. 13) mentions the passage of Justinus (L. ii. 10) where it is said that no one had entered India but Semiramis and Alexander; whence it would appear that the expedition of Seleukos was considered so insignificant by Trognus as not even to be on a par with the Indian war of Alexander.† Then he says that Arrianus, if he had known of that remote expedition of Seleukos, would doubtless have spoken differently in his *Indika* (c. 5. 4), where he says that Megasthenes did not travel over much of India, 'but yet more than those who invaded it along with Alexander the son of Philip.' Now in this passage the author could have compared Megasthenes much more suitably and easily with Seleukos.‡ I pass over other proofs of less moment, nor indeed is it expedient to set forth in detail here all the reasons from which it is improbable of itself that the arms of Seleukos ever reached the region of the Ganges. Let us now examine the passage

\* The adjective *prâchyaṣ* in *Ellianus On the Nature of Animals*, sec. 29 (*Megasthenis Fragm.* 13. iust.) bears a very close resemblance to the Indian word *Prâchyaṣ* (that is, 'dwellers in the East'). The substantive would be *Prâchyaṣa*, and Schwanbeck (*Megasthenis India*, p. 62) thinks that this reading should probably be restored in *Stephanus of Byzantium*, where the MSS. contain *Prâchyaṣa*, a form intermediate between *Prâchyaṣa* and *Prâchyaṣ*. But they are called *Prâchyaṣa* by Strabo, Arrianus, and Plinius; *Prâchyaṣa* in Plutarch (*Alex.* chap. 62), and frequently in *Ellianus*; *Prâchyaṣa* by Nicolaus of Damascus, and in the *Florus* of Strabo, 37, 38; *Prâchyaṣa* and *Prâchyaṣa* are the MS. readings in Diodorus, vii. 63; *Prâchyaṣa* in Curtius, IX. 2. 3; *Prâchyaṣa* in Justinus, XII. xiii. 9. See note on *Fragment* 13.

† Moreover, Schwanbeck calls attention (p. 14) to the words of Appianus (l. 1), where when he says, somewhat inaccurately, that Sandrakottos was king of the Indians around the Indus: *ἡντιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ Ἰνδοί*, he seems to mean that the war was carried on on the boundaries of India. But this is of no importance, for Appianus has *ἡντιν ἐπὶ τοῦ*

*Ἰνδοῦ*, 'of the Indians around it,' as Schwanbeck himself has written it (p. 15).

‡ The following passage of the Indian comedy *Mudra Rakshasa* seems to favour the Indian expedition:—"Moon, while Kumbhagraha (i.e. Pataliputra, Palimbothra) the city of Chandragupta and the king of the mountain regions, was invested on every side by the Kiratas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pundras, Baktrians, and the rest." But "that drama," as Schwanbeck p. 149, "to follow the authority of Wilem, was written in the tenth century after Christ.—certainly ten centuries after Seleukos. Whence even the Indian history has no authority in history, what proof can dramas give written after many centuries? Yavanas, which was also in later times the Indian name for the Greeks, was very anciently the name given to a certain nation which the Indians only dwell in the north-western boundary of India; and the same nation (*Maas*, 2. 44) is also numbered with the Kambojas, the Sakas, the Paradas, the Pallavas, and the Kiratas as being corrupted among the Kshatriyas. (Conf. Lassen, *Zeitschrift für d. Kunde der Morgenländer*, III. p. 246.) Those Yavanas are to be understood in this passage also, where they are mentioned along with those tribes with which they are usually classed.



in Plinius which causes many to adopt contrary opinions. Plinius (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 21), after finding from Diogenes and Banto the distances of the places from Portus Caspius to the Hapasia, the end of Alexander's march, thus proceeds:—The other journeys made for Seleukos Nikator are as follows:—One hundred and sixty-eight miles to the Hesidrus, and to the river Jomanes as many (some copies add five miles); from thence to the Ganges one hundred and twelve miles. One hundred and nineteen miles to the Rhodopha (others give three hundred and twenty-five miles for this distance). To the town Kalinipaxa one hundred and sixty-seven. Five hundred (others give two hundred and sixty-five miles), and from thence to the confluence of the Jomanes and Ganges six hundred and twenty-five miles (several add thirteen miles), and to the town Palimbothra four hundred and twenty-five. To the mouth of the Ganges six hundred and thirty-eight (or seven hundred and thirty-eight, to follow Schwabbe's correction),—that is, six thousand stadia, as Megasthenes puts it.

"The ambiguous expression *reliqua Seleuco Nikatori peragata sunt*, translated above as 'the other journeys made for Seleukos Nikator,' according to Schwabbe's opinion, contain a dative 'of advantage,' and therefore can bear no other meaning. The reference is to the journeys of Megasthenes, Deimachos, and Patrokles, whom Seleukos had sent to explore the more remote regions of Asia. Nor is the statement of Plinius in a passage before this more distinct. ('India,') he says, 'was thrown open not only by the arms of Alexander the Great, and the kings who were his reversors, of whom Seleukos and Antiochos were travelled to the Hyrcania and Oropinaeas, Patrokles being commander of their fleet, but all the Greek writers who stayed behind with the Indian kings (for instance, Megasthenes and Dionysios, sent by Philadelphos for that purpose) have given accounts of the military force of each nation.' Schwabbe thinks that the words *circumvenit etiam*, . . . . *Seleuco et Antiocho et Patrocle* are properly meant to convey nothing but additional confirmation, and also an explanation how India was opened up by the arms of the kings who succeeded Alexander."

"The following statements," continues Müller, "contain all that is related about Megasthenes."

"Megasthenes the historian, who lived with Seleukos Nikator,"—

§ Hübner (*Alte Indien*, I. p. 63) says that Megasthenes was a Persian. No one gives this account of him but Annio Viterbiensis, that forger, whom Hübner appears to have followed. But it is evidently a Greek name. Strabo (v. p. 233; comp. Volscius Patroculus, i. 4) mentions a Megasthenes of Chalkis, who is said to have founded Cumæ in Italy along with Hippokles of Kamaros.

§ Silyrtios, according to Diodorus (XVIII. li. 3), had

kos Nikator,"—Clem. Alex. p. 133 *Sylb.* (Fragm. 42): 'Megasthenes, who lived with Silyrtios, the satrap of Arachosia, and who says that he often visited Sandrakottos, king of the Indians,'—Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* V. vi. 2 (Fragm. 31);—'To Sandrakottos, to whom Megasthenes came on an embassy,'—Strabo, xv. p. 703 (Fragm. 24);—'Megasthenes and Deimachos were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrakottos at Palimbothra, the other to Alitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country,'—Strabo, ii. p. 70 (Fragm. 22 *note*). Megasthenes says that he often visited Sandrakottos, the greatest king of India: v. Böhlen, *Alte Indien*, I. p. 19 of the Indians, and Poros, still greater than he?—Arrian, *Ind.* c. 5 (Fragm. 34). Add the passage of Plinius, which Solinus (*Polyhistor*, c. 64) thus renders:—'Megasthenes remained for some time with the Indian kings, and wrote a history of Indian affairs, that he might hand down to posterity a faithful account of all that he had witnessed. Dionysios, who was sent by Philadelphos to put the truth in the test by personal inspection, wrote also as much.'

"From these sources, then, we gather that Megasthenes was the representative of Seleukos at the court of Silyrtios, satrap of Arachosia, and that he was sent from thence as the king's ambassador to Sandrakottos at Palimbothra, and that not once, but frequently—whether to convey to him the presents of Seleukos, or for some other cause. According to the statement of Arrianus, Megasthenes also visited king Poros, who was (Diod. xix. 14) already dead in 317 B.C. (Olymp. CXV. 4.) These events should not be referred to the period of Seleukos, but they may very easily be placed in the reign of Alexander, as Böhlen (*Alte Indien*, vol. I. p. 63) appears to have believed they should, when he says Megasthenes was one of the companions of Alexander. But the structure of the sentences does not admit of this conclusion. For Arrianus says, 'It appears to me that Megasthenes did not see much of India, but yet more than the companions of Alexander, for he says that he visited Sandrakottos, the greatest king of the Indians, and Poros, even greater than he (and happy for posterity!).' We should be disposed to say, then, that he made a journey on some occasion or other to Poros, if the obscurity of the language did not lead us to suspect it a corrupt reading. Lassen (*Le Pentap.* p. 14) thinks the mention of Poros a careless addition of a chance

gained the satrapy of Arachosia in the third year of the 114th Olympiad (328), and was firmly established in his satrapy by Antipater (Arrianus, *Ind.* p. 526, ed. Böhlen). He joined Ptolemy in 316 (ibid. vii. 14. 6), but being called to account by him he sought safety in flight (ibid. XIX. xiii. 4). After the defeat of Ptolemy, Antipater delivered to him the most troublesome of the Argyreides (ibid. O. xiv. 3). He must have afterwards joined Seleukos.

transcriber, but I prefer Schwanbeck's opinion, who thinks it should be written  $\alpha\lambda\ \Pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta\varsigma$ , 'and who was even greater than Póros.' If this correction is admitted, everything fits well.

"The time when he discharged his embassy or embassies, and how long he stayed in India, cannot be determined, but he was probably sent after the treaty had been struck and friendship had sprung up between the two kings. If, therefore, we make the reign of Sandrokottos extend to the year 288, Megasthenes would have set out for Palimbothra between 302 and 288. Clinton (*F. H.* vol. III. p. 482) thinks he came to the Indian king a little before a.c. 302."

While the date of the visit of Megasthenes to India is thus uncertain, there is less doubt as to what were the parts of the country which he saw; and on this point Schwanbeck thus writes (p. 21):—

"Both from what he himself says, and because he has enumerated more accurately than any of the companions of Alexander, or any other Greek, the rivers of Kábul and the Panjáb, it is clear that he had passed through these countries. Then, again, we know that he reached Pátaliputra by travelling along the royal road. But he does not appear to have seen more of India than those parts of it, and he acknowledges himself that he knew the lower part of the country traversed by the Ganges only by hearsay and report. It is commonly supposed that he also spent some time in the Indian camp, and therefore in some part of the country, but where cannot now be known. This opinion, however, is based on a corrupt reading which the editions of Strabo exhibit. For in all the MSS. ■ Strabo (p. 709) is found this reading:— $\Gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \delta'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \phi\eta\sigma\iota\upsilon\tau\ \delta\ \text{Μεγασθένης},\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu\ \pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \iota\delta\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma,\ \mu\eta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\ \hbar\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\upsilon\ \iota\delta\epsilon\iota\tau\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \hbar\ \delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omega\iota\varsigma\ \beta\epsilon\alpha\chi\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\alpha.$  'Megasthenes says that those who were in the camp of Sandrokottos saw,' &c. From this translation that given by Guarini and Gregorio alone ■ different. They render thus:—'Megasthenes refert, quum in Sandrocotti castra venisset . . . vidiase,' 'Megasthenes relates that when he had come into the camp of Sandrokottos, he saw,' &c. From this it appears that the translator had found written  $\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ . But since that translation is hardly equal in authority even to a single MS., and since the word  $\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  can be changed more readily into the word  $\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  than  $\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  into  $\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , there ■ no reason at all why we should depart from the reading of all the MSS., which Casaubon disturbed by a baseless conjecture, contending that  $\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  should be substituted,—inasmuch as it is evident from Strabo

and Arrianus (V. vi. 2) that Megasthenes had been sent to Sandrokottos,—which is an argument utterly futile. Nevertheless from the time of Casaubon the wrong reading  $\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  which he promulgated has held its ground."

That Megasthenes paid more than one visit to India Schwanbeck is not at all inclined to believe. On this point he says (p. 23)—

"That Megasthenes frequently visited India recent writers, all with one consent, following Robertson, are wont to maintain; nevertheless this opinion is far from being certain. For what Arrianus has said in his *Exped. Alex.* V. vi. 2,— $\Pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma\ \delta\iota\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\ (\text{Μεγασθένης})\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \Sigma\alpha\delta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\varsigma\ \text{Ἰνδίας βασιλεία},$  does not solve the question, for he might have meant by the words that Megasthenes during his embassy had frequent interviews with Chandragupta. Nor, if we look to the context, does any other explanation seem admissible; and in fact no other writer besides has mentioned his making frequent visits, although occasion for making such mention was by no means wanting, and in the *Indika* itself of Megasthenes not the slightest indication of his having made numerous visits is to be found. But perhaps some may say that to this view is opposed the accurate knowledge which he possessed on all Indian matters; but this may equally well be accounted for by believing that he made a protracted stay at Pátaliputra as by supposing that he frequently visited India. Robertson's conjecture appears, therefore, uncertain, not to say hardly credible."

Regarding the veracity of Megasthenes, and his value as a writer, Schwanbeck writes (p. 59) ■ this effect:—

"The ancient writers, whenever they judge of those who have written on Indian matters, are without doubt wont to reckon Megasthenes among those writers who are given to lying and least worthy of credit, and to rank him almost on a par with Ktésias. Arrianus alone has judged better of him, and delivers his opinion of him in these words:—'Regarding the Indians I shall set down in a special work all that is most credible for narration in the accounts penned by those who accompanied Alexander on his expedition, and by Nearchus, who navigated the great sea which washes the shores of India, and also by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, who are both approved men ( $\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\acute{\rho}\omega\pi\omicron\iota$ ):' Arr. *Exped. Alex.* V. v.

"The foremost amongst those who disparage him is Eratosthenes, and in open agreement with him are Strabo and Pliny. Others, among whom is Diodorus, by omitting certain particulars related by Megasthenes, sufficiently show that they discredit that part of his narrative."

Diodorus, and Plinius used the *Indika* of Megasthenes,

¶ Regarding the manner in which Strabo, Arrianus,

"Strabo (p. 70) says, 'Generally speaking, the men who have hitherto written on the affairs of India were a set of liars,—Daimachos holds the first place in the list, Megasthenes comes next; while Onesikritos and Nearchos, with others of the same class, manage to stammer out a few words (of truth). Of this we became the more convinced whilst writing the history of Alexander. No faith whatever can be placed in Deinuchos and Megasthenes. They coined the fables concerning men with ears large enough to sleep in, men without any mouths, without noses, with only one eye, with spider legs, and with fingers bent backward. They renewed Homer's fables concerning the battles of the cranes and pygmies, and asserted the latter to be three spans high. They told of ants digging for gold, and Pans with wedge-shaped heads, of serpents swallowing down oxen and stags, horns and all,—meantime, as Eratosthenes has observed, accusing each other of falsehood. Both of these men were sent as ambassadors to Palimbothra,—Megasthenes to Sandrokottos, Daimachos to Amitrochades his son,—and such are the notes of their residence abroad, which, I know not why, they thought fit to leave.

"When he adds, 'Petrokles certainly does not resemble them, nor do any other of the authorities consulted by Eratosthenes contain such absurdities,' we may well wonder, seeing that, of all the writers on India, Eratosthenes has chiefly followed Megasthenes. Plinius (*Hist. Nat.* VI. xxi. 3) says: 'India was opened up to our knowledge . . . even by other Greek writers, who, having resided with Indian kings,—as for instance Megasthenes and Dionysius,—made known the strength of the races which peopled the country. It is not, however, worth while to study their accounts with care, so conflicting are they, and incredible.'

Schwanbeck remarks:—"Strabo, and—not unlike to Strabo—Arrianus, who, however, gave a much less carefully considered account of India, abridged the descriptions of Megasthenes, yet in such a way that they were at once in an agreeable style and with strict regard to accuracy. But when Strabo designed not merely to instruct but also to delight his readers, he omitted whatever would be out of place in an entertaining narrative or picturesque description, and avoided above all things anything that would look like a dry list of names. Now though this may not be a fault, still it is not to be denied that those particulars which he has omitted would have very greatly helped our knowledge of Ancient India. Nay, Strabo, in his ignorance to be interesting, has gone so far that the topography of India is almost entirely a blank in his pages.

"Diodorus, however, in applying this principle of composition has exceeded all bounds. For as he did not aim at writing learnedly for the instruction of others, but in a light, amusing style, so as to be read with delight by the multitude, he selected for extract each part as best suited this purpose. He has therefore omitted not only the most accurate narrations of fact, but also the fables which his readers might consider as incredible, and has been best pleased to describe instead that part of Indian life which to the Greeks would appear singular and diverting. . . . Nevertheless his epitome is not without its value; for although we do not learn much that is new from its

"These same writers, however, seeing they have copied into their own pages a great part of his *Indika*, cannot by any means have so entirely distrusted his veracity as one might easily infer they did from these judgments. And what of this, that Eratosthenes himself, who did not quote him sparingly, says in Strabo (p. 689) that "he sets down the breadth of India from the register of the Stathmi, which were received as authentic,"—a passage which can have reference to Megasthenes alone. The fact is they find fault with only two parts of the narrative of Megasthenes,—the one in which he writes of the fabulous races of India, and the other wherein he gives an account of Hemakles and the Indian Dionysos; although it so happens that on other matters also they regarded the account given by others as true, rather than that of Megasthenes.

"The Aryan Indians were from the remotest period surrounded on all sides by indigenous tribes in a state of barbarism, from whom they differed both in mind and disposition. They were most acutely sensible of this difference, and gave it a very pointed expression. For as barbarians, even by the sanction of the gods themselves, are excluded from the Indian commonwealth, so they seem to have been currently regarded by the Indians as of a nature and disposition lower than their own, and bestial rather than human. A difference existing between minds is not easily perceived, but the Indians were quick to discern how unlike the barbarous tribes were to themselves in bodily figure; and the divergence they exaggerated, making bad worse, and so framed to themselves a mental picture of these tribes beyond measure hideous. When reports in circulation regarding them had given fixity to this conception, the poets seized on it as a basis for further exaggeration, and embellished it with fables. Other races, and these even

contents, still it has the advantage over all the others of being the most coherent, while at the same time it enables us to attribute with certainty an occasional passage to Megasthenes, which without its help we could not conjecture proceeded from his pen.

"Since Strabo, Arrianus, and Diodorus have directed their attention to relate nearly the same things, it has resulted that the greatest part of the *Indika* has been completely lost, and that of many passages, singularly enough, three epitomes are extant, to which occasionally a fourth is added by Plinius.

"At a great distance from these writers, and especially from Diodorus, stands Plinius: whence it happens that he both differs most from that writer, and also best supplements his epitome. Where the narrative of Strabo and Arrianus is so once pleasing and instructive, and Diodorus charms us with a lively sketch, Pliny gives instead, in the boldest language, an ill-digested enumeration of names. With his usual wonderful diligence he has written this part, but more frequently still he writes with too little care and judgment,—a fact of which we have already seen numerous instances. In a careless way, as is usual, he commends authors, so that if you compared his accounts of Taprobane and the kingdom of the Fralij you would think that he had lived at different periods. He frequently commends Megasthenes, but more frequently seems to transcribe him without acknowledgment."—pp. 36-58.



Indian, since they had originated in an intermixture of tribes, or since they did not sufficiently follow Indian manners, and especially the system of caste, so roused the common hatred of the Indians that they were reckoned in the same category with the barbarians, and represented as equally hideous of aspect. Accordingly in the epic poems we see all Brahmanical India surrounded by races not at all real, but so imaginary that sometimes it cannot be discovered how the fable originated.

"Forms still more wonderful you will find by bestowing a look at the gods of the Indians and their retinue, among whom particularly the attendants of Kṛṣṇa and Kārtikēya are described in such a manner (conf. *Mahābh.* ix. 2353 & seq.) that hardly anything which it is possible for the human imagination to invent seems omitted. These, however, the Indians now sufficiently distinguish from the fabulous races, since they neither believe that they live within the borders of India, nor have any intercourse with the human race. These, therefore, the Greeks could not confound with the races of India.

"These races, however, might be more readily confounded with other creatures of the Indian imagination, who held a sort of intermediate place between demons and man, and whose number was legion. For the Rākshasas and other Piśāchas are said to have the same characteristics as the fabulous races, and the only difference between them is that, while a single (evil) attribute only is ascribed to each race, many or all of these are assigned to the Rākshasas and the Piśāchas. Altogether so slight is the distinction between the two that any strict lines of demarcation can hardly be drawn between them. For the Rākshasas, though described as very terrible beings, are nevertheless believed to be human, and both to live on the earth and take part in Indian battles, so that an ordinary Indian could hardly define how the nature of a Rākshasa differs from that of a man. There is scarcely any one thing found to characterize the Rākshasas which is not attributed to some race or other. Therefore, although the Greeks might have heard of these by report,—which cannot be proved for certain,—they could scarcely, by reason of that, have erred in describing the manners of the races according to the Indian conception.

"That reports about these tribes should have reached Greece is not to be wondered at. For fables invented with some glow of poetic terror have a remarkable facility in gaining a wide currency, which is all the greater in proportion to the boldness displayed in their invention. Those fables also in which the Indians have represented

the lower animals as talking to each other have been diffused through almost every country in the world, in a way we cannot understand. Other fables found their way to the Greeks before even the name of India was known to them. In this class some fables even in Homer must be reckoned,—a matter which, before the Vedas were better known, admitted only of probable conjecture, but could not be established by unquestionable proofs. We perceive, moreover, that the further the epic poems of the Greeks depart from their original simplicity the more, for that very reason, do those fables creep into them; while a very liberal use of them is made by the poets of a later age. It would be a great mistake to suppose that those fables only in which India is mentioned proceeded from India; for a fable in becoming current carries along with it the name of the locality in which the scene of it is laid. An example will make this clear. The Indians supposed that towards the north, beyond the Himālaya, dwelt the Uṭṭarakurī, a people who enjoyed a long and happy life, to whom disease and care were unknown, and who revelled in every delight in a land all paradise. This fable made its way to the West, carrying with it the name of the locality to which it related, and so it came to pass that from the time of Hesiod the Greeks supposed that towards the north lived the Hyperboreans, whose very name was fashioned after some likeness to the Indian name. The reason why the Indians placed the seat of this happy people towards the north is manifest, but there was not the slightest reason which can be discovered why the Greeks should have done so. Nay, the locality assigned to the Hyperboreans is not only out of harmony, but in direct conflict, with that conception of the world which the Greeks entertained.

"The first knowledge of the mythical geography of the Indians dates from this period, when the Greeks were the unconscious recipients of Indian fables. Fresh knowledge was imparted by Skylax, who first gave a description of India; and all writers from the time of Skylax, with not a single exception, mention these fabulous races, but in such a way that they are wont to speak of them as Ethiopians; by doing which they have incurred obloquy and the suspicion of dishonesty, especially Ktésias. This writer, however, is not at all trustworthy when he says, in the conclusion of his *Indika* (83), that 'he omits many of these stories, and others still more marvellous, that may not appear, to such as have not seen these, to be telling what is incredible;' for he could have described many other fabulous races, as for example men with the heads of tigers (*vyāghra-mukhā*), others with the necks of snakes



*cytolagrides*), others having horses' heads (*tursingadons*, *abeanuchids*), others with feet like dogs (*drispadons*), others with four feet (*chotuskpads*), others with three eyes (*tristrids*), and others with six hundred.

"Nor were the companions of Alexander able to disregard these fables,—in fact, scarcely any of them doubted their truth. For, generally speaking, they were communicated to them by the Brāhmins, whose learning and wisdom they held in the utmost veneration. Why, then, should we be surprised that Megasthenes also, following examples so high and numerous, should have handled those fables? His account of them is to be found in Strabo 711; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 2. 14-22; Solinus 52." (Sch. p. 64.)

Schwabach then examines the fables related by Megasthenes, and having shown that they were of Indian origin, thus proceeds (p. 74):—

"The relative veracity of Megasthenes, then, cannot be questioned, for he related truthfully both what he actually saw, and what was told him by others. If we therefore seek to know what reliance is to be placed on any particular narrative, this other point must be considered, how far his informants were worthy of credit. But here no ground for suspicion exists; for on those matters which did not come under his own observation he had his information from those Brāhmins who were the rulers of the state, to whom he again and again appeals as his authorities. Accordingly he was able not only to describe how the kingdom of the Prasii was governed, but also to give an estimate of the power of other nations and the strength of their armies. Hence we cannot wonder that Indian ideas are to be found in the books of Megasthenes mixed up with accounts of what he personally observed and with Greek ideas.

"Therefore to him, as to the companions of Alexander, it cannot be objected that he told too much. That he did not tell too little to give an adequate account of Indian affairs to Greek readers we know. For he has described the country, its soil, climate, animals, and plants, its government and religion, the manners of its people and their arts,—in short, the whole of Indian life from the king to the remotest tribe; and he has scanned every object with a mind sound and unprejudiced, without overlooking even trifling and minute circumstances. If we see any part omitted, a little only said about the religion and gods of the Indians, and nothing at all about their literature, we should reflect that we are not reading his veritable book, but only an epitome and some particular fragments that have survived the wreck of time." (p. 75.)

"Of the slight mistakes into which he fell, some are of that kind into which even the most careful observer may be betrayed, as for instance his incorrectly stating that the *Vipāśā* pour its waters into the *Irāvati*. Others had their origin in his misapprehension of the meaning of Indian words; to which head must be referred his assertion that among the Indians laws were not written, but everything decided by memory. Besides he alleges that on those Brāhmins who had thrice erred in making up the calendar silence for the rest of their lives was enjoined as a punishment. This passage, which has not yet been cleared up, I would explain by supposing that he had heard the Indian word *anubandha*, a name which is applied both to a taciturn person and to any anecdote. Finally, some errors had their source in this, that he looked at Indian matters from a Greek's point of view, from which it resulted that he did not correctly enumerate the castes, and gave a mistaken account of the Indian gods and other matters.

"Notwithstanding, the work of Megasthenes—in so far as it is a part of Greek literature and of Greek and Roman learning—is, as it were, the culmination of the knowledge which the ancients ever acquired of India; for although the geographical science of the Greeks attained afterwards a perfect form, nevertheless the knowledge of India derived from the books of Megasthenes has only approached perfect accuracy the more closely those who have written after him on India have followed his *Indika*. And it is not only on account of his own merit that Megasthenes is a writer of great importance, but also on this other ground, that while other writers have borrowed a great part of what they relate from him, he exercised a powerful influence on the whole sphere of Latin and Greek scientific knowledge.

"Besides this authority which the *Indika* of Megasthenes holds in Greek literature, his remains have another value, since they hold not the last place among the sources whence we derive our knowledge of Indian antiquity. For as there now exists a knowledge of our own of ancient India, still on some points he increases the knowledge which we have acquired from other sources, even though his narrative not seldom requires to be supplemented and corrected. Notwithstanding, it must be conceded that the new information we have learned from him is neither extremely great in amount nor weight. What is of greater importance than all that is now in what he has told us, is—that he has recalled a picture of the condition of India at a definite period,—a service of all the greater value, because Indian literature, always self-consistent, is wont to leave us in the greatest doubt

if we seek to know what happened at any particular time." (pp. 76, 77).

It is yet an unsettled question whether the *Indika* was written in the Attic or the Ionic dialect.\*

### FRAGMENT I,

OR AN EPILOGUE OF MEGASTHENES.

(Diod. II. 35-42.)

(35.) 'India, which is in shape quadrilateral, has its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea, but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemódos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Sakaí, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus, which is perhaps the largest of all rivers in the world after the Nile. 'The extent of the whole country from east to west is said to be 28,000 stadia, and from north to south 82,000. 'Being thus of such vast extent, it seems well-nigh to embrace the whole of the northern tropic zone of the earth, and in fact at the extreme point of India the gnomon of the sundial may frequently be observed to cast no shadow, while the constellation of the Bear is by night invisible, and in the remotest parts even Arcturus disappears from view. Consistently with this, it is also stated that shadows there fall to the southward.

'India has many huge mountains which abound in fruit-trees of every kind, and many vast plains of great fertility—more or less beautiful, but all alike intersected by a multitude of rivers. 'The greater part of the soil, moreover, is under irrigation, and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year. It teems at the same time with animals of all sorts,—beasts of the field and fowls of the air,—of all different degrees of strength and size. 'It is prolific, besides, in elephants, which are of monstrous bulk, as its soil supplies food in unsparing profusion, making these animals far to exceed in strength those that are bred in Libya. It results also that, since they are caught in great numbers by the Indians and trained for war, they are of great moment in turning the scale of victory.

(36.) 'The inhabitants, in like manner, having abundant means of subsistence, exceed in

consequence the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing. They are also found to be well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water. 'And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war.

'In addition to cereals, there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river-streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also, and what is called *basporon*, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most grow spontaneously. 'The soil yields, moreover, not a few other edible products fit for the subsistence of animals, about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food. 'For, since there is a double rainfall in the course of each year,—one in the winter season, when the sowing of wheat takes place as in other countries, and the second at the time of the summer solstice, which is the proper season for sowing rice and *basporon*, as also sesamum and millet—the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually; and even should one of the sowings prove more or less abortive they are always sure of the other crop. 'The fruits, moreover, of spontaneous growth, and the esculent roots which grow in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. 'The fact is, almost all the plains in the country have a moisture which is alike genial, whether

\* The following authorities are quoted by Schwartz (pp. 23, 24) to show that the *Indika* of Megasthenes was divided into four books—Athen. IV. p. 123—where the 2nd book is mentioned; Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 132 2ylb. where the 3rd book is mentioned; Joseph. contra Apion, I. 10. and *Antiq. Jud.* X. xi. 1, where the 4th book is mentioned—cf. G. Syneil. tom. I. p. 419, Bonn. The

assignment of the fragments to their respective books was a matter of some difficulty, as the order of their connection varies in different authors.

\* With Epit. I. conf. *Fragn. II.* iii. (In *Ind. Ant.* vol. V p. 66, c. 2).

<sup>1-2</sup> Conf. *Fragn. iv.*

<sup>1-3</sup> Conf. *Fragn. xi.*

<sup>2</sup> Conf. *Fragn. ix.*

it is derived from the rivers, or from the rains of the summer season, which are wont to fall every year at a stated period with surprising regularity; while the great heat which prevails ripens the roots which grow in the marshes, and especially those of the tall reeds.

"But, further, there are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees.

(37.) "India, again, possesses many rivers both large and navigable, which, having their sources in the mountains which stretch along the northern frontier, traverse the level country, and not a few of these, after uniting with each other, fall into the river called the Ganges. "Now this river, which at its source is 30 stadia broad, flows from north to south, and empties its waters into the ocean forming the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, a nation which possesses a vast force of the largest-sized elephants. "Owing to this, their country has never been conquered by any foreign king: for all other nations dread the overwhelming number and strength of these animals. " [Thus Alexander the Macedonian, after conquering all Asia, did not make war upon the Gangaridai, as he did on all others; for when he had arrived with all his troops at the river Ganges, and had subdued all the other Indians, he abandoned as hopeless an invasion of the Gangaridai when he learned that they possessed four thousand elephants well trained and equipped for war.] "Another river, about the same size as the Ganges, called the *Indus*, has its sources, like its rival, in the north, and

falling into the ocean forms on its way the boundary of India; in its passage through the vast stretch of level country it receives not a few tributary streams which are navigable, the most notable of them being the *Hupania*, the *Hodaspæ*, and the *Akesinûs*. Besides these rivers there are a great many others of every description, which permeate the country, and supply water for the nurture of garden vegetables and crops of all sorts. "Now to account for the rivers being so numerous, and the supply of water so superabundant, the native philosophers and proficients in natural science advance the following reasons:—They say that the countries which surround India—those of the *Skythians* and *Baktrians*, and also of the *Aryans*—are more elevated than India, so that their waters, agreeably to natural law, flow down together from all sides to the plains beneath, where they gradually saturate the soil with moisture, and generate a multitude of rivers.

"A peculiarity is found to exist in one of the rivers of India,—that called the *Sitta*, which flows from a fountain bearing the same name. It differs from all other rivers in this respect,—that nothing cast into it will float, but everything, strange to say, sinks down to the bottom.

(38.) "It is said that India, being of enormous size when taken as a whole, is peopled by races both numerous and diverse, of which not even one was originally of foreign descent, but all were evidently indigenous; "and moreover that India neither received a colony from abroad, nor sent out a colony to any other nation. "The legends further inform us that in primitive times the inhabitants subsisted on such fruits as the earth yielded spontaneously, and were clothed with the skins of the beasts found in the country, as was the case with the Greeks; and that, in like manner as with them, the arts and other appliances which improve human life were gradually invented. Necessity herself teaching them to an animal at once docile and furnished not only with hands ready to second all his efforts, but also with reason and a keen intelligence.

"The men of greatest learning among the

† Conf. Lassen, *Pentapet.* 10.

‡ Conf. *Fragm.* xi. in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 86, c. vi. 2-3.

§ Conf. *Fragm.* ix. in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 87, c. iv.

2-18.

¶ Conf. *Fragm.* xvi.

¶ cf. seqq. Conf. *Fragm.* lvi.

§§ Conf. *Fragm.* i. in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 89, c. vi.—"He tells us further," &c. to c. viii.—"on the principle of merit."



Indians tell certain legends, of which it may be proper to give a brief summary.† They relate that in the most primitive times, when the people of the country were still living in villages, Dionusos made his appearance coming from the regions lying to the west, and at the head of a considerable army. He overran the whole of India, as there was no great city capable of resisting his arms. "The heat, however, having become excessive, and the soldiers of Dionusos being afflicted with a pestilence, the leader, who was remarkable for his sagacity, carried his troops away from the plains up to the hills. There the army, recruited by the cool breezes and the waters that flowed fresh from the fountains, recovered from sickness. "The place among the mountains where Dionusos restored his troops to health was called Mûros; from which circumstance, no doubt, the Greeks have transmitted to posterity the legend concerning the god, that Dionusos was bred in his father's thigh.§ "Having after this turned his attention to the artificial propagation of useful plants, he communicated the secret to the Indians, and taught them the way to make wine, as well as other arts conducive to human well-being. "He was, besides, the founder of large cities, which he formed by removing the villages to convenient sites, while he also showed the people how to worship the deity, and introduced laws and courts of justice. "Having thus achieved nito-

† FRAGM. I. B.

Dind. III. 69.

#### Concerning Dionusos.

Now some, as I have already said, supposing that there were three individuals of this name, who lived in different ages, assign to each appropriate achievements. They say, then, that the most ancient of them was In d ō s, and that as the country, with its genial temperature, produced spontaneously the vine-tree in great abundance, he was the first who crushed grapes and discovered the use of the properties of wine. In like manner he ascertained what culture was requisite for figs and other fruit trees, and transmitted this knowledge to after-times; and, in a word, it was he who found out how these fruits should be gathered in, whence also he was called Lē n a i o s. This same Dionusos, however, they call also K a t a p ō g ō n, since it is a custom among the Indians to nourish

gether many great and noble works, he was regarded as a deity and gained immortal honours. It is related also of him that he led about with his army a great host of women, and employed, in marshalling his troops for battle, drums and cymbals, as the trumpet had not in his days been invented: "and that after reigning over the whole of India for two and fifty years he died of old age, while his sons, succeeding to the government, transmitted the sceptre in unbroken succession to their posterity. "At last, after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic governments were set up in the cities.

(39.) "Such, then, are the traditions regarding Dionusos and his descendants current among the Indians who inhabit the hill-country. "They further assert that H e r a k l ē s also was born among them. "They assign to him, like the Greeks, the club and the lion's skin. He far surpassed other men in personal strength and prowess, and cleared sea and land of evil beasts. "Marrying many wives he begot many sons, but one daughter only. The sons having reached man's estate, he divided all India into equal portions for his children, whom he made kings in different parts of his dominions. He provided similarly for his only daughter, whom he reared up and made a queen. "He was the founder, also, of no small number of cities, the most renowned and greatest of which he called P a l i b o t h r a. He built therein many sumptuous

their beads with great care to the very end of their life. Dionusos then, at the head of an army, marched to every part of the world, and taught mankind the planting of the vine, and how to crush grapes in the winepress, whence he was called Lē n a i o s. Having in like manner imparted to all a knowledge of his other inventions, he obtained after his departure from among men immortal honour from those who had benefited by his labours. It is further said that the place is pointed out in India even to this day where the god had been, and that cities are called by his name in the vernacular dialects, and that many other important evidences still exist of his having been born in India, about which it would be tedious to write.

§ μῦθος.

¶ Conf. Fragm. II.

\*\*\* Conf. Fragm. I. in Ind. Ant. vol. V. pp. 80-82, &c.

viii; from "But that Hercules," &c. to "of his daughter."

† Apparently Siva is meant, though his many wives and sons are unknown to Hindu mythology.—Ed.



palaces, and settled within its walls a numerous population. The city he fortified with trenches of notable dimensions, which were filled with water introduced from the river. "Heraklēs, accordingly, after his removal from among men, obtained immortal honour; and his descendants, having reigned for many generations and signalized themselves by great achievements, neither made any expedition beyond the confines of India, nor sent out any colony abroad. "At last, however, after many years had gone, most of the cities adopted the democratic form of government, though some retained the kingly until the invasion of the country by Alexander. "Of several remarkable customs existing among the Indians, there is one prescribed by their ancient philosophers which one may regard as truly admirable: for the law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but that, enjoying freedom, they shall respect the equal right to it which all possess: for those, they thought, who have learned neither to domineer over nor to uringe to others will attain the life best adapted for all vicissitudes of lot: for it is but fair and reasonable to institute laws which bind all equally, but allow property to be unevenly distributed.

(40.) The whole population of India is divided into seven castes, of which the first is formed by the collective body of the Philosophers,† which in point of number is inferior to the other classes, but in point of dignity preëminent over all. For the philosophers, being exempted from all public duties, are neither the masters nor the servants of others. "They are, however, engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in lifetime, and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead: for they are believed to be most dear to the gods, and to be the most conversant with matters pertaining to Hades. In requital of such services they receive valuable gifts and privileges. "To the people of India at large they also render great benefits, when, gathered together at the beginning of the year, they forewarn the assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious

winds, and diseases, and other topics capable of profiting the hearers. "Thus the people and the sovereign, learning beforehand what is to happen, always make adequate provision against a coming deficiency, and never fail to prepare beforehand what will help in a time of need. The philosopher who errs in his predictions incurs no other penalty than obloquy, and he then observes silence for the rest of his life.

"The second caste consists of the Husbandmen,\* who appear to be far more numerous than the others. Being, moreover, exempted from fighting and other public services, they devote the whole of their time to tillage; nor would an enemy coming upon a husbandman at work on his land do him any harm, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land, thus remaining unravaged, and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all that is requisite to make life very enjoyable. "The husbandmen themselves, with their wives and children, live in the country, and entirely avoid going into town. "They pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land-tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil.

"The third caste consists of the Neatherds and Shepherds,† and in general of all herdsmen who neither settle in towns nor in villages, but live in tents. By hunting and trapping they clear the country of noxious birds and wild beasts. As they apply themselves eagerly and assiduously to this pursuit, they free India from the pests with which it abounds,—all sorts of wild beasts, and birds which devour the seeds sown by the husbandmen.‡

(41.) "The fourth caste consists of the Artizans.§ Of these some are armourers, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes, but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer.

"The fifth caste is the Military.|| It is well

\* Conf. Fragm. xiv.

† Φιλόσοφοι, Strabo, *Diog. Zoroastri*, Arr.

§ Conf. Fragm. xiii. in *Jed. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 21-22, cc. xi and xii.

\* Γεωργοί, Strabo, Arr. *Diog.*

† Βοῦκόβοι καὶ ποιμένες καὶ ἐσθλοὶ πότρες οἱ οὐραίοι,

*Diog. Ποιμένες καὶ θηροκῆποι*, Strabo, *Ποιμένες* καὶ ἐσθλοὶ πότρες, Arr.

‡ Shepherds and hunters were not a caste of Indians, but were probably tribes like the Abhira or Abhira, Dharmas, &c.—Eu.

§ Τεχνίται.

|| Πλεμῆνοι, Strabo, Arr.

organized and equipped for war, holds the second place in point of numbers, and gives itself up to idleness and amusement in the times of peace. The entire force—men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants, and all—are maintained at the king's expense.

"The sixth caste consists of the Overseers. It is their province to inquire into and superintend all that goes on in India, and make report to the king, or, where there is not a king, to the magistrates.

"The seventh caste consists of the Counsellors and Assessors,—of those who deliberate on public affairs. It is the smallest class, looking to number, but the most respected, on account of the high character and wisdom of its members; for from their ranks the advisers of the king are taken, and the treasurers of the state, and the arbiters who settle disputes. The generals of the army also, and the chief magistrates, usually belong to this class.

"Such, then, are about the parts into which the body politic in India is divided. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exercise any calling or art except his own: for instance, a soldier cannot become a husbandman, or an artisan a philosopher.\*

(42.) "India possesses a vast number of huge elephants, which surpass those found elsewhere both in strength and size. This animal does not cover the female in a peculiar way, as some affirm, but like horses and other quadrupeds. "The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and at furthest eighteen.† Like mares, they generally bring forth but one young one at a time, which the dam suckles for six years. "Most elephants live to be as old as an extremely old man, but the most aged live two hundred years.

"Among the Indians officers are appointed even for foreigners, whose duty is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he

dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. "The judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned, with the greatest care, and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them. [What we have now said regarding India and its antiquities will suffice for our present purpose.]

## BOOK I.

### FRAGM. II.

*Arr. Hesp. Alex. V. c. 2-11.*

#### *Of the Boundaries of India, its General Character, and its Rivers.‡*

According to Eratosthenes, and Megasthenes who lived with Sibartion the satrap of Arachosia, and who, as he himself tells us, often visited Sandrakottos§ the king of the Indians, India forms the largest of the four parts into which Southern Asia is divided, while the smallest part is that region which is included between the Euphrates and our own sea. The two remaining parts, which are separated from the others by the Euphrates and the Indus, and lie between those rivers, are scarcely of sufficient size to be compared with India, even should they be taken both together. The same writers say that India is bounded on its eastern side, right onwards to the south, by the great ocean; that its northern frontier is formed by the Caucasus range as far as the junction of that range with Taurus; and that the boundary towards the west and the north-west, as far as the great ocean, is formed by the river Indus. A considerable portion of India consists of a level plain, and this, as they conjecture, has been formed from the alluvial deposits of the river,—inferring this from the fact that in other countries plains which are far away from the sea are generally formations of their respective rivers, so that in old times a country was even called by the name of its river. As an instance, there is the so-called plain of the Hermos—a river in Asia (Minor), which, flowing from the

\* *Ἐθνοποι.* Dind. Strab. *Ἐκείνων.* Arr. Is this the class of officers referred to as sheriffs—*mahdumtas*—in the Achaemenian inscriptions? Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. V. pp. 267, 8.—Ed.

† It appears strange that Megasthenes should have divided the people of India into seven castes. . . . Herodotus, however, had divided the people of Egypt into seven castes, namely priests, soldiers, herdsman, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and fishermen; and Megasthenes may therefore have taken it for granted that there were seven castes in India. It is a curious fact that, from the time of Alexander's expedition to a comparatively recent date, geographers

and others have continually drawn analogies between Egypt and India."—Wheeler's *Hist. of India*, vol. III. p. 192, note 11-12. Conf. Fragm. xxvi.

‡ For some remarks on this point see Blochmann's translation of the *Ala-i-Akbari*, p. 115.

§ Conf. Eph. ad init.

¶ The name of Chandragupta is written by the Greeks Sandrakottos, Sandrakottos, Sandrakottos, Andrakottos, and (best) Sandrakottos. Cf. Schlager, *Bibl. Ind. I.* 245.—Schwanbeck, p. 12, n. 5.

Mount of Mother Dindymênê, falls into the sea near the Æolian city of Smyrna. There is also the Lydian plain of the Kæstros, named after that Lydian river; and another, that of the Kalkos, in Mysia; and one also in Karin,—that of the Maiandros, which extends even to Miletos, which is an Ionian city. [As for Egypt, both the historians Herodotos and Hekataios (or at any rate the author of the work on Egypt if he was other than Hekataios) alike agree in declaring it to be the gift of the Nile, so that that country was perhaps even called after the river; for in early times Aiguptos was the name of the river which now-a-days both the Egyptians and other nations call the Nile, as the words of Homer clearly prove, when he says that Menelaüs stationed his ships at the mouth of the river Aiguptos. If, then, there is but a single river in each plain, and these rivers, though by no means large, are capable of forming, as they flow to the sea, much new land, by carrying down silt from the uplands, where their sources are, it would be unreasonable to reject the belief in the case of India that a great part of it is a level plain, and that this plain is formed from the silt deposited by the rivers, seeing that the Hermos, and the Kæstros, and the Kalkos, and the Maiandros, and all the many rivers of Asia which fall into the Mediterranean, even if united, would not be fit to be compared in volume of water with an ordinary Indian river, and much less with the greatest of them all, the Ganges, with which neither the Egyptian Nile, nor the Danube which flows

through Europe, can for a moment be compared. Nay, the whole of these if combined all into one are not equal even to the Indos, which is already a large river where it rises from its fountains, and which after receiving a tributaries fifteen rivers all greater than those of Asia, and bearing off from its rival the honour of giving name to the country, falls at last into the sea.\*

## FRAGM. III.

Arr. Indica, II. 1. 7.

*Of the Boundaries of India†*

(For this fragment see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V. p. 96, chap. II.)

## FRAGM. IV.

Strabo, XV. l. 11—p. 669.

*Of the Boundaries and Extent of India‡*

India is bounded on the north by the extremities of Taurus, and from Arinna to the Eastern Sea by the mountains which are variously called by the natives of these regions Parapamisos and Hemidos, and Himavos,§ and other names, but by the Macedonians Kaskasos.|| The boundary on the west is the river Indus, but the southern and eastern sides, which are both much greater than the others, run out into the Atlantic Ocean.¶ The shape of the country is thus rhomboidal, since each of the greater sides exceeds its opposite side by 3000 stadia, which is the length of the promontory common to the south and the east coast, which projects equally in these two directions. [The length of the western side, measured from the Kaspatian mountains to the southern

\* Strabo, XV. l. 32, p. 700.—[All the rivers mentioned (the last of which is the Hippasos) unite in one, the Indus.] They say that fifteen considerable rivers, in all, flow into it.

† Comp. Epit. 1, and for notes on the same see vol. V. p. 669—K.

‡ Comp. Epit. 1. 8. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* VI. 21. 2) states that India extends from north to south 25,150 thousand paces. This number, though it is not exactly equal to 12,500 stadia, but to 31,650, nevertheless approaches the number given by Megasthenes better than any other. From the numbers which both Arrian (*Ind. III.* 8) and Strabo (*lpp. 660, 661*) give, Diodorus differs remarkably, for he says the breadth extends to 39,000, and the length to 32,000 stadia. It would be rash to deny that Megasthenes may also have indicated the larger numbers of Diodorus, for Arrian (*lud.* iii. 7. 4) adds to the number the words "where shortest" and "where narrowest," and Strabo (*lpp. 660*) has added to the expression of the breadth the words "at the shortest," and, referring to Megasthenes and Diodorus, says distinctly "who state that in some places the distance from the southern sea to Caucasus is over 30,000 stadia." There can be no doubt, however, that Megasthenes regarded the smaller, and Diodorus the larger number as correct; for the latter seemed to Arrian unworthy of mention, and Strabo (*lpp. 660*) says decidedly, "Megasthenes and Diodorus incline to be more moderate in their estimate, for according to them the distance from the southern sea to Caucasus is over 30,000 stadia: Diodorus, however, allows that the dis-

tance in some places exceeds 30,000 stadia" by which he quite excludes Megasthenes from this opinion. And at p. 74, where he mentions the 30,000 stadia of Diodorus, he does not say a word of Megasthenes. But it must be certain that 10,000 st. is by the only measure Megasthenes gave of the breadth of India. For not only Strabo (*lpp. 660*) and Arrian (*lud.* iii. 7. 4) cannot quote a larger number from Megasthenes, but Hipparchus also (*Strabo* p. 670),—where he shows that Ptolemy is unworthy of confidence, because he has given smaller dimensions for India than Megasthenes,—only mentions the measure of 10,000 stadia, where, for what Hipparchus wanted, the greatest number was the most suitable for his purpose.—I think the numbers were suggested because Megasthenes regarded an Indian, Kabal, and that part of Araxes which Charidegepts had taken from Seleukos, and on the north the frontier between Usterakuras, which he mentions elsewhere. What Megasthenes said about the breadth of India remained fixed throughout the whole geography of the Greeks, so that not even Ptolemy, who says India extends 10,000 stadia, differs much from it. But his measure of length has either been rejected by all, for fear of supposing the nearest opinion, or that the torrid zone could not be inhabited, or (like Hipparchus) erroneously carried it much too far to the north.—Schwanbeck, *lpp. 29, 30*, p. 24.

§ Schwanbeck suggests "Taurus in Arrian."

|| i.e. The Himalayas.

¶ The world was anciently regarded as an island surrounded by the Atlantic Sea.

sea along the course of the river Indus to its mouth, is said to be 18,000 stadia, so that the eastern side opposite, with the addition of the 3000 stadia of the promontory, will be somewhere about 16,000 stadia. This is the breadth of India where it is both smallest and greatest.] The length from west to east as far as Palibothra can be stated with greater certainty, for the royal road which leads to that city has been measured by *schœni*, and is in length 10,000 stadia.\* The extent of the parts beyond can only be conjectured from the time taken to make voyages from the sea to Palibothra by the Ganges, and may be about 6000 stadia. The entire length, computed at the shortest, will be 16,000 stadia. This is the estimate of Eratosthenes, who says he derived it principally from the authoritative register of the stages on the Royal Road. Heron Megasthenes agrees with him. [Ptolemaeus, however, makes the length less by 1000 stadia.] Conf. Arr. Ind. iii. 1-5.

## FRAGM. V.

Strabo, II. i. 7.—p. 69.

## Of the Size of India.

Again, Hipparchos, in the 2nd volume of his commentary, charges Eratosthenes himself with throwing discredit on Ptolemaeus for differing from Megasthenes about the length of India on its northern side, Megasthenes making it 16,000 stadia, and Ptolemaeus 1000 less.

## FRAGM. VI.

Strabo, XV. i. 12.—pp. 660-661.

## Of the Size of India.

[From this, one can readily see how the accounts of the other writers vary from one another. Thus Ktésias says that India is not of less size than the rest of Asia; Onesikritos regards it as the third part of the habitable world; and Nearchos says it takes one four months to traverse the plain only.] Megasthenes and Déimachos incline to be more moderate in their estimate, for according to them the distance from the Southern Sea to Kaukasos

is over 20,000 stadia.—[Déimachos, however, allows that the distance in some places exceeds 30,000 stadia. Of these notices has been taken in an earlier part of the work.]

## FRAGM. VII.

Strabo, II. i. 4.—pp. 68-69.

## Of the Size of India.

Hipparchos controverts this view, urging the futility of the proofs on which it rests. Ptolemaeus, he says, is unworthy of trust, opposed as he is by two competent authorities, Déimachos and Megasthenes, who state that in some places the distance from the southern sea is 20,000 stadia, and in others 30,000. Such, he says, is the account they give, and it agrees with the ancient charts of the country.

## FRAGM. VIII.

Arr. India, III. 7-8.

## Of the Size of India.

With Megasthenes the breadth of India is its extent from east to west, though this is called by others its length. His account is that the breadth at shortest is 16,000 stadia, and its length—by which he means its extent from north to south—is at the narrowest 22,300 stadia.

## FRAGM. IX.

Strabo, II. i. 12.—p. 70.

## Of the setting of the Bear, and shadows falling in contrary directions.†

Again, he [Eratosthenes] wished to show the ignorance of Déimachos, and his want of a practical knowledge of such subjects, evidenced as it was by his thinking that India lay between the autumnal equinox and the winter tropic, and by his contradicting the assertion of Megasthenes that in the southern parts of India the constellation of the Bear disappeared from view, and shadows fell in opposite directions,‡—phenomena which he assures us are never seen in India, thereby exhibiting the sheerest ignorance. He does not agree in this opinion, but

\* All the texts read *disruptio* instead of *puplex*. In all the MSS. of Strabo also we read *oxylois*, and in Arrian, who extracts the same passage from Megasthenes, everywhere *oxylois*. Though there is nothing to blame in eitherlection, yet it is easier to change *oxylois* than *oxylois*, for Strabo may have been surprised to find the Greek *oxylois* in use also in India. The *schœni*, however, which with Eratosthenes is a measure of 40 stadia (Plin. Hist. Nat. X. li. 34), coincides precisely with the Indian *yojana* of four *lehas*. I do not forget that usually double this length is assigned to the *yojana*, but also that it is shorter than the Hindoo reckons it (Ariat. Res. vol. V. p. 105),

and also by the Chinese pilgrims (Fou-kow-ki, 87-88), and by Megasthenes himself, in Strabo (p. 708, Fragm. 122v. 8), from which it seems certain that ten stadia are equal to some Indian measure which cannot be a smaller one than the *lehas*.—Schw. p. 27, n. 23.

† Conf. Epit. 3.

‡ Conf. Died. II. 35. Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. 22. 6. The writers of Alexander's time who affirmed similar things were Nearchos and Onesikritos, and Bactro who exceeded all bounds. Conf. Lassen, Instit. Ling. Præc. Append. p. 2.—Schw. p. 39.



accuses Dëimachos of ignorance for asserting that the Bears do nowhere in India disappear from sight, nor shadows fall in opposite directions, as Megasthenes supposed.

## FRAGM. X.

Pliny, Hist. Nat. VI. 22. 6.

*Of the Setting of the Bear.*

Next [to the Prasii] in the interior are the Monedes and the Suari, to whom belongs Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and in summer to the south, for six months alternately. § The Bears, Baeton says, in that part of the country are only once visible in the course of the year, and not for more than fifteen days. Megasthenes says that this takes place in many parts of India.

Conf. Solin. 52. 13:—

Beyond Palibothra is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall in winter towards the north, and in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. The North Pole is visible in that part of the country once in the course of the year, and not for longer than fifteen days, as Baeton informs us, who allows that this occurs in many parts of India.

## FRAGM. XI.

Strabo, XV. i. 20.—p. 683.

*Of the Fertility of India.* ||

Megasthenes indicates the fertility of India by the fact of the soil producing two crops every year both of fruits and grain. [Erastosthenes writes to the same effect, for he speaks of a winter and a summer sowing, which both have rain: for a year, he says, is never found to be without rain at both those seasons, whence ensues a great abundance, since the soil is always productive. Much fruit is produced by trees; and the roots of plants, particularly of tall reeds, are sweet both by nature and by coction, since the moisture by which they are nourished is heated by the rays of the sun, whether it has fallen from the clouds or been drawn from the rivers.

§ "The Mandali would seem to be the same people as the Monedes of Pliny, who with the Suari occupied the inland country to the south of the Palibothra. As this is the exact position of the country of the Mündas and Sauri, I think it quite certain that they must be the same race as the Monedes and Suari of Pliny. In another passage Pliny mentions the Mandai and Malli as occupying the country between the Calingæ and the Gangæ. Amongst the Malli there was a mountain named Mallia, which would seem to be the same as the famous mount Maleus of the Monedes and Suari. I think it highly probable that both names may be intended for the celebrated mount Mandar, to the south of Bhâgpur, which is fabled to have been used by the gods and demons at the churning of the ocean. The Mandai I would identify with the inhabitants of the Mahabadi river, which is the Mandas of Ptolemy.

Erastosthenes uses here a peculiar expression: for what is called by others the ripening of fruits and the juices of plants is called among the Indians *coction*, which is as effective in producing a good flavour as the coction by fire itself. To the heat of the water the same writer ascribes the wonderful flexibility of the branches of trees, from which wheels are made, as also the fact of there being trees on which wool grows. ¶]

Conf. Erastosth. ap. Strabo XV. i. 13.—p. 620:—

From the vapours arising from such vast rivers, and from the Etesian winds, as Erastosthenes states, India is watered by the summer rains, and the plains are overflowed. During these rains, accordingly, flax\* is sown and millet, also sesamum, rice, and *bosmorum*,† and in the winter time wheat, barley, pulse, and other esculent fruits unknown to us.

## FRAGM. XII.

Strabo, XV. i. 37.—p. 701.

*Of some Wild Beasts of India.*

According to Megasthenes the largest tigers are found among the Prasii, being nearly twice the size of the lion, and so strong that a tame tiger led by four men having seized a male by the hinder leg overpowered it and dragged it to him. "The monkeys are larger than the largest dogs; they are white except in the face, which is black, though the contrary is observed elsewhere. Their tails are more than two cubits in length. They are very tame, and not of a malicious disposition: so that they neither attack man nor steal. \*Stones are dug up which are of the colour of frankincense, and sweeter than figs or honey. In some parts of the country there are serpents two cubits long which have membranous wings like bats. They fly about by night, when they let fall drops of urine or sweat, which blister the skin of persons not on their guard, with putrid sores. There are also winged scorpions of an extraordinary size. Ebony grows there. There are also dogs of

The Malli or Malai would therefore be the same people as Ptolemy's Mandali, who occupied the right bank of the Ganges to the south of Palibothra, or they may be the people of the Rajahat hills who are called Maler . . . . . The Suari of Pliny are the Sauras of Ptolemy, and both may be identified with the aboriginal Savaras or Suvar, a wild race of woodcutters who live in the jungles without any fixed habitation."—Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 505-9.

|| Conf. Epit. 6, 9.

§ Conf. Herod. II. 86. "Vallæque ut foliis depiciunt lævis Serra."—Virgil, *Geor.* ii. 181.—Falconer.

\* Linen, perhaps the linen *ré d'ard* *Scorpion* of Arrian.

† *Bosporum*—Strabo XV. i. 13.

great strength and courage, which will not let go their hold till water is poured into their nostrils: they bite so eagerly that the eyes of some become distorted, and the eyes of others fall out. Both a lion and a bull were held fast by a dog. The bull was seized by the muzzle, and died before the dog could be taken off.

PLIN. XIII. §

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XVII. 39. Conf. Frag. XII. 2.

Of Indian Apes.

In the country of the Praxii,§ who are an Indian people, Megasthenes says there are apes not inferior in size to the largest dogs. They have tails six cubits long, hair grows on their forehead, and they have luxuriant beards hanging down their breast. Their face is entirely white, and all the rest of the body black. They are tame and attached to man, and not malicious by nature like the apes of other countries.

FRAGM. XIV.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XVI. 41. Conf. Fragm. XII. 4.

Of Winged Scorpions and Serpents.

Megasthenes says there are winged scorpions

in India of enormous size, which sting Europeans and natives alike. There are also serpents which are likewise winged. These do not go abroad during the day, but by night, when they let fall urine, which if it lights upon any one's skin at once raises putrid sores thereon. Such is the statement of Megasthenes.

FRAGM. XV.

Strabo, XV. i. 55, — pp. 710-711.

Of the Beasts of India, and the Reed.

He (Megasthenes) says there are monkeys, rollers of rocks, which climb precipices whence they roll down stones upon their pursuers. \*Most animals, he says, which are tame with us are wild in India, and he speaks of horses which are one-horned and have heads like those of deer; †and also of reeds some of which grow straight up to the height of thirty *orguia*,‡ while others grow along the ground to the length of fifty. They vary in thickness from three to six cubits in diameter.

FRAGM. XV. B.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XVI. 20, 21. Conf. Fragm. XV. 2. 1.

Of some Beasts of India.

(30.) In certain districts of India (I speak of those which are most inland) they say there are inaccessible mountains infested by wild beasts, and which are also the haunts of animals like those of our own country except that they are wild; for even sheep, they say, run wild there, as well as dogs and goats and oxen, which roam about at their own pleasure, being independent and free from the dominion of the herdsman. That their number is beyond calculation is stated not only by writers on India, but also by the learned men of the country, among whom the Brahmins deserve to be reckoned, whose testimony is to the

same effect. It is also said that there exists in India a one-horned animal, called by the natives the *Kartasas*. It is of the size of a full-grown horse, and has a crest, and yellow hair soft as wool. It is furnished with very good legs and is very fleet. Its legs are jointless and formed like those of the elephant, and it has a tail like a swine's. A horn sprouts out from between its eyebrows, and this is not straight, but curved into the most natural wreath, and is of a black colour. It is said to be extremely sharp, this horn. The animal, as I learn, has a voice beyond all example loud-ringing and dissonant. It allows

† FRAGM. XIII. B.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XVI. 10.

Of Indian Apes.

Among the Praxii in India there is found, they say, a species of apes of human-like intelligence, and which are to appearance about the size of Hækkanian dogs. Nature has furnished them with forelocks, which one ignorant of the reality would take to be artificial. Their chin, like that of a miter, turns upward, and their tail is like the goat's one of the lion. Their body is white all over except the face and the tip of the tail, which are of a reddish colour. They are very intelligent, and naturally tame. They are bred in the woods, where also they live, subsisting on the fruits which they find growing wild on the hills. They resort in great numbers to the suburbs of

Letage, an Indian city, where they eat rice which has been laid down for them by the king's orders. In fact, every day a ready-prepared meal is set out for their use. It is said that when they have satisfied their appetite they retire in an orderly manner to their haunts in the woods, without injuring a single thing that comes in their way.

§ The *Prachyas* (i.e. *Esterns*) are called by Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny *Ἰνδοί*, *Ἰνδοί*; by Ptolemy (*Asia*, 63) *Ἰνδοί*, a name often used by Ælian also; by Nikolaus Damasc. (ep. *Stob. Floril.* 37, 38) *Ἰνδοί*; by Diodorus (xvii. 63) *Ἰνδοί*; by Curtius (IX. 3, 3) *Ἰνδοί*; by Justin (xii. 8, 9) *Ἰνδοί*. Megasthenes attempted to approximate more closely to the Sanskrit *Prachya*, for here he uses *Ἰνδοί*. And it appears that *Ἰνδοί* should be substituted for *Ἰνδοί* in Stephan. Byzant., since it comes between the words *Ἰνδοί* and *Ἰνδοί*. — Schwanbeck, p. 63, col. 2.

|| The *orguia* was four cubits, or equal to 8 feet 1 inch.

FRAGM. XVI.

Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VIII. 34. 1.

*Of the Boa-Constrictor.*

According to Megasthenes, serpents in India grow to such a size that they swallow stags and bulls whole.

Solinus, 52. 23.

So huge are the serpents that they swallow stags whole, and other animals of equal size.

FRAGM. XVII.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* VIII. 2.

*Of the Electric Eel.*

I learn from Megasthenes that there is in the Indian Sea a small kind of fish which is never seen when alive, as it always swims in deep water, and only floats on the surface after it is dead. Should any one touch it he becomes faint and swoons,—nay, even dies at last.

other animals to approach it, and is good-natured towards them, though they say that with its congeners it is rather quarrelsome. The males are reported to have a natural propensity not only to fight among themselves, by butting with their horns, but to display a like animosity against the female, and to be so obstinate in their quarrels that they will not desist till a worsted rival is killed outright. But, again, not only is every member of the body of this animal endowed with great strength, but such is the potency of its horn that nothing can withstand it. It loves to feed in secluded pastures, and wanders about alone, but at the rutting season it seeks the society of the female, and is then gentle towards her,—nay, the two even feed in company. The season being over and the female pregnant, the Indian *Kartaxon* again becomes ferocious and seeks solitude. The foals, it is said, are taken when quite young to the king of the *Prasii*, and are set to fight each other at the great public spectacles. No full-grown specimen is remembered to have ever been caught.

(2.) The traveller who crosses the mountains

† This island has been known by many names:—

1. *Lanka*.—The only name it goes by in Sanskrit, and quite unknown to the Greeks and Romans.

2. *Simandla* or *Palaionimola*.—Probably a Greek form of the Sanskrit *Pāṇimola*. This name had gone out of use before the time of Ptolemy the Geographer.

3. *Taprobane*.—Supposed to represent the Sanskrit *Tāmaparni* ('red-funnel' or 'cup-shaped land'), a slightly altered form of the Pāli *Tāmbapaṇi* which is found in the inscription of Asoka on the Greek rock. *Vide ante*, vol. V. p. 277.

4. *Salvee* (perhaps properly *Salinē*, *Sorandiva*, *Sitadīpa*, *Serendīb*, *Zailan*, *Ceylon*). These are all considered to be derivatives from *Sihala*, the Pāli form of *Sinhala*, 'the abode of lions.' The affix *di* represents the Sanskrit *dīpa*, 'an island.'

\* Lassen has tried to account for the name *Palaionimola*

FRAGM. XVIII.

Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI. 24. 1.

*Of Taprobane.*†

Megasthenes says that Taprobane is separated from the mainland by a river; that the inhabitants are called *Palaionimoi*,\* and that their country is more productive of gold and large pearls than India.

Solin. 53. 2.

Taprobane is separated from India by a river flowing between: for one part of it abounds with wild beasts and elephants much larger than India breeds, and men claim the other part.

FRAGM. XIX.

Aulgea, *Caryt.* 647.

*Of Marine Trees.*

Megasthenes, the author of the *Indika*, mentions that trees grow in the Indian Sea.

which skirt that frontier of India which is most inland meets, they say, with ravines which are clothed with very dense jungle, in a district called by the Indians *Korouda*†. These ravines are said to be the haunts of a peculiar kind of animal shaped like a satyr, covered all over with shaggy hair, and having a tail like a horse's, depending from its rump. If these creatures are left unmolested, they keep within the coppices living on the wild fruits; but should they hear the hunter's halloo and the baying of the hounds they dart up the precipices with incredible speed, for they are habituated to climbing the mountains. They defend themselves by rolling down stones on their assailants, which often kill those they hit. The most difficult to catch are those which roll the stones. Some are said to have been brought, though with difficulty and after long intervals, to the *Prasii*, but these were either suffering from diseases or were females heavy with young, the former being too weak to escape, and the latter being impeded by the burden of the womb.—*Conf. Plin. Hist. Nat.* VII. 2, 17.

thus (*Dissert. de Insula Taprob.* p. 31).—"We must suppose that Megasthenes was acquainted with the Indian myth that the first inhabitants of the island were said to have been *Balakemo* or giants, the sons of the progenitors of the world, whom he might not lightly call *Palaionimoi*." Against this theory it is remarked that, by this unusual term and misnomer, Megasthenes meant to name the nation, not describe it, and that that Megasthenes is not in the habit of translating names, but of remembering them according to sound with some degree of personification; finally, that, shortly after, we find the name of Taprobane and of its capital *Hikarapandea*, quite like the *Hikarapandea*. Accordingly as Lassen explains *Hikarapandea*, the name of the capital, by the Sanskrit *Pāṇimandira* ('head of the sacred doctrine'), I would also prefer to explain the name of the *Palaionimoi* from the Sanskrit *Pāṇimola* (i.e. 'men of the sacred doctrine').—*Schwanbeck*, p. 25, n. 25.

† V. L. *Korouda*.

## FRAGM. XX.

Arr. Ind. 4. 2-13.

*Of the Indus and the Ganges.†*See translation of this in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 86-87.

## FRAGM. XXI.

Arr. Ind. 6. 2-3.

*Of the River Silas.‡*For translation see *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 88.

## FRAGM. XXII.

Boissonade, *Anecd. Græc.* I. p. 419.*Of the River Silas.*

There is in India a river called the Silas, named after the fountain from which it flows, on which nothing will float that is thrown into

it, but everything sinks to the bottom, contrary to the usual law.

## FRAGM. XXIII.

Strabo, XV. l. 38.—p. 703.

*Of the River Silas.*

(Megasthenes says) that in the mountainous country is a river, the Silas, on the waters of which nothing will float. Démokritos, who had travelled over a large part of Asia, disbelieves this, and so does Aristotle.

## FRAGM. XXIV.

Arr. Ind. 5. 2.

*Of the Number of Indian Rivers.*For translation see *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 87.

## FRAGM. XXV.

Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI. 21. p.—22. 1.

The Prínas|| and the Cérinas (a tributary of the Ganges) are both navigable rivers. The tribes which dwell by the Ganges are the Callingæ¶ nearest the sea, and higher up the Mandei, also the Maili, among whom is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that region being the Ganges. Some have asserted that this river, like the Nile, rises from unknown sources, and in a similar way waters the country it flows through, while others trace its source to the Skythian mountains. Nineteen rivers are said to flow into it, of which, besides those already mentioned, the Chodochates,\* Erannobas, Coecagus, and Sonna are navigable. According to other accounts, it bursts at once with thundering roar from its fountain, and tumbling down a steep and rocky channel lodges in a lake as soon as it reaches the level plain, whence it issues forth with a gentle current, being nowhere

less than eight miles broad, while its mean breadth is a hundred stadia, and its least depth twenty fathoms.†

Sollu. 52. 6-7.

In India the largest rivers are the Ganges and the Indus,—the Ganges, as some maintain, rising from uncertain sources, and, like the Nile, overflowing its banks; while others think that it rises in the Skythian mountains. In India there is also the Hapanis, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars set up on its banks testify.‡ The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and the greatest twenty. Its depth where least is fully one hundred feet.

Conf. Fragm. XXV. 1.

Some say that the least breadth is thirty stadia, but others only three; while Megasthenes says that the mean breadth is a hundred stadia, and its least depth twenty orguin.

† Conf. Epit. 15-16, and Notes on Arrian, *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 331, 332.

‡ Strab. 700, Diod. II. 37, and afterwards an anonymous writer whom Rohrbach (ad Callimach. *fragm.* p. 448) has praised, and whose account may be read in Boisson. *Anecd. Græc.* I. 419. The name is written Σίλας in Diogenes, in Strabo Σίλας, but best Σίλας, in the epitome of Strabo and in the *Anecd. Græc.* Bahr, 369, has collected the passages from Ktésias. Lassen has also illustrated this fable (*Zeitschr.* II. 63) from Indian literature:—"The Indians think that the river Silas is in the north, that it catches everything plunged in it, whence everything sinks and nothing swims." (Conf. *Mahābhār.* II. 1834.) Σίλα means 'a stone.'—Schw. p. 37, n. 33.

|| V. L. Pomes.

¶ A great and widely diffused tribe settled mainly between the Mahāndi and the Godāvari. Their capital was Partualis (called by Ptolemy Kalligra), on the Mahāndi, higher up than the site of Katak. The name is preserved in Kōringa, a great port at the mouth of the Godāvari.

\* V. L. L. Choscam, Vaman.

† "The Bhāghatī (which we shall here regard as the true Ganges) first comes to light near Gangotri, in the terri-

tory of Garhwāl, in lat. 30° 54', long. 79° 7', issuing from under a very low arch, at the base of a great snow-bed, estimated to be 300 feet thick, which lies between the lofty mountains termed St. Patrick, St. George, and the Hymanid, the two higher having elevations above the sea, respectively, of 22,798 and 22,654 feet, and the other, on the opposite side, having an elevation of 21,479. From the base of this curious wall of snow, and intermediately above the outlet of the stream, large and heavy icicles depend. They are formed by the freezing of the melted snow-water at the top of the bed; for in the middle of the day the sun is powerful, and the water produced by its action falls over this place in cascade, but is frozen at night. . . . At Bāhli the river may be said to break through the 'Himalaya Proper,' and the elevation of the waterway is here 7,805 feet. At Duvprag it is joined on the left side by the Alaknanda. . . . From Duvprag the united stream is now called the Ganges. . . . Its descent by the Dohra Dūn is rather rapid to Hapdwar. . . . sometimes called Gangāwān, or 'the gate of the Ganges,' being situated on its western or right bank at the southern base of the Śirādhik range, here intersected by a ravine or gully by which the river, finally leaving the mountainous region, commences its course over the plains of Hindustān. The breadth of the river in the rainy season . . . is represented to be a full mile."—Thornhill.

‡ The mean as the Euphrates or Bagdad.



## BOOK II.

## FRAGM. XXV.

Strab. XV. i. 55. 36,—p. 702.

*Of the city Pataliputra.* §

According to Megasthenes the mean breadth (of the Ganges) is 100 stadia, and its least depth 20 fathoms. At the meeting of this river and another situated Palibothra, a city eighty stadia in length and fifteen in breadth. It is of the shape of a parallelogram, and is girded with a wooden wall, pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows. It has a ditch in front for defence and for receiving the sewage of the city. The people in whose country this city is situated is the most distinguished in all India, and is called the Prasii. The king, in addition to his family name, must adopt the surname of Palibothra, as Sandrakottos, for instance, did, to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy. [This custom also prevails among the Parthians, for all are called Arsakni, though each has his own peculiar name, as Orodes, Phraortes, or some other.]

*Then follow these words:—*

All the country beyond the Euphrates is allowed to be very fertile, but little is accurately known regarding it. Partly from ignorance and the remoteness of its situation, everything about it is exaggerated or represented as marvellous: for instance, there are the stories of the gold-digging ants, of animals and men of peculiar shapes, and possessing wonderful faculties; as the Sere, who, they say, are so long-lived that they attain an age beyond that of two hundred years. [They mention also an aristocratical form of government consisting of five thousand councillors, each of whom furnishes the state with an elephant.]

According to Megasthenes the largest tigers are found in the country of the Prasii, &c. (Cf. Fragm. XII.)

## FRAGM. XXVI.

*Art. Ind. 10.*

*Of Pataliputra and the Manners of the Indians.*

It is further said, that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a

time,—so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains,—while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud; that the greatest city in India is that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasiana, where the streams of the Erannobos and the Ganges unite,—the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and the Erannobos being perhaps the third largest of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters in an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lakædæmonians and the Indians are here so far in agreement. The Lakædæmonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

## FRAGM. XXVII.

Strab. XV. i. 55-56,—pp. 700-10.

*Of the Manners of the Indians.*

The Indians all live frugally, especially when in camp. They dislike a great undisciplined multitude, and consequently they observe good order. Theft is of very rare occurrence. Megasthenes says that those who were in the camp of Sandrakottos, wherein lay 400,000 men, found that the thefts reported on any one day did not exceed the value of two hundred drachmæ, and this among a people who have no written laws, but are ignorant of writing, and must therefore in all the business of life trust to memory. They live, nevertheless, happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at

§ Conf. Epit. 3d.

[This was not the name of any particular nation, but was vaguely used to designate the inhabitants of the region producing silk, of which *Ser* is the name in Chinese and in Japanese. The general opinion places this region

(Sereia) in Eastern Mongolia and the north-west of China, but it has also been sought for in Eastern Turkestan, in the Himalaya towards the sources of the Ganges, in Assam, and even in Pegu. The name is first met with in Chinese.

sacrifices.† Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice-pottage.\* The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess good, sober sense; but other things they do which one cannot approve: for instance, that they eat always alone, and that they have no fixed hours when meals are to be taken by all in common, but each one eats when he feels inclined. The contrary custom would be better for the ends of social and civil life.

Their favourite mode of exercising the body is by friction, applied in various ways, but especially by passing smooth ebony rollers over the skin. Their tombs are plain, and the mounds raised over the dead lowly. In contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold, and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up umbrellas over them: for they have a high regard for beauty, and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom. They marry many wives, whom they buy from their parents, giving in exchange a yoke of oxen. Some they marry hoping to find in them willing helpmates; and others for pleasure and to fill their houses with children. The wives prostitute themselves unless they are compelled to be chaste. No one wears a crown at a sacrifice or libation, and they do not stab the victim, but strangle it, so that nothing mutilated, but only what is entire, may be presented to the deity.

A person convicted of bearing false witness suffers mutilation of his extremities. He who maims any one not only suffers in return the

loss of the same limb, but his hand also is cut off. If he causes an artisan to lose his hand or his eye, he is put to death. The same writer says that none of the Indians employ slaves; [but Onesikritus says that this was peculiar to that part of the country over which Musikanos ruled.]†

The care of the king's person is entrusted to women, who also are bought from their parents.‡ The guards and the rest of the soldiery attend outside the gates. A woman who kills the king when drunk becomes the wife of his successor. The sons succeed the father. The king may not sleep during the daytime, and by night he is obliged to change his couch from time to time, with a view to defeat plots against his life.§

The king leaves his palace not only in time of war, but also for the purpose of judging causes. He then remains in court for the whole day, without allowing the business to be interrupted, even though the hour arrives when he must needs attend to his person,—that is, when he is to be rubbed with cylinders of wood. He continues hearing cases while the friction, which is performed by four attendants, is still proceeding. Another purpose for which he leaves his palace is to offer sacrifice; a third is to go to the chase, for which he departs in Bacchanalian fashion. Crowds of women surround him, and outside of this circle spearmen are ranged. The road is marked off with ropes, and it is death, for man and woman alike, to pass within the ropes. Men with drums and gongs lead the procession. The king hunts in the enclosures and shoots arrows from a platform. At his side stand two or three armed women. If he hunts in the open grounds he shoots from the back of an elephant. Of the women, some are in chariots, some on horses, and some even on elephants, and they are equipped with weapons of every kind, as if they were going on a campaign.||

[These customs are very strange when compared with our own, but the following are still more so:] for Megasthenes states that the

\* This wine was probably Soma juice.

† Curry and rice, no doubt.

‡ His kingdom lay in Sindhu, along the banks of the Indus, and his capital was probably near Bakhar.

§ This custom unknown in native courts of later times. Cf. Strabo's account of the Bactrian king.

|| The present king of Ava, who evidently belongs to the Indo-Chinese type, although he claims a Kshatriya

origin, leads a life of seclusion very similar to that of Sandrokottos. He changes his bedroom every night, as a safeguard against sudden treachery." (Wheeler's *Hist. of India*, vol. III. p. 182, note.)

¶ In the drama of *Mukundala*, Rāja Dushyanta is represented as attended in the chase by Yavana women, with bows in their hands, and wearing garlands of wild flowers.

tribes inhabiting the Kaukasos have intercourse with women in public, and eat the bodies of their relatives,† and that there are monkeys which roll down stones, &c. (*Fragm. XV. follows, and then Fragn. XXIX.*)

FRAGM. XXIX.\*

Strab. XV. i. 57,—p. 711.

Of fabulous tribes.

But deviating into fables he says there are men five spans and even three spans in height, some of whom want the nose, having only two orifices above the mouth through which they breathe. † Against the men of three spans, war, as Homer has sung, is waged by the cranes, and also by partridges, which are as large as geese. ‡ These people collect and destroy the eggs of the

cranes, for it is in their country the cranes lay their eggs, and thus the eggs and the young cranes are not to be found anywhere else. Frequently a crane escapes having the brazen point of a weapon in its body, from wounds received in that country. † Equally absurd is the account given of the Enótokotai,‡ of the wild men, and of other monsters. † The wild men could not be brought to Sandrakoton, for they refused to take food and died. Their heels are in front, and the instep and toes are turned backwards.§ † Some were brought to the court who had no mouths and were tame. They dwell near the sources of the Ganges, and subsist on the savour of roasted flesh and the perfume of fruits and flowers, having instead of mouths

FRAGM. XXVII. B.

Ælian. V. L. iv. 2.

The Indians neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow. It is contrary to established usage for an Indian either to do or suffer a wrong, and therefore they neither make contracts nor require securities. Conf. Suid. V. lēoi.

FRAGM. XXVII. C.

Nicol. Damasc. 44; Stob. Sermon. 42.

Among the Indians one who is unable to recover a loan or a deposit has no remedy at law. All the creditor can do is to blame himself for trusting a rogue.

† Herodotus (ibk. iii. 35, 90, 101) has noted the existence of both practices among certain Indian tribes.

\* Cf. Strab. II. i. 9.—p. 70.—Dionysius and Megasthenes are especially unworthy of credit. It is they who tell those stories about the men who sleep in their ears, the men without mouths, the men without nostrils, the men with one eye, the men with long legs, and the men with their toes turned backward. They repeated Homer's fable about the battle between the Cranes and the Pygmies, asserting that the latter were three spans in height. They told of the ants that dig for gold, of Pans with wedge-shaped heads, and of serpents swallowing down men and stage, horns and all.—the one author meanwhile accusing the other of falsehood, as Eratosthenes has remarked.

† Ktésias in his *Indika* mentions Pygmies as belonging to India. The Indians themselves considered them as belonging to the race of the Kiratæ, a barbarous people who inhabited woods and mountains and lived by hunting, and who were so diminutive that their name became a synonym for dwarf. They were thought to fight with vultures and eagles. As they were of Mongolian origin, the Indians represented them with the distinctive features of that race, but with their repulsive ones exaggerated. Hence Megasthenes spoke of the Amuktivæ, men without noses, who had merely breathing-holes above the mouth. The Kiratæ are no doubt identical with the Seyntæ (V. L. Syntæ) of Plinius and the Kirchadæ of the *Periplus Maris Erythrai.*

‡ The Enótokotai are called in Sanskrit *Karmapridamini*, and are frequently referred to in the great epics—e.g. *Mahab. II. 1170, 1873*. The opinion was universally prevalent among the Indians that barterous

FRAGM. XXVIII.

Athen. iv. p. 133.

Of the Suppers of the Indians.

Megasthenes, in the second book of his *Indika*, says that when the Indians are at supper a table is placed before each person, this being like a tripod. There is placed upon it a golden bowl, into which they first put rice, boiled as one would boil barley, and then they add many delicacies prepared according to Indian receipts.

FRAGM. XXVII. D.

Nicol. Damasc. 44; Stob. Sermon. 42.

He who causes an artisan to lose his eye or his hand is put to death. If one is guilty of a very heinous offence the king orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment to the last degree infamous.

tribes had large ears, thus not only are the *Kan* and *Yam* races mentioned, but also a third, the *Indi* race, *Mahab. II. 1170*. As to the long or large eared, *P. 1170*, the *Indi* race is mentioned. Both races are mentioned in the *Indika* as being *Pindaridæ* (i.e. having hands for ears). *Schwanb. 16*. "It is easy," says *Whistler's Hist. Ind. vol. I. p. 179*, "for any one conversant with India to point out the origin of many of the so-called fables." The ants are not as big as bees, but they are very extraordinary creatures. The stories of men pulling up trees and using them as clubs, are common enough in the *Mahabharata*, especially in the legends of the exploits of *Arjuna*. Men do not have ears hanging down to their feet, but both men and women will occasionally elongate their ears in a very extraordinary fashion by thrusting articles through the lobes. . . . If there was no story more than another which excited the wrath of Strabo it was that of a people whose ears hung down to their feet. Yet the story is still current in Hindustan. *Uttā Johari Bha* says— "An old woman once told me that her husband, a sepoy in the British army, had seen a people who slept on one ear, and covered themselves with the other." (*Journalist. Mus. and Customs of the Indies, Benares, 1860*.) The story may be referred to the *Hindlayas*. *Pitch*, who travelled in India about 1835, says that a people in *Hindia* had ears a span long."

§ These wild men are mentioned both by Ktésias and Bactro. They were called *Antipodæ* on account of the peculiar structure of their feet, and were reckoned among *Æthiopian* races, though they are often referred to in the Indian epics under the name *Pindaridæ*, of which the *Devatodariyol* of Megasthenes is an exact translation. *Vide Schwanb. 68*.



orifices through which they breathe. They are distressed with things of evil smell, and hence it is with difficulty they keep their hold on life, especially in a camp. Referring to the other monstrosities, the philosophers told him of the *Ukapedes*, a people who in running could leave the horse behind; of the *Enotokotai*, who had ears reaching down to their feet, so that they could sleep in them, and were so strong that they could pull up trees and break a bowstring. Of others the *Monomatoi*, who have the ears of a dog, their one eye set in the middle of their forehead, the hair standing erect, and their breasts shaggy; of the *Amnktêres*, also a

*Ukapedes* is a transliteration into Greek, with a slight change, of the Sanskrit *Ekapada*, ('having one foot'), the name of a tribe of the Kurus noted for swiftness of foot, the quality indicated by the Greek term. The *Monopodes* are mentioned by Strabo, who confounded them with the *Skapodes*, the men who covered themselves with the shadow of their foot.

What Megasthenes here mentions as the characteristics of a single tribe are by the Indians attributed to several. The one-eyed men they are wont to call *Arakshas* or *Arakshasas*—the men with hair standing erect *Arakshasas*. Indian *Cyclopes* also are mentioned under the name of *Arakshasas*, i.e. having one eye in the forehead: vide Schwachsch. 70.

"That the *Arakshas* are mentioned in the Indian books we cannot show so well as in the case of the *Amakshas*, whom Megasthenes describes as *Arakshasas*, *Arakshasas*, *Arakshasas*. Nevertheless the very words of the description are a proof that he followed the narrative of the Indians, for the words *Arakshasas*, &c. by which he has described the *Amakshas*, are very rarely used in Greek, and are translations of Indian words." Schwachsch. 69.

"Pindar, who locates the Hyperboreans somewhere about the mouth of the later, thus sings of them—

"But who with venturesome course through wave or waste,  
To Hyperborean haunts and wilds untraced  
E'er found his woodroos way?"

There Perseus pressed amain,  
And 'midst the forest entered their strange abode,  
Where hemlock-tombs of men staid  
To soothe the radiant god  
Astonished he beheld. Their rite solemnities,  
Their barbarous shouts, Apollo's heart delight:  
Laughing the rampant brute he saw  
Insult the solemn rite.

Still their sights, their customs strange,  
Scare not the 'Muse,' while all around  
The dancing virgins range,  
And melting lyres and piercing pipes resound.  
With braids of golden hairs entwined  
Their soft resplendent locks they hand,  
And feast in bliss the genial hour:  
Nor foul disease, nor wasting age,  
Visit the sacred race; nor war they wage,  
Nor toil for wealth or power."

"10th Pythian ode, l. 45 to 62. A Moore's metrical version."

Megasthenes had the penetration to perceive that the Greek fable of the Hyperboreans had an Indian source in the fables regarding the *Uttarakuru*. The word means literally the 'Kuru of the North.' "The *Uttarakuru*," says P. V. de Saint-Martin, "of the Sanskrit *Uttarakuru* *Uttarakuru* is unknown, but its interpretation never varies. In the documents of Upaveda literature, in the great poems, in the Puranas,—wherever, in short, the name is found,—it pertains to the domain of poetic and mythological geography. *Uttarakuru* is situated in the uttermost regions of

people without nostrils, who devour everything, eat raw meat, and are short-lived, and die before old age supervenes." The upper part of the mouth protrudes far over the lower lip. With regard to the Hyperboreans, who live a thousand years, they give the same account as Simonides, Pindaros, and other mythological writers.† "The story told by Timagenes, that showers fall of drops of copper, which are swept together, is a fable." Megasthenes states—what is more open to belief, since the same is the case in Iberia?—that the rivers carry down gold dust, and that a part of this is paid by way of tribute to the king.

the north at the foot of the mountains which surround Mount Méro, far beyond the habitable world. It is the abode of demigods and truly Elysian whose lives extend to several thousands of years. All access to it is forbidden to mortals. Like the Hyperborean region of Western mythology, this too enjoys the happy privilege of an eternal spring, equally exempt from excess of cold and excess of heat, and there the sorrows of the soul and the pains of the body are alike unknown. . . . It is clear enough that this land of the West is not of our world.

"In their intercourse with the Indians after the expedition of Alexander, the Greeks became acquainted with these fictions of Brahmanic poetry, as well as with a good many other stories which made them look upon India as a land of prodigies. Megasthenes, like Ktesias before him, had collected a great number of such stories, and either from his memoirs or from contemporary narratives, such as that of Dionysius, the fable of the *Uttarakuru* had spread to the West, even from what Ptolemy tells us (vi. 17, p. 316) one Ammianus had composed a treatise regarding them similar to that of Hecataeus regarding the Hyperboreans. It is certainly from this treatise of Ammianus that Ptolemy borrows the two lines which he devotes to his Attacora, 'that a grade of mountains warmed with the sun sheltered them from the blasts of noxious winds, and that they enjoyed, like the Hyperboreans, an eternal spring.' 'Gens hominum Attacorum, spiritus ab omni homo afflicto societas collibus, eadem, qua Hyperborei degunt, temperie' (Pto. loc. cit. Ammianus Marcellinus, xiii. 8. 64.) Wagner transfers this description to the Sères in general, (of whom the Attacora of Ptolemy form part), and some modern critics (Mannert, vol. IV, p. 339, 1875; Forbiger Handb. der alten Geogr. vol. II, p. 472, 1844) have believed they could see in it a reference to the great wall of China. We are from a host of examples besides this, that the poetic fable and popular legends of India had taken, in passing into the Greek narratives, an appearance of reality, and a sort of historical consistency." (Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de Ptolemy, pp. 413-414.) The same author (p. 413) says, "Among the peoples of Sérica, Ptolemy names the *Uttarakuru*, a name which in Ptolemy's writer, Ammianus, and which Ammianus Marcellinus, who copies Ptolemy, diverts into *Oyuncaria*. There is no difficulty in recognizing under this name the *Uttarakuru* of Sanskrit books."

Schwachsch (p. 70) says Lassen, who writes somewhat to the same effect—"*Uttarakuru* is a part of Sérica, and as the first accounts of India came to the West from the Sères, perhaps a part of the description of the peaceful happy life of the Sères is to be explained from the Indian stories of the *Uttarakuru*. The story of the long life of the Sères may be similarly explained, especially when Megasthenes reckons the life obtained by the Hyperboreans at 1000 years. The *Uttarakuru* (VI. 263) says that the *Uttarakuru* live 1000 or 10,000 years. We conclude from this that Megasthenes also wrote of the *Uttarakuru*, and that he not improperly regarded their nation by that of the Hyperboreans."—Zeitschr. II. 67.

† Not Spain, but the country between the Black Sea and the Caspian, now called Georgia.



## FRAGM. XXX.

Plin. Hist. Nat. VII. c. 14. 22.

*Of fabulous races.*

According to Megasthenes, on a mountain called Nulo<sup>§</sup> there live men whose feet are turned backward, and who have eight toes on each foot; \* while on many of the mountains there lives a race of men having heads like those of dogs, who are clothed with the skins of wild beasts, whose speech is barking, and who, being armed with claws, live by hunting and fowling. || [<sup>¶</sup> Ktésias asserts on his own authority that the number of these men was upwards of 120,000, and that there is a race in India whose females bear offspring but once in the course of their life, and that their children become at once grey-haired.]

† Megasthenes speaks of a race of men among the Nomadic Indians who instead of nostrils have merely orifices, whose legs are contorted like snakes, and who are called Seyrites. He speaks also of a race living on the very confines of India on the east, near the source of the Ganges, the Astomi, who have no mouth; who cover their body, which is over hairy, with the soft down found upon the leaves of trees; and who live merely by breathing, and the perfume inhaled by the nostrils. They eat nothing, and they drink nothing. They require merely a variety of odours of roots and of flowers and of wild apples. The apples they carry with them when they go on a distant journey, that they may always have something to smell. Too strong an odour would readily kill them.

\* Beyond the Astomi, in the remotest part of the mountains, the Trispithami and the Pygmies are said to have their abode. They are each three spans in height—that is, not more than seven-and-twenty inches. Their climate is salubrious and they enjoy a perpetual spring.

## FRAGM. XXX. B.

Strab. 12. 29. 30.

Near a mountain which is called Nulo there live men, whose feet are turned backwards and have eight toes on each foot. Megasthenes writes that on different mountains in India there are tribes of men with dog-shaped heads, armed with claws, clothed with skins, who speak not in the accents of human language, but only bark, and have fierce grinding jaws. [In Ktésias we read

§ V. L. Nello.

¶ Called by Ktésias *Kanouchi* Dog, and in Sanskrit *Sonouchas* or *Sonouchas*.† Possibly we should read *Pandati*, unless perhaps

under shelter of a barrier of mountains which rise on the north. They are the same whom Homer mentions as being harassed by the attacks of the cranes. \* The story about them is—that mounted on the backs of rams and goats, and equipped with arrows, they march down in spring-time all in a body to the sea, and destroy the eggs and the young of these birds. It takes them always three months to finish this yearly campaign, and were it not undertaken they could not defend themselves against the vast flocks of subsequent years. Their huts are made of clay and feathers and egg-shells. [Aristotle says that they live in caves, but otherwise he gives the same account of them as others.], . . .

[<sup>¶</sup> From Ktésias we learn that there is a people belonging to this race, which is called *Pandori* and settled in the valleys, who live two hundred years, having in youth hoary hair, which in old age turns black. On the other hand, others do not live beyond the age of forty,—nearly related to the *Macrobii*, whose women bear offspring but once. Agatharchides says the same of them, adding that they subsist on locusts, and are swift of foot.] \* Clitarchus and Megasthenes call them *Mandii*,† and reckon the number of their villages at three hundred. The females bear children at the age of seven, and are old women at forty.\*

## FRAGM. XXXI.

Plutarch, *de facie in orbe luna*. (Opp. ed. Bæck. tom. ix. p. 791.)*Of the race of men without mouths.†*

For how could one find growing there that Indian root which Megasthenes says a race of men who neither eat nor drink, and in fact have not even mouths, set on fire and burn like incense, in order to sustain their existence with its odorous fumes, unless it received moisture from the moon?

that in some parts the females bear offspring but once, and that the children are white-haired from their birth, &c.] . . .

Those who live near the source of the Ganges, requiring nothing in the shape of food, subsist on the odour of wild apples, and when they go on a long journey they carry these with them for safety of their life, which they can support by inhaling their perfume. Should they inhale very foul air, death is inevitable.

Megasthenes referred to the inhabitants of Mount *Mandari*.

\* Conf. Fragm. L. 21. LI.

† Conf. Fragm. XXIX. 5, XXX. 3.

## SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Esq. C.S.

(Continued from p. 91.)

I propose henceforth to transcribe the original texts of my inscriptions into Roman characters. The system of transliteration to be followed is this:—

| Sanskrit.   | Canarese. | Transliteration. |
|---|-----------|------------------|
| अ   | ॐ         | a                |
| आ   | ॐ         | ā                |
| इ   | ॐ         | i                |
| ई   | ॐ         | ī                |
| उ   | ॐ         | u                |
| ऊ   | ॐ         | ū                |
| ऋ   | ॐ         | ṛi               |
| ॠ   | ॐ         | ṛī               |
| ऌ   | —         | li               |
| —   | ॐ         | e                |
| ए   | ॐ         | ē                |
| ऐ   | ॐ         | ai               |
| —   | ॐ         | o                |
| ओ   | ॐ         | ō                |
| औ   | ॐ         | au               |
| ॥ Visarga.  | ॐ         | h                |
| ॥ Jihvāmālīya, or<br>old Visarga before<br>क and ख. | —         | h                |
| ॥ Upadhānīya, or<br>old Visarga before<br>ग and घ.  | —         | h                |
| ॥ Anuvāra.  | ॐ         | in               |
| ॥ Anunāsikā.  | —         | in               |
| क   | ॐ         | ka               |
| ख   | ॐ         | kha              |
| ग   | ॐ         | ga               |
| घ   | ॐ         | gha              |
| ङ   | ॐ         | ṅa               |
| च   | ॐ         | cha              |
| छ   | ॐ         | chha             |
| ज   | ॐ         | ja               |
| झ   | ॐ         | jha              |
| ञ   | ॐ         | ña               |
| ट   | ॐ         | ta               |
| ठ   | ॐ         | tha              |
| ड   | ॐ         | ḍa               |
| ढ   | ॐ         | ḍha              |
| ण   | ॐ         | ṇa               |

|   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
| त | ॐ | ta  |
| थ | ॐ | tha |
| द | ॐ | da  |
| ध | ॐ | dha |
| न | ॐ | na  |
| प | ॐ | pa  |
| फ | ॐ | pha |
| ब | ॐ | ba  |
| भ | ॐ | bha |
| म | ॐ | ma  |
| य | ॐ | ya  |
| र | ॐ | ra  |
| — | ॐ | ra  |
| ल | ॐ | la  |
| ळ | ॐ | ḷa  |
| — | ॐ | ḷa  |
| व | ॐ | va  |
| श | ॐ | śa  |
| ष | ॐ | ṣha |
| स | ॐ | sa  |
| ह | ॐ | ha  |

A single hyphen will be used to separate bases in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line.

A double hyphen will be used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the rules of *Sandhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it will be understood that a final consonant and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it will be understood of the orthography of the original,—1. that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *Virāma* attached to it;—and 2. that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form.

On the subject of the *Virāma*, I have to remark that it is expressed in two ways in the Old Canarese alphabet, as it stood when fully developed from the Cave-alphabet:—1. less commonly, by a slight modification of one of the forms of the



ditya-Tribhuvanamallā, i. e. in the Śaka year 1018 (A.D. 1096-7), the Dhātva *saṁvatsara*. It records how a certain guild or corporation, called "The Five-hundred"<sup>a</sup>, set apart the proceeds of an impost that belonged to them, for the purpose of maintaining a tank.

The system of tanks at Kaṭṭagōri was formerly a large one. First, there is the small tank, on the west of the fort and close under the walls, which has recently been reconstructed as a Famine Relief Work. Secondly, there

is a larger tank, on a slightly higher level,—which, if repaired, would, when full, include the preceding in itself,—formed by an embankment running to the south from just below the south-east corner of the fort. And thirdly, about a quarter of a mile away to the south-east of the preceding, and on a lower level, there are the remains of a large embankment, now breached and quite useless, which, when in repair, evidently formed a tank of very considerable area. This must be the "larger big tank" referred to in the inscription.

#### Transcription.

|   |                                      |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| [ <sup>1</sup> ] Svasti                     | Śrīmah-Chatukya-Vikrama-varsha-      |
| [ <sup>2</sup> ] da                         | 21noya Dhātu-saṁvatsarada Chai-      |
| [ <sup>3</sup> ] tra                        | su(śu)ddha 5 Ādityavāraṇḍu śrīmad-A- |
| [ <sup>4</sup> ] y-nūrvvaram                | tava(ma)ga nadeva suṁkamaṁ           |
| [ <sup>5</sup> ] piriya                     | pēr-ggerag-ā-chandr-ārka-tāraṁ       |
| [ <sup>6</sup> ] baram                      | biṭṭaru • Kramaṭ-dīnd-int-idan-eyde  |
| [ <sup>7</sup> ] kāva                       | parushaṁg-āyam jaya-āriya-           |
| [ <sup>8</sup> ] m-akke yidam               | kāyade kāya pāpige Ka-               |
| [ <sup>9</sup> ] rukshōtramgaḷoḷa           | Bānarāsiyoḷ-er-kkō-                  |
| [ <sup>10</sup> ] ti munimīraram            | kavīlayam Vēd-ādya(dhya)raṁ ko-      |
| [ <sup>11</sup> ] ndnd=om(cū)ḍ-ayasham(śam) | sarggam=id=cūḍa sārī-                |
| [ <sup>12</sup> ] dapud-i                   | śail-āksharam dhāturiyoḷa            |
| [ <sup>13</sup> ] Ślōka    Sva-dattam(tām)  | para-dattam(tām) vā   yō ha-         |
| [ <sup>14</sup> ] rōti(ta) vasundharā(rām)  | sa(sha)stir-varishaṭ-asha-           |
| [ <sup>15</sup> ] ārā(srā)ṇi viśvāyām       | jāyatō krimi(mil) [8]                |

#### Translation.

Hail! On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Chaitra of the Dhātu *saṁvatsara*, which was the twenty-first of the years of the glorious Chātukya Vikrama, the honourable Five-hundred made over the impost, that was payable to them, to the larger big tank, for as long as the moon and sun and stars might last.

This writing on stone proclaims in the world,—“May there be long life and victory and wealth to the man who well preserves this (grant) in continuation; (but) to the wicked man, who fails to preserve it, (may there attach) the disgrace of slaying two crores of saints, or of lawny-coloured cows, or of (Bṛhmanas) well

versed in the Vēdan, at Kurukshētra or Bānarāsi.”! ¶ He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

There is another inscription requiring notice at Kaṭṭagōri,—on part of a stone-tablet near the shrine of the god Hanuman in the fort. It is in the Old Canarese characters and language, and a transcription of it is given in the Elliot MS. Collection, vol. I., p. 650. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a *liṅga* and officiating priest; on its right, a cow and a calf, with the sun directly above them and towards the edge of the stone;

<sup>a</sup> Corporate bodies are frequently mentioned in inscriptions, but there is seldom anything to explain the allusion. The present is probably the “Five-hundred of Ayāḷhoḷa” of other inscriptions; and the earliest mention I have of this corporation is in an old Canarese inscription, in characters of about the commencement of the eighth century A.D., on the front wall of an old Hindu temple, now called “the temple of Lāl Kūḷi”, at Aihole itself.

† The *Prāsa*, or alliteration of the second consonant of every line in each stanza of Canarese poetry, is violated here.

‡ *Ar. ślokaḥ. 100. 100.*

§ The original has distinctly *er-kkōḷa*. But perhaps it should be corrected into *er-kkōḷa*, “own centre”; as *er* is one of the substitutes for *oḍa* in composition, whereas I cannot find an instance in which *er* is substituted for *oḍa*.

|| The forms ‘Vārāma’, ‘Yārāma’, and ‘Īkārāma’, as here,—further multiplied by *e* and *o* being interchanged, and by *e* being sometimes written for *o*,—all occur in inscriptions. The present form, ‘Īkārāma’, is the nearest to the European corrupted form ‘Benares’.



## STONE TABLET INSCRIPTION AT KATTAGÉRI SAKA 1018.

ಸೌಮ್ಯವೃದ್ಧಿಕ್ಕ/ವಿಕ್ರಮವದ  
 ದೃಗಸಯದಿತುಸವತ್ಸರದವೈ  
 ಪ್ರಸುಕ್ತಾಽಪಿತ್ವಾರದಮಿತ್ತಿವದ  
 ಮೃದ್ವಿಪಿತವಗನದವಸ್ತುಕರ  
 ಪರಿಯುತಕಗವತ್ವಕತಾರಂ  
 ಪಿರವಿದ್ಯಯತ್ರಪದ್ವಿತ್ತಿವದ  
 ಕಾವಪ್ರಯದಗಿಯುಜಯಿತ್ತಿ  
 ಮಕವದಕಾಯದಕಾಯದಿಗ  
 ಪಪ್ರಗದಕವಿಗದವಯದಕ  
 ದಿಮನಿತ್ತರಕವಿಲಯವದಿತ್ತ  
 ಮದಿದಯದಗದವಿದಿತ್ತ  
 ದಿದದ್ವಿತ್ತದಕವಿಲಯದ  
 ತ್ವಿಕ//ಪ್ರದತ್ತದರದತ್ತವಿ/ಯದ  
 ರತಿವಸುಸರ/ಸದ್ವಿವಾರಿದಸದ  
 ತ್ವಿಕವಿತ್ತಯವಿಲಯತತ್ತಿವಿ



and on its left, a figure of *Bāṇava*, with the moon above it. The fragment contains 19 lines, more or less imperfect, of about 25 letters. The rest of the stone is lost, and the fragment that exists has recently broken in two, since the time when Sir W. Elliot's copyist visited it. After the usual introductory verse in praise of the god *Śambha*, the inscription begins by referring itself to the time of the *Chālukya* king (*Vikramāditya*?) *Tribhuvanamalladēva*, when he was ruling at the capital of *Kalyāṇa*. It then mentions his subordinate<sup>†</sup>, the *Mahāpradhāna* or Prime Minister *Nārāyaṇa*, the *Dapdāśyaka*, who was governing the district of *Bāgaḍaga*.<sup>\*</sup> Among the titles given to *Nārāyaṇa*, i. e. *Nārāyaṇa*, are 'the supreme chief of Great Christians, who has attained the five *mahāśuddhā*', 'he who does not speak again when he has spoken (once)!', 'the choice elephant of *Āpāś*', and 'the head of (the family of) *Dhāpasa*.' It then proceeds, in line 15, to introduce and describe the grantee; but the part of the stone containing his name, and the date, and the details of the grant, is lost.

No. XXXIII.

This is another Western *Chālukya* inscription, in the Old Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet standing in front of a partially ruined temple near the centre of the embankment of the tank at *Bāḍḍmi*. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a figure of *Jinūdara*, seated on a pedestal with a trough to receive and carry off the water poured over the image in the performance of *abhisheka* or 'ablution'; on its right, a cow and calf, with the sun above them; and on its left, towards the top of the stone, the moon. The tablet measures about 5' 8½" high by 1' 10½" broad, and the inscription covers about 8' 5½" of the total height. The average size of the letters is ¾". The characters are neatly formed types of the period to which they belong, and call for

no remarks, except that the use of the old *ḥ* is an affection of archaism in an inscription of this date. The tablet is of sandstone, and the surface is very much abraded. Not many letters are absolutely illegible; but in many instances only very faint, though distinctly perceptible, traces of letters remain, and the whole of the writing has become very shallow. This prevented my taking a paper cast of this inscription, and, from the same cause, the photograph of this inscription given at Pl. 15 of Mr. Hope's Collection represents it very imperfectly: when the stone was photographed only such letters as were quite clear were filled in with chalk, and many of them were filled in and developed wrongly. The temple in front of which the tablet stands is evidently originally a Jain building, and must be the temple of the god *Yōgēśvara*, referred to in the inscription, to which the grant was made. It has been subsequently adapted, and is now used, as a temple of *Ellamma*.<sup>‡</sup> It is of no size or architectural pretensions.

The inscription records how, in the second year of the reign of *Jagadēkamalla*, the *Siddhārthi saktasara*, two of his subordinate *Dandanāyikas*, *Mahādēva* and *Pāladēva*, at the request of a certain noble named *Rāmadēva*, allotted to the temple a yearly grant of ten *gadyāvas* out of the proceeds of the tax or impost called *Siddhāya*. There are two *Jagadēkamallas* in the *Chālukya* genealogy.—*Jayasimha* II., whose date, by Sir W. Elliot, is *Śaka* 940? to 962?,—and the oldest son and successor of *Sōmēśvaradēva* III., whose title only, and not his proper name, is given in the inscriptions, and whose date, by the same authority, is *Śaka* 1060 to 1072. There being thus an interval of exactly one hundred and twenty years, or two cycles, between the commencement of the reign of each *Jagadēkamalla*, the name of the *saktasara* and the year of the reign still leave the date of

<sup>†</sup> *Tripāṭi*, *parāśakti*, &c.

<sup>\*</sup> See vol. V, p. 155. The *Bāgaḍaga* or *Bāgaḍi* district is mentioned, as far as my present knowledge goes, only in the *Śiṅhavarāṇa* inscriptions of the *Kūḍali* District and its immediate neighbourhood. *Bāgaḍaga* must be the modern *Bāgaḍi*, famous as the birthplace of *Hariva*,—the chief town of the *Tilāḍa* of the same name in the *Kūḍali* District.

<sup>‡</sup> *Sambhāgata*, *prāṇa*, *mahāśuddhā*, *mahādant*, *dāṇḍi*, *pati*. See the undoubtedly correct explanation of this title now given by Mr. Girase, at vol. V, p. 164.

<sup>§</sup> *Nāḥiṇa*, *māḥ*, *enāṇa*. Conf. the *Kūḍali*, *gāḍa*, *gāḍa*—'he who sees as he speaks', i. e., 'who is true to his word', or 'who enforces his commands'—of other inscriptions.

<sup>§</sup> *Sambhāgata*, *prāṇa*, *mahāśuddhā*, *mahādant*, *dāṇḍi*, *pati*. See vol. V, p. 155. The *Bāgaḍaga* or *Bāgaḍi* district is mentioned, as far as my present knowledge goes, only in the *Śiṅhavarāṇa* inscriptions of the *Kūḍali* District and its immediate neighbourhood. *Bāgaḍaga* must be the modern *Bāgaḍi*, famous as the birthplace of *Hariva*,—the chief town of the *Tilāḍa* of the same name in the *Kūḍali* District.

<sup>‡</sup> *Sambhāgata*, *prāṇa*, *mahāśuddhā*, *mahādant*, *dāṇḍi*, *pati*. See the undoubtedly correct explanation of this title now given by Mr. Girase, at vol. V, p. 164.

<sup>§</sup> *Nāḥiṇa*, *māḥ*, *enāṇa*. Conf. the *Kūḍali*, *gāḍa*, *gāḍa*—'he who sees as he speaks', i. e., 'who is true to his word', or 'who enforces his commands'—of other inscriptions.

the inscription doubtful. But I find from the Elliot MS. Collection that the title 'glorious and valorous universal emperor'\* is never assumed by Jayasimha II., and, on the other hand, is almost always included among the titles of the successor of Sômasêvara dēva III. Accordingly, this inscription is of the time of the second Jagadêkamalla, and the date of it is Śaka 1061 (A.D. 1139-40), which was the Siddhârthi samvatsara.

While on this subject I may mention that I am somewhat inclined to think that Jagadêkamalla is the title, not of a son of Sômasêvara dēva III., but of a brother of his—probably a younger brother—named Jayakarna. Jayakarna is not mentioned by Sir W. Elliot, but his name occurs in one of my Ratte inscriptions†, in which he is stated to be a son of Vikramāditya, and also in a fragment of a Western Châlukya inscription recently discovered at Karadi in the Hund and Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District. The

Karadi fragment was found in a Jain Basti which has been converted into a *linga* temple of the god Râmalînga. It is a very old building, with a roof of sloping slabs, now almost buried under the centre of the village, the level of which has been gradually rising for centuries past from the accumulation of dust, ruins, &c. The upper part of the tablet is lost. The fragment has 22 lines, of which several at the top are imperfect where the stone was broken, of about 27 letters each. The characters and language are Old Canarese. The inscription is very much abraded. The date is lost, with the missing upper portion of the stone. But the inscription refers itself to the time of some *Mahâedmantâ* or Great Chieftain who was the minister of (the Châlukya) king Jayakarnadēva, and records grants made by the *Gavunda*, or village-headman, *Chavunda*, and others, to the temple of the god Kêśava. In this inscription, Jayakarna's name is misspelt 'Jayakharna.'

#### Transcription.

|  |                           |                                |                       |
|--|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| [1] Nama(mah)                                | Śrī-Vāṇadēva              | bhōginē                        | yōga-mūṛita-          |
| [2] yē                                       | Har-dēvurāya              | satyāya                        | nityāya               |
| [3] param-ātmanē                             | Svasti                    |                                | samasta-bhuvan-āśmāya |
| [4] śrī-prithvi-vallabha                     | mahārāj-ādhirāja          |                                | param-ēvara           |
| [5] parama-bhaktīraka                        |                           |                                | [Satyā]śmāya-kuṇa-ti- |
| [6] loka                                     | Châlukya-ābharaka         | [śrī]mata-pratāpa-chakra-      |                       |
| [7] varṭti                                   | Jayadêkamalladēva[ra]     | vijaya-rājyam-a-               |                       |
| [8] ttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravarddhamānam-ā- | [cham]dr-ārka-tāram       |                                |                       |
| [9] baram                                    | saluttam-ire              | [  ] [Ta]t-pāda-pa[dm-ē]pajivi | [  ]                  |
| [10] Śrī-vallabhan-ama[am]                   |                           | bhū[dē]v-āṅghri-sardja-bhṛm-   |                       |
| [11] gan-āṅgaja-kalpaṁ                       | kōvidā-śuka-sahakaram     | dē-                            |                       |
| [12] varā                                    | Śrī-Kālidāsa-daṇḍādhi[ā]m |                                | Samadhi-gata-paṇ-     |
| [13] [cha]-mahāśabda-mahāśā[ma]nt-ā[dlī]pati |                           |                                | mahā-                 |
| [14] prachanda-daṇḍanāyaka                   | samast-ādhi-kāri          |                                | mano-                 |
| [15] vōrggaḍe                                | Kālim-a[ra]sa . . . . .   | † ne(?)ga[da] (?)              | Kālidā-               |
| [16] sa-ohamānāthan-āda . . . . .            |                           | §                              | su-ja-                |
| [17] n-aika-niḥayam                          | Śrī-nā . . . . .          | ¶ dhīam                        | Mata-ante Kā-         |
| [18] ṣim-śrasaṅg-uttama . . . . .            |                           | *                              | Mahādēva-ohamā-       |
| [19] p-ōttaman-ndagra-mahimam                | matt-ōbha-balam           | vinītan-ātata-sac(āna)-        |                       |
| [20] ryya                                    | Int-enisida               | Mahādēva-daṇḍanāyakanam        | Pā-                   |
| [21] lodēva-daṇḍanāyakanam                   |                           | Châlukya-Jagadêkamalla-        |                       |
| [22] varishada                               | cra[le](da)neya           | Siddhârthi-samvatsarada        | Kārtti-               |
| [23] ka                                      | sa(śu)ddha                | trayōdasi(āi)                  | Sônavarad-āndu        |
|  |                           |                                | śrimad-yō-            |

\* *Śrīmat-pratāpa-chakravartī*; li. 8-7 of the present inscription.

† No. VIII., at Koppur in the Gôkkâ Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District; *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. xxix., vol. X., p. 287, transcr. li. 8 and 64.

‡ One or two letters are quite illegible here.

§ Eight or nine letters are quite illegible here.

¶ Six or seven letters are quite illegible here.

\* Five or six letters, representing eight short-syllable-variants, are quite illegible here. Probably the original stood *uttama-sa-puṣṭam-ogadā*.



|   |                                     |                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| [ <sup>20</sup> ] gi-jana-hṛday-ānandān-enipa                 | Paramānandadēvaru                   | mā-                 |
| [ <sup>21</sup> ] disida Yōgēvara-dēvargge                    | Bādāviya                            | Siddhāyadga-        |
| [ <sup>22</sup> ] ge hatu(tto) gadyāpa ponna harina-variankke | knqha-                              |                     |
| [ <sup>23</sup> ] dēvādā-chaṇḍa-ārka-sihāyiy-āge(gi)          | Paggade-Rāmadēv-aroṣa-              |                     |
| [ <sup>24</sup> ] na binnapadim bittaru                       | [Kramat]dīnd=im=ida[a-eydō kīva pu- |                     |
| [ <sup>25</sup> ] ruzhaṅg-āyūm                                | [jaya]-śrīya[m=akke]                | yidaṁ               |
| [ <sup>26</sup> ] kāyade                                      | [kāya                               | pāpige              |
| [ <sup>27</sup> ] Vāra[gaṣiyo]-er-kkōti                       | munūndrarām                         | Korukshōtram]galaṣu |
| [ <sup>28</sup> ] [d-āḍhyarām                                 | kōndud=am=ayāsām                    | sārggu[m=id=om-     |
| [ <sup>29</sup> ] [da   | sāridapad-i                         | śail-āksharam       |
|   |                                     | dīstīya[a ] ]       |

Translation.

Reverence to Śrī-Vāsudēva†, who is full of enjoyment, who is the very incarnation of the practice of religious abstraction of the thoughts, who is the lord Hara, who is true, who is eternal, and who is the supreme spirit!

Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious and valorous universal emperor Jagadēkamalladēva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the family of Satyāśraya, the ornament of the Chālukya,—was continuing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

He, who subsisted, (as if he were a bee), on the lotuses which were his feet‡, (was) the honourable§ Śrī-Kālidāsa¶, the Commander of the forces,—who was the favourite of the goddess of fortune; who was spotless; who was a very bee at the lotuses which are the feet of Brāhmanas; who was almost like Aṅgaja\*; and who was a very mango-tree to the parrots which were learned people. The famous Kālidāsa, the leader of the forces,—the supreme chief of Great Chieftains, who has attained the five Mahāvidyas; the most fierce Daṇḍanāyaka; the general superintendent; the head of the family††; the noble‡‡ Kālimas;

; the sole abiding-place of good people; . . . of the goddess of fortune; the supreme lord of . . . And to the noble Kālimas (was born an excellent son)§, Mahadēva, the head of the leaders of armies;—possessed of eminent greatness; as strong as an elephant in rut; of refined behaviour; of great bravery.

On Monday, the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Kārttika of the Siddhārthi saivatsava, which was the second of the years of the Chālukya Jagadēkamalla,—the Daṇḍanāyaka Mahadēva, who has been thus described, and the Daṇḍanāyaka Pāladēva, at the request of the noble|| Rāmadēva, the head man¶, allotted to (the temple of) the god Yōgēvara, which Paramānandadēva, the delight of the hearts of those who practise religious abstraction of the thoughts, had caused to be built, ten gadyāpas\* of gold out of the (impost called) Siddhāyat of Bādāvi, for as long as the moon and sun might last, saying that they were to be paid‡ year by year.

This writing on stone proclaims in the world.—“May there be long life and victory and wealth to the man who well preserves this (grant) in continuation; (but) to the wicked man, who fails to preserve it, (may there attack) the disgrace of slaying two crores§§ of saints, or of tawny-coloured cows, or of (Brāhmanas) well

† See note to l. 6 of the transcription of No. XXIII.  
‡ Vishnu, Hara, incarnate as Krishna, the son of Vāsudēva and Dēvaki.

§ Jot-pāda-pada-ōpāstri. This is the usual figurative expression to denote the relations of a feudatory or subordinate with the paramount sovereign.

|| Idem.

\* Mentioned also in the Baiḍag inscription of Jayalēkamalla,—dated in the same year as this,—referred to by me at Jour. B. Br. R. As. Soc. No. xii., vol. X., pp. 183-4, and transcribed in the Elliot MS. Collection, vol. I., p. 732. In that inscription, also, he is called both ‘Kālidāsa’ and ‘Kālimas’.

\* Kāyāpāda.

†† Pāpāda, paggaḍa, or in composition, as here, vāyagga, or vāyagga. The modern form is Paggade, which Sanders-

son gives as meaning ‘the headman of a village’;—Korukshōtram, ‘a head or chief among shepherds’.

|| Arasa, lit. ‘king’, is used in such cases as this in the sense of ‘a nobleman’.

§ See note to l. 22 of the text.

|| Arasa.

\* Paggade.

\* Gadyāpa: Sanderson says ‘a weight used in weighing silver’.

† From its use in other inscriptions, this seems to be the technical name of a particular tax. But, the word may be broken up into riddha + āya, ‘the established hereditary dues’.

‡ Aṅgulakṣu would be rendered more closely by the French on ongers.

§§ See note § to the translation of No. XXXII.

versed in the Vādaś, at Kurnakshōtra or Vārāṇāsi."

Among the numerous other inscriptions at Bādāmi, there is only one more of the later kings of the Western Chālukya dynasty. It is on a fragment of a black stone tablet, leaning against the east wall in the yard of Śhaṇṇa Kṛāṇa house, just below the embankments of the tank, at the east corner of the town. It is in the Old Kannase characters and language, in well-formed letters of from the tenth to the twelfth century. There are remains,

more or less imperfect, of 27 lines, of about 39 letters each; the rest of the stone is lost. It begins with the Vaiṣṇava invocation Jaṅaty=śrīśhṛīśaishṇava, &c., and is undoubtedly a Chālukya inscription; but, after this, hardly a connected passage is now legible anywhere, and I could not trace the name of the king, the date, &c. The emblems at the top of the stone are somewhat unusual:—In the centre three standing gods,—Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Śiva; on their right, a seated Gaṇapati; and on their left, a cow and calf.

### SUBSTANCE OF TWO ŚĀSANAS IN SIR WALTER ELLIOT'S COLLECTION OF SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE Rev. R. CALDWELL, D.D., LL.D., TINNEVELLY.

The originals are on copper plates, preserved in the Temple at Tiruppāvānam, in the zamindari of Sivagangai, district of Madura.

The language is generally Tamil; but the introductory portion of No. 1 is Sanskrit, in old Grantha characters.

#### No. 1.\*

*Śaṇṇi Śrī!* The first thing that made its appearance was Water. Upon the water Hari slept, reclining on Śeṣha. From Hari's navel, Brahmā, the Creator of the world, spontaneously appeared. From him Atri was born. From Atri's eyes the Moon appeared. The Moon's son was Budha. From him arose Purāṇvaś, and from Purāṇvaś the Pāṇḍya lords. Rāja Gambhīra Dēva, in order to settle the boundaries of the district called by his name [see below], after ascertaining from Sandeśavara [Śiva of Madura] the proper juncture of time for doing so, in his 25th year, in the month of Mārgaśī [December—January], in the dark fortnight, on Saturday, in the *yuga* called Svāti, ordered an elephant to be let loose [whatever path the elephant took to be regarded as the divinely appointed boundary]."

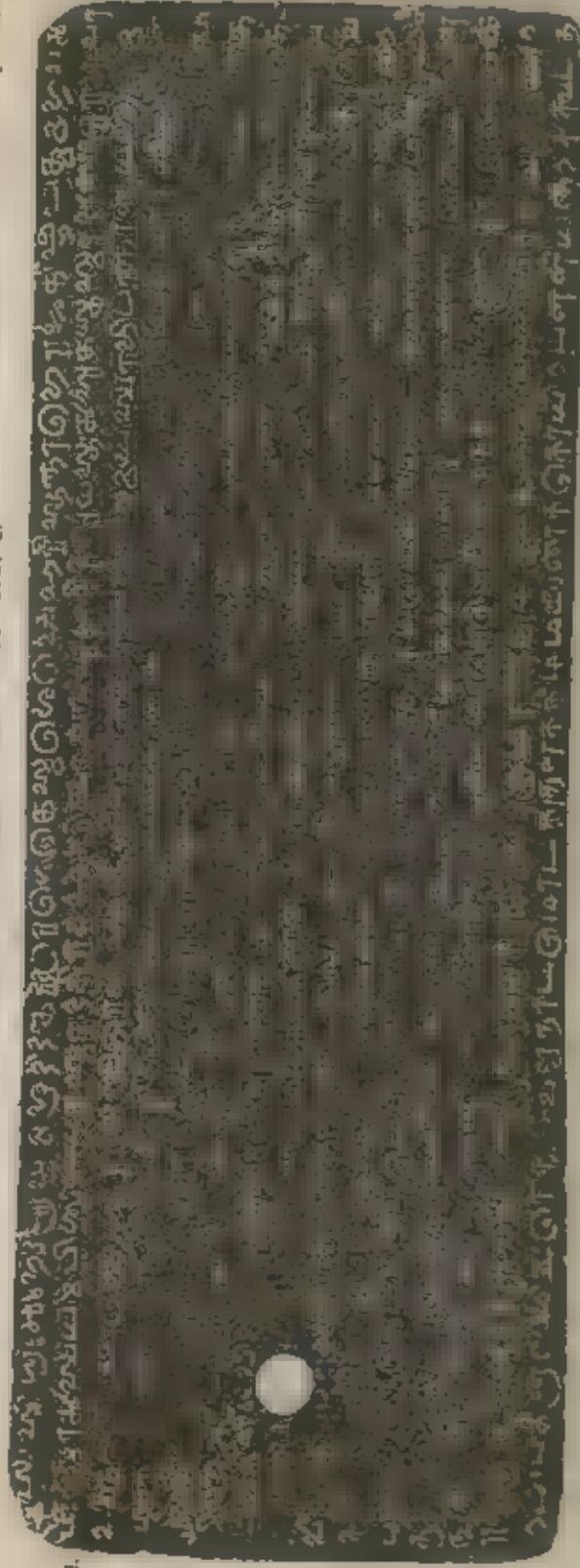
The above in Sanskrit verse; what follows is in Tamil:—

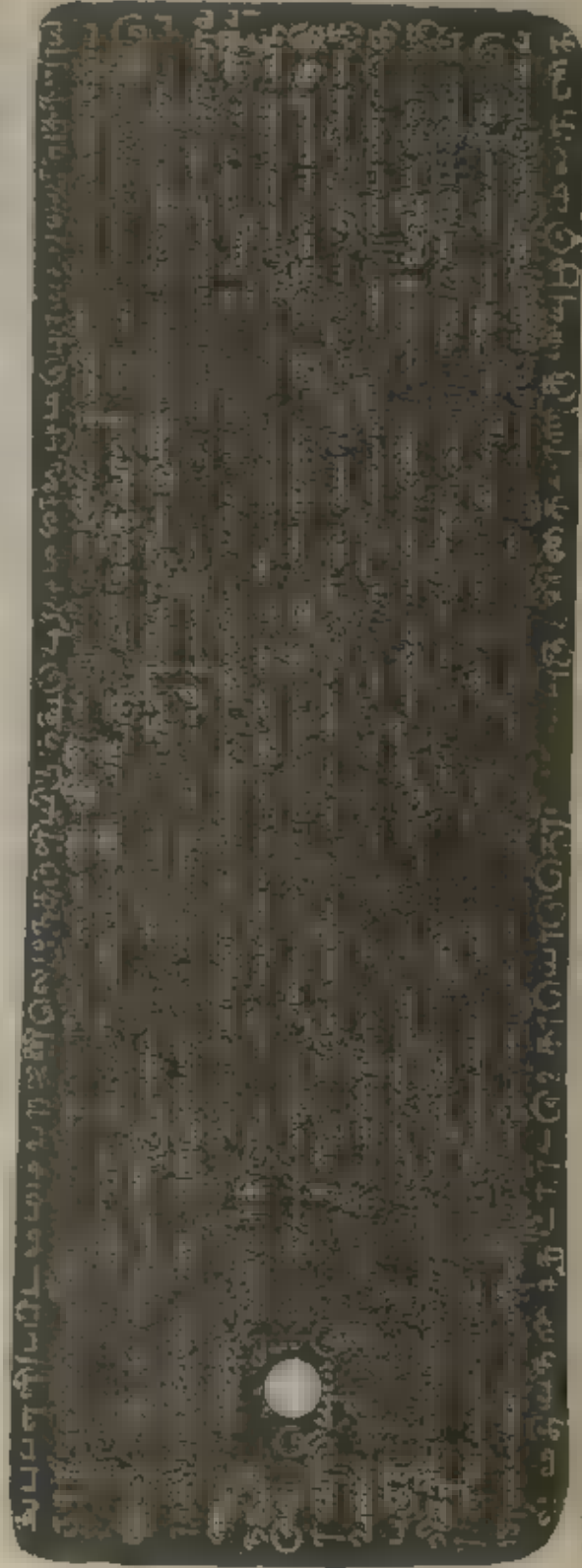
"In the 18th year, 4364th day, of the lord of the earth, Śrī Kōṇchādai [royal ascetic—*Rājārshi?*] Varmā, emperor of the three worlds, Śrī Kulāśēkhara Dēva, (who

sits on on a royal throne surrounded by, &c. praised by, &c., possessed of such and such good qualities, promoter of such and such pious actions,) he [that is, apparently, Rāja Gambhīra Dēva] seated on the altar-couch, in the sacred sleeping-chamber of the temple at Mādakalān, East Madura, in the flourishing Chola country, out of the 1200 shares into which the village [or district] called Rāja Gambhīra obatur-vadi mangalam, in the district of Rāja Gambhīra-vaṇa-Nāda, were divided, including ten villages, each of which is fully described, grants 1080 of those shares to 1080 Bhaṭṭas, and 120 shares to the temple, for the subsistence of the temple Brāhmanas; and for the confirmation of the same, at the request of Śrī Śāstri Bhaṭṭāraka, issues this śāśana, duly attested by many witnesses."

Reference is made in several places in this śāśana to the measurement of land by "the measuring-rod of Vira Pāṇḍya." This Vira Pāṇḍya must have preceded Kulāśēkhara Dēva, and probably there was a considerable interval of time between the two. A Vira Pāṇḍya, doubtless a later prince of that name, succeeded to the throne of Madura in A.D. 1437. This is the only Vira Pāṇḍya whose date is known as yet with certainty. The "Vira Pāṇḍya" mentioned in the Singhalese annals (*Mahāvamsa*) was not a predecessor of Kulāśēkhara, but a rival and successor. His date was probably about A.D. 1175 (see my *Dravidian Comparative Grammar*, p. 538). The Kulāśēkhara of this inscription is not styled Pāṇḍya Dēva, but simply

\* On five plates measuring 16½ by 5½ inches, engraved on both sides, but without ring or seal.—Ed.

1a. 

1b. 

This image shows a single, dark, and heavily textured page from an ancient manuscript, likely a palm leaf. The page is predominantly black with a mottled, grainy appearance. A large, circular hole is visible near the bottom center. Along the right edge, there is faint, vertical text in an ancient script, possibly Tamil or Sanskrit, which is mostly illegible due to the dark background and damage. The overall condition of the page suggests it is a well-preserved but aged artifact.

*[The page contains dense handwritten text in Tamil script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme fading and blurring. The text appears to be organized into several horizontal lines across the page.]*



TIRUPPĪVANĀM ŚĀSANA. NO. I

Handwritten Tamil script on aged paper, likely a manuscript or letter. The text is written in a cursive style and covers most of the page.

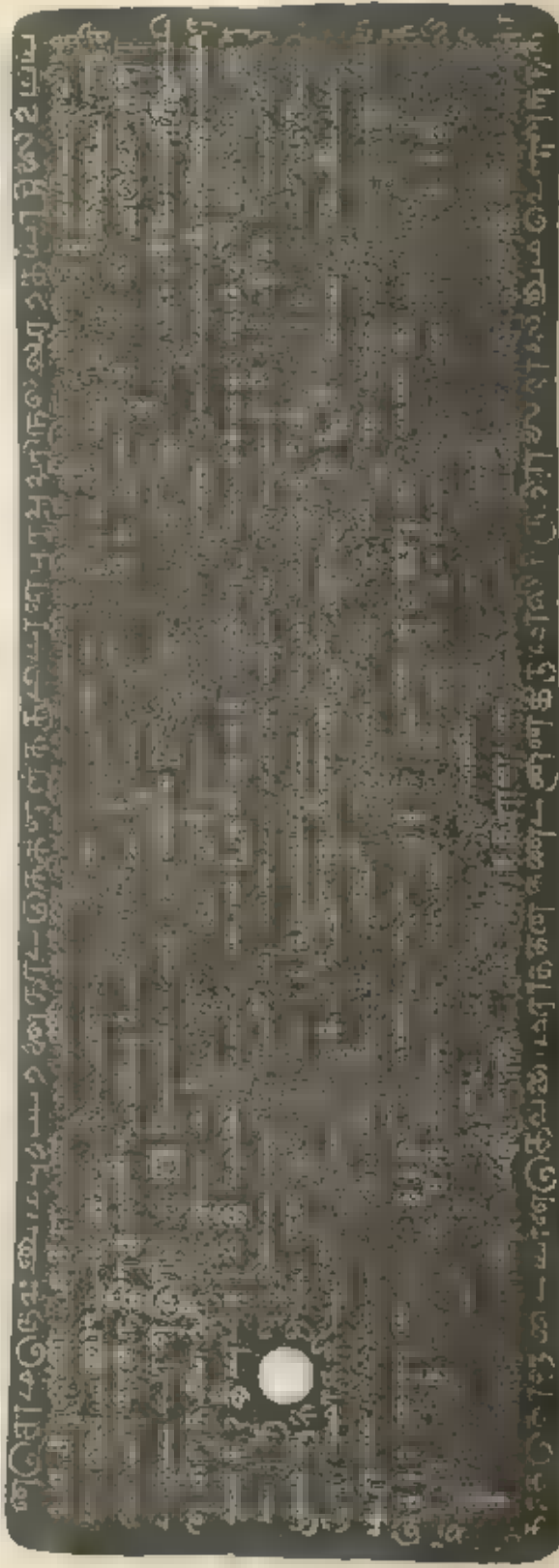
A dark, heavily worn, and stained piece of paper or parchment, likely a document cover or endpaper. The surface is covered in numerous small, light-colored spots and larger, irregular stains, particularly along the edges. A small, circular hole is visible near the bottom center. The overall color is a mottled brown/black.

HALF THE ORIGINAL SIZE

TIRUPPŪVAṆAM ŚĀSANA. No. 1



IV a



IV b

W. Gieger, Photo-lith London

HALF THE ORIGINAL SIZE

*[The page contains dense handwritten Tamil script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme fading and significant damage to the document.]*

*[The page contains dense handwritten Tamil script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme fading and blurring. The text appears to be organized into several horizontal lines across the page.]*



The image shows the front cover of an old, worn book. The cover material is dark, possibly black or dark brown, with a rough, textured surface that appears to be leather or a similar material. There are numerous scratches, scuffs, and areas of discoloration across the entire surface, indicating significant age and use. A small, light-colored circular mark, possibly a hole or a stain, is visible near the bottom center. The edges of the cover are frayed and uneven. The spine of the book is visible on the left side, showing a similar worn texture. The overall appearance is that of a well-used, antique volume.

*[The image shows a dark, heavily textured surface, possibly a book cover or endpaper, with faint, illegible markings and a circular hole near the bottom center.]*



Dēva; and it is worthy of notice that the Singhalese annals represent the Kulāśōkhara who was driven away by the Singhalese army, and in whose stead Vīra Pāṇḍi was placed on the throne, as a person who did not belong to the Pāṇḍya race. He was, apparently, a Chōla prince, and it may be remarked that, in accordance with this, Madūra, though the Pāṇḍya capital, is described in this inscription as belonging to the Chōla country. If the Kulāśōkhara of this inscription were the same person, his date would be about A.D. 1170.

The Rāja Gambhīra Dēva of this inscription is not represented as a Pāṇḍya. He was evidently a feudatory of Kulāśōkhara Dēva, and as the district called by his name is included within the ancient limits of the Rāmaśā samindāri, Śiragangoi not then being independent, he may have been the Śētipati, or guardian of Rāma's bridge, of that time,—that is, the Rāmaśā samindāri, who has always been regarded as a sort of royal personage in his own domains.

# No. II.†

The second inscription is merely an appendix to the first, preserved, like it, in the temple at Tiruppuvāyam. It grants to the same Bhaṭṭa three other villages in the same district in addition to the ten already granted.

Commencement.—"Svasti Śrī! Kōṇḍannai-Koṇḍān, emperor of the three worlds, to the sacred assembly of Rāja Gambhīra chatur-vēdi māṅgalaṁ, in the district of Rāja Gambhīra-vaḷa-Nāḍu," &c.

Kōṇḍannai-Koṇḍān seems rather a title than a name. I have found it used as a title in many inscriptions, prefixed to the king's name. Here no name follows, but it may be concluded that Rāja Gambhīra Dēva was the person intended. The term means "possessor of royal dignity," from the old Tamil kō, king, nāmai, power, dignity, and koṇḍān, he who takes or possesses.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### ON ANCIENT NĀGARĪ NUMERALS.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

In his note on the ancient Nāgarī numerals, Dr. Bühler expresses his conviction that "the old idea of Prinsep, according to which the figures were to be representatives of the initial letters of the cardinal numerals, has to be given up." I feel confident that few scholars of the present day will be disposed to controvert the opinion of my learned friend. It is evident at first sight that the figures for one, two, three are nothing else but modifications of one, two, three strokes, and have nothing whatever to do with the initial letters of *eka*, *dvi*, *tri*.

The figure of the fourth numeral reveals its own origin by its oldest form. Pandit Bhagvānīś Indrajī, in his most interesting paper on the ancient Nāgarī numerals, makes no mention of the fact that the figure of 4 occurs in one of the Aśoka inscriptions; yet the fact is so important, for many reasons, that I think it worth while to draw attention to it.

Thanks to General Cunningham, we know a part of the Khalai inscription.‡ There we read, ll. 4 seq.:

Alaṁtiyoge nāma Yona(lāpa)lavichutona A(ṁ)-  
tiyona (r. Aṁtiyogena) chaldī 4 lāḍāna Tulamaye  
nāma Aṁtikina (r. Aṁtikona) nāma Śāḍhā nāma  
Alīkyaśāḍale nāma.

† On a single plate, of the same size as those of No. I., engraved on both sides.—Ed.

‡ Ind. Ant. vol. VI. p. 48.

§ Archaeol. Survey of India, Report, vol. I. plate XLII.

The figure for four in this inscription is a simple cross. The device of indicating the number four by a cross is so natural, and ingenious at the same time, that any comment may be held to be superfluous. Nor will it be necessary to show that all the later forms of 4 in Nāgarī are the direct offshoots of the ancient sign, such as we find it in the Aśoka edict.

The figure for five is, as may be inferred from the Valabhi writing, and still more clearly from the ancient Kāśī sign, nothing else but four with the addition of one stroke or curved line. The form of 4 in Kāśī is 3, that of 5 is 3.

Bühler thinks that the figures were invented by Brāhmins, not by Buddhists. I agree with him in the main, but cannot forbear remarking that the words in which he has couched his opinion are liable to misapprehension. How do we know that the Hindus invented their *ankas* after the rise of Buddhism? Why should the figures have been unknown before the rise of Buddhism, which, after all, is an Indian invention itself, and no exotic plant?

H. KERN.

London, March 11.

### VĀSPATIRĀJA.

At page 52 of *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI. the following occurs as a note to an inscription of

‡ The originally neuter *chāṁḍā*, *Māṇḍā* for *chāṁḍā*, instead of the usual, is a counterpart of the common Prakṛit *Nāṁ*; cf. Hemachandra (ed. Fackell), 111, 121 and 122.

Vākpati Rāja, the grandfather of the celebrated Bhaja Rāja of Dhārā, translated by my friend Mr. N. J. Kirtan:—

"This Vākpati inscription may assist in settling the date of Bhavabhūti if the assertion of Kalhāna in the *Rajataranginī* be true:—

"कविर्वाचनसिद्धिर्वाचनी भवभूत्यादिमेवम् ।।

जिती (sic) यस्मै पञ्चमर्षो बहुवचनसिद्धिनाम्."

Allow me to correct an obvious error. This Vākpati Rāja king of Dhārā has nothing to do with Vākpatirāja the poet of Kanauj and the protégé of Yaśovarman, who lived at least four centuries before the time of Vākpati Rāja the king. Like many other statements of Kalhāna made in the *Rajataranginī*, that most useful work, the lines quoted are indeed valuable. They show that Vākpati the poet and Bhavabhūti were contemporaries, and were both patronized by king Yaśovarman. This is corroborated by a certain passage (already published by Prof. Bhāṣṇārkar) in a *Prākṛit* poem of Vākpati's, entitled the *Gaṇḍa-sūtra*, or 'the killing of the Gaṇḍa king,' lately discovered by Dr. Bühler, and now undergoing preparation for the press by me.

SHANKAR P. PANDIT.

Mudolihatt, 23rd March 1877.

#### NURHAGS AND DUKHMĀN.

Sir,—In Mr. James Ferguson's invaluable work on *Rude Stone Monuments* he describes as follows (pp. 427 et seqq.) a class of remains found in the island of Sardinia, and nowhere else, called Nurhags:—

"A Nurhag is easily recognized and easily described. It is always a round tower, with sides sloping at an angle of about ten degrees to the horizon, its dimensions varying from twenty to sixty feet in diameter, and its height being generally equal to the width of the base. Sometimes they are one, frequently two, and even three stories in height, the centre being always occupied by circular chambers, constructed by projecting stones forming a dome with the section of a pointed arch. The chamber generally occupies one-third of the diameter, the thickness of the walls forming the remaining two-thirds. There is invariably a ramp or staircase leading to the platform at the top of the tower."

Mr. Ferguson then proceeds to give numerous illustrations and details, among which, as bearing upon my argument, I shall only notice the fact that there are remains of at least three thousand of these buildings in the island.

Next he proceeds to disprove, with less than his

usual decision (the external evidence being nil), the purpose for which these buildings were erected. "Generally," he says, "it is assumed that they were fire-temples, from their name,—*nur* in the Semitic languages signifying 'fire',—but more from their construction," which he admits to favour this view, but adds, "Why so numerous? We can count upon our fingers all the fire-temples that exist, or ever were known to exist, in fire-worshipping Persia; and if a dozen satisfied her spiritual wants, what necessity was there for three thousand, or probably twice that number, in the small and sparsely inhabited island of Sardinia." (p. 432.) Finally he appears rather to favour the view that they were tombs, and is certain that if so, "they were those of a people who, like the *Parsis* of the present day, exposed their dead to be devoured by the birds of the air," and "that such towers would answer in every respect perfectly to the Towers of Silence of the modern Persians; and the little side-chambers in the towers would suit perfectly as receptacles of the denuded bones when the time arrived for collecting them."

The necessity of sparing your space has obliged me to give only the heads of Mr. Ferguson's argument, and that in a mutilated and disjointed fashion. What I have now to point out is that there is no inconsistency between the Fire-temple and Tower of Silence theories. The Nurhags may have been both at once.

A modern Tower of Silence is always a round tower with sides nearly perpendicular to the horizon, its dimensions varying from thirty to sixty feet in diameter, and its height being generally equal (including the parapet) to about three-fifths of the base. (These dimensions are rough estimates, and open to correction.) They are always one story in height, the centre occupied by a circular chamber, and the top by a parapeted platform. There is invariably a stone external staircase leading to the platform. And there is invariably, close by, a small solid fire-temple. The following rough dimensions are those of one attached to a tower near Kalyāṇa in the *Thāṇā* collectorate:—On a foundation of trap-rock there is a plinth of coursed rubble one foot high and 13 feet 6 inches square, and on this another two feet high and 13 feet square. Three stone steps ascend the double plinth to the fire-temple, which is of brick and mortar, nine feet square outside and seven inside, set back to within eighteen inches of the rear (or western) edge of the plinth. The walls are 5 feet 6 inches high, and surmounted by a roof apparently of about half that height, and the same thickness, forming (if the term be admissible) a curvilinear pyramid. In the west side is a niche for the sacred lamp; in the

east a door 43 inches high in opening, and 26 wide, surmounted by a small cornice (the only ornament about the building), and flanked by two small bull's-eye ventilators.

It is obvious that if such a building were combined with the Tower, instead of erected beside it, the resemblance to the Norhag would be very close,—quite as close as that of a modern Hindu temple in one of the tenth century A.D. It may be added that as the Towers of Silence are aban-

doned, and new ones built, every thirty or forty years, a population practising this method of sepulture would not take many centuries to erect three thousand of them. I hope some writer better acquainted than myself with fire-worship in Iran and India will correct any errors which I may have fallen into, and supplement my deficiencies, but that in any case I may prove to have advanced one step towards the solution of this curious problem.

### BOOK NOTICES.

**THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND MONUMENTAL REMAINS OF DELHI.** By Carr Stephen, late Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Delhi. 1 vol. (with photographs). Lucknow Mission Press, 1876.

Delhi has long claimed a monograph which should do justice to its historical preëminence, commercial importance, and architectural magnificence. The materials for such a work exist in abundance, and the present time too would have been one peculiarly fitting for such a publication. It has, however, been left to a private individual to do for the city, with some degree of completeness, what was obviously so long required to be done.

The materials for the reconstruction of Hindu Delhi, both in monuments, coins, and manuscripts, are exceedingly scanty. Unless the Archaeological Survey or some wealthy antiquarian undertakes excavations at the supposed site of Indraprastha, and at the more modern city of which the massive walls still encircle the Kutb Minâr, we must be content to remain profoundly ignorant of the events of the 2700 years of conjectured existence which preceded the capture of the city by the Muhammadan contemporaries of our king Richard I. All that is known of Hindu Delhi will be found collected by General Cunningham in the first volume of his *Archæological Reports*.

Of later times there is no lack of record. The Kutb Minâr marks with unfading freshness and dignity the exultant feeling of the first Muslim conquerors; and all around are the mosques, palaces, and tombs of every succeeding generation. Nor is the record confined, even in the remotest times, to these large and solid works. In the ditch of Kila Rai Pithora still exists the grave of the man who led the assault in 1191, and who was killed at the head of the storming party.

The notices of the city in Muhammadan authors are necessarily very numerous, and are sufficiently exact to be of great use to European investigators; they are now familiar to the English reader through the labours of Elliot and Dowson.

But the city was also frequently visited, and occasionally described, by Europeans during the last three hundred years. It may have been visited even rather by them, as Rubruquis, who wrote in the thirteenth century, mentions that Europeans were then in the service of the great Tâïte Khâna of Central Asia, as they were in the following century,—the notorious Sir John de Menderville having been thus employed during part of his chequered career. It is quite justifiable to conjecture that some of these adventurers found their way to northern India and Delhi, as they afterwards did to the western coast in the galleys of the Turks (see Webb's *Travels in Archer's Reprints*).

The Englishman Newberry must have passed through Delhi about 1585-86 when he passed company with Finch, at Agra, to proceed to Persia via Lahor. Eighteen years afterwards (1600), and five after the establishment of the English East India Company, John Middenhall passed the opposite way, from Lahor to Agra. Saltank, who was in the neighbourhood in 1609, mentions the place, but does not seem to have been there. In 1611 Finch visited Delhi, and has left a worthy account of it, which has been useful to living antiquaries. Tom Coryat came shortly afterwards, and is apparently responsible for some of the absurdities which appeared in the contemporaneous descriptions of Sir Thomas Roe, Terry, Sir Thomas Herbert, and others. John Albert de Mandelslo, a gentleman in the service of the Duke of Holstein, travelled from Agra to Lahor in 1639, but does not refer to Delhi, though he describes Agra at some length. As Delhi was then the capital of Shâh Jehân, Mandelslo cannot have avoided it. This deficiency, however, if it really exists, is supplied by Tavernier, who was in India at various times between 1638 and 1689, and has left, from personal observation, a long account of Delhi, which he calls 'Gehanabad.' His contemporary Bormier, as physician to the emperor Aurangzib, was likewise some time in the city, and has left the vivid and minutely detailed description



which is now well known. About the same time (1631) De Laët's description of the city appeared. In 1717 the Emperor Farrukhshah received at Delhi a deputation from the East India Company, and the descriptions left by Tieffenthaler, Franklin, and others, towards the end of the eighteenth century, close the accounts we have of the city while its Moghul rulers possessed any remnant of authority.

The present century has necessarily been prolific in general descriptions of the old and modern cities; but, excepting those of Heber (1824), Jacquemont (1831-32), Sleeman (1844), Mrs. Colin Mackenzie (1847), Bayard Taylor (1853), and Norman Macleod (1868), most of them are already forgotten, and none of them are of much service to the archaeologist. Antiquaries, however, were not backward in so important a field. In 1801 Colebrooke attacked the inscriptions on the Delhi pillars, and thereafter, in the *Asiatic Society's Journal* and elsewhere, the archaeology of the city continued to receive due treatment by such investigators as Prinsep, Thomas, Cunningham, Campbell, Tremlett, and Sayyad Ahmad. In 1847 the local interest in the subject had become so general that the Delhi Archaeological Society was formed, and this body published a journal which, so long as it lasted, was a mine of special information. The year 1865 produced the results of Mr. J. Fergusson's examination of the Muhammadan monuments. This was principally directed to architectural objects, but was important as the first attractive introduction of the subject to the home public. In 1862-63 General Cunningham, then Archaeological Surveyor to Government, went over the ground, and issued a report which, besides containing much that was new, collected the results of all the previous piecemeal inquiries. This publication was wanting in illustrations and plans, and did not treat any but the more important questions in detail, but it has been the basis and guide of later investigators. It was supplemented in 1874 by Mr. Beglar, of the Archaeological Survey; but as he principally confined himself to the further elucidation of a few fundamental points, such as the sites of the successive cities and the origin of the Kutb Minar and Masjid, there still remained a great deal to be done, both in exploration of the Hindu remains, and in the detailed examination of those of the Muhammadans.

At this stage the work was taken up by Mr. Carr Stephen, who has confined his labours closely to the historical and architectural branches of the antiquities of Delhi. His work is destitute of proper maps and plans (the only maps being two indifferent copies of the old sketches of General

Cunningham, and the only plan a bad copy of one by Mr. Fergusson of the palace of Shâh Jehân); there are no illustrations besides the photographs; there is no bibliography; and the index is very imperfect; but what the author has undertaken he has done thoroughly well. We have tested his measurements and descriptions, and found them invariably correct. His authorities are generally quoted, and his dates well supported; and, most creditable of all, he has firmly avoided the tall writing which Delhi, of all other cities in India, invites the unwary. Mr. Carr Stephen, too, has refrained from the incongruous parallels which are so much the fashion, and which led not long ago to the neglected and mutilated Shalamar garden at Lâhor being styled the "Versailles of the Panjâb"! Imagine a Versailles without a palace, without a picture gallery, without fountains, and without parterres! Delhi has been without much unfitness described as the Rome of Asia, but parallels should cease there. It is but bare justice to say of Mr. Carr Stephen's book that the traveller, unless he be provided with General Cunningham's *Reports*, cannot properly appreciate the city without it. The book, so far as it goes, is a decided acquisition, and the appreciative reader will regret that it does not contain six hundred pages, instead of less than half that number.

It is refreshing, in the first place, to find a Government officer resident at Delhi taking the trouble to perform the tiresome work which has been done in this case, as neither the European community nor occasional visitors impress one as caring much for this architectural paradise. Most persons deem two days sufficient for "doing" the forty-five square miles of ruins. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Panjâb Government can only afford an annual budget allotment of two or three thousand rupees for the repair of the monuments of the old capital, while as many lakhs are being lavishly spent on Gothic structures of very questionable correctness and taste at Lâhor. It must not be understood from this remark, however, that we are ungrateful for what Government has done. On the contrary, it has laid the public under much obligation by sitting up or building very comfortable bangles at the Kutb, Tughlakâbâd, and Humâyun's tomb; free access is allowed to the Lal Kila; and fees are nowhere demanded. Government probably spends quite as much money on the preservation of old Delhi as the public demands.

The specialities of Mr. Carr Stephen's work are the numerous and new translations of Muhammadan inscriptions; some judicious criticisms of former attempts to fix the sites of the Pathân cities;



descriptions of little known and, in some instances, unidentified buildings, such as the tombs of the Sayyad and Lodi kings; a rather full account of the royal and other cemeteries at the village of Mahrauli; and the production of a readable description of the principal Moghul public buildings of the modern city. Generally speaking, the author has, while collecting and condensing all that has been written by others, supplied the deficiencies in detail left by General Cunningham and his assistants. In this way the work done in the shape of dry but useful specifications and measurements is immense, and a marked feature of the book,—quite two hundred distinct sites and monuments being thus placed beyond the hazard of the entire effacement which sooner or later accompanies the advantages of British rule.

With respect to Lal Kot (the first of the forts of old Delhi), Mr. Carr Stephen differs from General Cunningham, as others have done, and apparently with justice. Our author disbelieves altogether in its existence as a fortress. It is questionable, however, whether his agreement with General Cunningham as to the southern boundary of Delhi Sher Shahi (the last Pathan capital) can be accepted as final until he disposes of the insurmountable stumbling-block of the so-called Lal Darwāzā, nearly opposite Dinpanah. This gateway (which should not be confounded with the other Lal Darwāzā of Delhi Sher Shahi, which is more properly called the Kābuli Darwāzā, and stands opposite Firuz Shāh's Kotla) is situated more than a mile within General Cunningham's southern boundary, and it impresses one on inspection either as a grand-port of the southern wall, or the remains of some inner rampart. Although the southern boundary wall of Sher Shāh's capital may be fixed below Humāyūn's tomb, on the authority of Finch and others, no traces of it have been found there; and, until something tangible is discovered, one is warranted in considering the Lal Darwāzā near Dinpanah as marking the real southern boundary of the walled city, and the streets and the buildings so plainly marked outside it as extramural suburbs. The author agrees with General Cunningham with respect to the site of Siri (the city of 'Alau'd-dīn Khilji, the conqueror of the Dakhan and the second king of the third Pathan dynasty), and disposes for ever of the attempts made to fix it near the Kuth.

In the cases of most of these city sites Mr. Carr Stephen has omitted to perform one useful task,—that, namely, of describing the ground as it now

lies under cultivation or mounds of ruins. He has preferred the more attractive duty of tracing of the appearance and remains of the solid public buildings scattered over their areas. This reminds us of the extreme want there is of a large scale archaeological map of old Delhi. That of Lieutenant Burgess, plotted from a survey in 1849-50, is the only one existing that we are aware of. It is good so far as it goes, but the boundaries of some of the cities are unreliable, and it not only omits to mark important standing buildings, but is also on too small a scale to allow of the location of streets and of minor ruins being delineated.

We have already referred to some of the deficiencies of the book. To these must be added the want of any mention of the canals; the gardens (including the famous Shalamar); the palaces of nobles in the modern city; and of such buildings as the Jaina temple and Badli-kā-Sarai. Generally, too, the modern city is not described in sufficient detail. All the important Moghul buildings are specified, but there is little or no account of the streets as they now lie compared with those of former times, and there is nothing about the baiks, wells, sarais, sewers, and other domestic works, which, taking Lahore as an instance, are so curious in Muhammadan cities.\*

The canals were well worthy of a page or two. The walled gardens have of late years so rapidly decreased in number that, unless they are described and measured at once, all trace of them will be lost. When last in Delhi, in 1873, we had difficulty in finding Shalamar at all, and when we got there we found the famous Imperial Garden had almost disappeared. All that remained was an angle of the enclosure wall, surmounted by a common plaster-domed pavilion, and two poultry *barandis*, one of which a local agriculturist dignified by the name of Shish Mahāl. The remains of some of the minor gardens are much more splendid, several having imposing gateways of fine material. Not far from Shalamar is Badli-kā-Sarai, rendered famous by the engagement of June 1857. It is a small rectangular enclosure, with massive high battlemented walls of brick. It reeked with smoke and filth.

Had space allowed, we should have liked to enter into some discussion of the very numerous points in the archaeology of Delhi yet remaining unsettled. Every page of such a work as that under notice reminds one of how much remains to be done, but any attempt of the kind would be impossible here.

\* To this list of deficiencies we add a few blemishes which have escaped detection in the proofs. The Haur Alai can scarcely have had a "stone and masonry wall" (p. 88). The foundations, not the walls, of the Kalān Masjid must be "six feet deep" (p. 122). The "stamp" of Firuz Shāh's

cupola, which is referred to (p. 85) as being on the fifth story of the Kuth Minar, must mean the spiral or taluk. If octagonal pavilions "maoned" the walls of the garden of Jehānara Begam (p. 136), they are to be varied. At p. 122 there is "a cylinder with 16 sides."

Mr. Ferguson is well able to defend himself when he requires it, but we cannot refrain from noticing with dissent Mr. Carr Stephen's remark that Mr. Ferguson has committed himself to statements, about the doings of British officials at Delhi, which cannot be accepted. We consider Mr. Ferguson has been astonishingly moderate in his denouncement of European Vandalism. The ignorant destroyer has done his worst there, to the eternal disgrace of the British reputation for taste. Without going further afield, the first thing one sees on entering Delhi by railway is a mutilation of the walls of the Fort,—the walls which prompted the warm admiration of Heber,—in order that one or two honey-combed guns may have a clear sweep across the bridge. In respect to these barbarities the mouths of state officials are shut, and it becomes indispensable that independent writers like Mr. Ferguson should speak the truth, while there is an enlightened government, both here and at home, able and willing to put down these acts of ruthless destruction.

**KASHMIR AND KASHGAR: a Narrative of the Journey of the Embassy of Kashmir in 1855-74.** By H. W. BELLEW, O.B.E., Surgeon-Major, Bengal Staff Corps (*sic* in orig.), author of *Journal of a Mission to Kandahar in 1857-58*, &c. London: Trübner & Co.

**THE NORTHERN BARBARIK OF INDIA: a popular account of the Jummoo and Kashmir Territories.** By FREDERICK DREW, Assoc. of the Royal School of Mines, Assistant Master of Eton College, formerly of the Maharaja of Kashmir's service. London: Edward Stanford.

The two works noted above deal with the same region, but are of very different pretensions and character. Dr. Bellow is an almost official writer, who has already related the adventures of two important Missions, has distinguished himself in the philology of Khurdân and Mokrân, and been highly honoured by the Government he serves. It would be natural to expect from his powers, experience, and opportunities a work which should be a *cade-mecum* to future travellers and inquirers. The hope would be grievously disappointed by the volume before us. It contains no map (*a sine qua non* of a good book of travels), though the author might surely have made use of the researches of his comrades, Captains Trotter and Biddulph and Colonel Gordon. It has no illustrations, though the Mission included draughtsmen and photographers; and it has no index. The book may, for the purpose of review, be divided into two parts,—the itinerary of the Mission, and the author's ethnological opinions and historical researches. The former may be briefly dismissed, as the most part of it furnishes but little information not already before the public, and Dr. Bellow himself appears to think that the

interchange of the regulation civilities between Raja, Resident, and Envoy at Srinagar are quite as worthy of note as any other event of their travels. The other portion, however, requires some notice.

It is, in the first place, very hard upon the 19th century that its now declining days should be insulted with a *rochauffé* of the wildest dreams of Tod and Wilford; with nonsense about the "pure Caucasian, the representative of the original Saka, Sai, or Sacm who were pushed up from the plains by kindred tribes of the Yuchi, Gots, Jatta, or Gath!" who, according to our author, "in the west transplanted to the soil of their adoption, as in Gothland, Jutland, England, Saxony, &c. [Saxony from Saka!] the names of their colonizing tribes; and in the south," to cut a long story short, christened Bandars Kâit, after Kâshghâr, Horat after Yârkand, and Kafak in Orizân after an elder sister in Turkestan! At least so Dr. Bellow ventures to conclude "from the similarity of the names, and the historical record of the emigration," a document about which he is provoking enough to give us no further information. His researches, however, into the history of the country in times rather more within the ken of modern man are apparently reliable, and would be useful if they were comfortably sorted out into an appendix. But they are, throughout the work, intermixed with the itinerary, as never were victuals in a pie; so that the bewildered reader emerges from the stockings and lightings of the children of Chinghiz Khân into the festive hall of the Mahârâja of Kâshmîr, or the crowded camp of the Mission, whence, at the sight of some wayside monument, the doctor drags him off again into the civil troubles of the "Khîtay" and "Mughol." It would perhaps be too much to ask for systematic orthography in such a work,—at any rate it would be fruitless, and it is something that Dr. Bellow no longer calls the race of the Prophet "Saggids."

In wading through this confused medley of travel, history, and speculation we have been much assisted by Mr. Drew's work. It is, and pretends to be, no more than a useful manual of the dominions of the house of Jamî; but it has been very carefully and systematically compiled, has a good map and index, and a number of illustrations, some of which are beautiful, especially the pretty centre-piece on the cover (reappearing in black and white on p. xii.), and all clear. Some of the modest outlines of mountain scenery could, one would think, almost be used as maps; and the whole work is of a sort most valuable to the traveller and student.

W. F. S.

## THREE NEW EDICTS OF ASOKA.

BY G. H. R. R. R.

THE subjoined three edicts form part of the splendid discoveries which General Cunningham has been making in Northern and Central India during the last years, and will shortly be published in facsimile in the first volume of his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. General Cunningham sent me last autumn plate XIV of his work which contains them. With the help of a photograph also furnished by him I soon succeeded in deciphering the very simple Sâhasrîm edict. But the more important Râjmathi inscription I was unable to make out completely until I received two rubbings, which General Cunningham was good enough to take at my request. On my communicating my final results he very generously gave me permission to publish the text with my translations, and thus enabled me to make these most important inscriptions at once generally accessible.

The great historical value of the new edicts lies herein:—

1stly.—That they absolutely fix the length of time which elapsed between Buddha's *nirvâṇa* and Asoka;

2dly.—That they prove the accuracy of the chronology of the southern Buddhists, or *Theravâdians*;

3dly.—That their date, together with the information of the Greek historians, prove Buddha's *nirvâṇa* to have taken place between the years 483-82 and 472-71 B.C.; and

4thly.—That they indicate the direction in which future efforts to find the exact date of Buddha's *nirvâṇa* ought to be made.

These assertions may appear bold and over-confident, as the inscriptions neither give the name of the king who caused them to be inscribed, nor show any of the common epithets of Buddha. But nevertheless I feel confident that a careful consideration of the contents of the edicts will cause their correctness to be admitted.

In the Sâhasrîm inscription a person who calls himself 'the Beloved of the gods' states that he was for a long time an *upāsaka*, or worshipper, without exerting himself much for his faith, but afterwards, in consequence of strenuous exhortation during a *paṇa* and *more*, he made the inhabitants of Jambudvîpa, *i.e.* India, abjure the gods in whom they believed formerly. He then quotes

a passage in favour of 'exhortation' from a sermon, and adds that this sermon was delivered by the *Pravâṇa*, 'the Deputed,' two hundred and fifty-six (*yosena*) before, and that its substance has been inscribed on rocks and stone pillars. In the Râjmathi edict 'the Beloved of the gods' enlarges the first two statements by adding that the *paṇa* of his being an *upāsaka* included more than *thirty-two years and a half*, and that during the period of exhortation, lasting upwards of a year, he was a member of the *saṅgha*, or of the community of ascetics. This last point is also preserved in the fragment of the Bharat inscription. In the date of the Râjmathi edict shows, besides, an important addition. It says, "256 (*yosena*) from the departure of the *Sata*, the Three have."

Now it is quite clear that the individual who calls himself 'the Beloved of the gods' must be a king. For, the fact that this epithet occurs before the names of the three kings Piya-dasi-Aśoka, Dharmaśoka, and Tishya, and that in the Jambudvîpa separate edicts it is used by itself to denote the first ruler, proves that it was an ancient royal title corresponding nearly to the modern 'by the grace of God,' and the Roman *Augustus*, and was used in the third century before Christ. Secondly, the boast that the writer caused a change of religion throughout India, the receipt of a *hispasana*, but of his rest, and that he caused the matter of the sermon to be inscribed on rocks and pillars, can only proceed from a great ruler, who held the whole or a great part of India in subjection. Third, the title of the writer, and the alphabet which the edicts show, make it very probable that this king belongs to the third century before Christ, and to the Maurya dynasty. Fourth, it has hitherto not been proved that the title was used by later kings, or that the so-called Asoka or 14th characters were adopted by any one but the Mauryas, their subjects and contemporaries.

The next point to be determined is the faith to which the writer belonged. The statements that he destroyed the belief in the gods until then considered to be true, and that he was first an *upāsaka* or *upāsaka* and later a member of the *saṅgha*, show that he must have been either a Buddhist or a Jaina. Both these sects

apply the former two terms to their lay brethren, and the latter to the brotherhood of their ascetics. If thus the choice lies between the Jainas and Buddhists, it cannot be doubtful that the latter are meant. For though the Jainas existed in the third century before Christ, and even occur in Piyadasi Asoka's inscriptions under their ancient name Niganttha, i.e. Nirgrantha,\* no proof has hitherto been found for their own assertion that they were patronized by one of the Maurya kings;† on the contrary, there is every reason for adhering to the generally received opinion that both Asoka and his grandson Dasharatha, and the other later Maurya princes, were Buddhists or patrons of Buddhism.

If the 'Beloved of the gods' was a Buddhist, it follows that the sermon which he quotes must be a Buddhist sermon, and the Virutha of the Sahasrām edict, or Vyutha of the Rūpnāth edict, must be the Buddha himself. The word is not one of the common names of Śākya-muni-Gaetama, but its etymological import is such as to make it a fitting epithet for him. I take virutha for a representative of Sanskrit viriṭṭa, and of Pali viruttha or viriṭṭa. As not one of these or of the formerly published inscriptions of Piyadasi shows double letters, but always substitutes single ones, viruttha is in reality equivalent to viriṭṭa, and this form differs from the Pali viruttha only by the aspiration of the second t. This difference, however, does not matter much. For, firstly, there are other instances of irregular aspirates in the language of the edicts. Thus we have kichhā, 'something,' for Sanskrit kimschit and Pali kimsakhi;‡ Secondly, the letter r causes in Pali sometimes the aspiration of a preceding t, e.g. in tatttha = tatra,§ and it is therefore not astonishing that the vowel ri should have exercised the same influence in a cognate dialect.

But irrespective of these phonetic considerations the identity of viruttha with Sanskrit viriṭṭa becomes almost certain from the immediately following sentence of the Sahasrām edict, *dūce sapandālatāntā virutthā*,—

\* See Lassen, *Ind. Alt. vol. II. p. 456, 264-61.* and Delhi separate edict, p. 5.

† According to their accounts, Samprati or Samgab, the son of Kumbha and grandson of Asoka covered the earth with Jainas (Hemachandra, *Pratyaṅgasthāna*, *Sahasra* X, XI).

‡ Compare *cf. j.* 'dewakāṇam' with Pali *diddhā*, but with Pali *viruttha*, ask with Pali *viruttha*, etc.

§ Compare also the irregular aspirates in Pali words, like *kaṇṭha*, *paṇṭha*, &c. enumerated by E. Kuhn, *Revijs* der Pali Grammatik, p. 40.

literally 'two hundred (years) exceeded by fifty-six have elapsed.' The sense of this passage, which is further confirmed by the phrase of the Khandagiri inscription (line 5) *† tathavirutthasā*, 'then after a year had elapsed,' makes it impossible to take virutthā for anything else than *vir-iṭṭāni* or rather *vir-iṭṭa* (nom. dual center). As these two examples, as well as the etymology, show, virutthā, if applied to a person, means originally 'the Departed,' or 'he who has passed away.'\*\* Such a name fits Śākya-muni very well, as he is considered to be the first who passed away beyond the circle of births. The Rūpnāth form *vyutha* arose, in my opinion, from the substitution of v for vi, and the consequent change of the v of the prefix ri to y in accordance with the laws of Sanskrit phonetics. Its lingual th has been caused by the lost ri, which in Pali too, as the form *ruffa* shows, has the same effect.†

From the identification of the Viruttha, the preacher of the sermon, with Śākya-muni, it follows further that the era in which the inscription was inscribed is that of the Nirvāṇa. For, the *ti*, *ue. etc.* which stands at the end of the sentence *dūce sapandālatāntā virutthā ti*, shows that it is governed by the preceding sentence, *iyam āsāne virutthasā*. Anybody who is acquainted with the use of the Sanskrit *iti* will see the truth of this remark, and will translate *idam āsāne virutthasā* (*krīṭam*) *dūce sapandālatāntā virutthā* *iti*, by 'this sermon was preceded by the Departed two hundred and fifty-six years ago.' The date of the Rūpnāth inscription confirms the above explanation. It says, 256 *sata-rīcchā* *ta* (i.e. *ti*), lit. '256 from the departure of the Sata, thus.' Here the word *sata* requires special notice. It may stand for Sanskrit *sata*, 100, or, as the inscription does not note double consonants for *saptan*, 'seven,' *sikta*, 'ablu,' *śapta*, 'ceased'; or, as the inscription frequently leaves out the anuvādaḥ, for *santo*, i.e. *rat*, pres. part. of *as*, 'good,' *śānta*, 'quiescent,' *śrānta*, 'tired,' or, finally, because the inscriptions do not always aspirate t followed by r or preceded by s,§ for *śata*, 'praised,' *śastra*, 'a weapon,' *śāstra*,

\* Compare Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 40.

† *J. of As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1720.

\*\* Another possibility, to explain viruttha as a corruption of *vir-iṭṭa*, led to take this as a synonym of *vir-iṭṭa*, Pali *viruttha*. I reject this account of the two cases where it is contrasted with the word *āṇa*, 'a year.'

† Compare also E. Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 40, and the form *kaṇṭha* for *kaṇṭha*.

‡ Compare *cf. j.* *prāṇte* = *prāṇānta*, *ād* = *ādāt*, &c.

§ Compare *śata*, *Sab. I. 6* = *sata* and Pali *sata* = *sata*. Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 38.



'institutes of science,' and *idātri*, 'a teacher.' I select from these numerous possibilities the last explanation, because in Pali *idāthū* = Sanskrit *idātri* is a common designation of Śākya-muni. The translation of the date is therefore, "256 (years) since the departure of the Teacher (have elapsed)." The final *to*, which I believe to represent *ti*, indicates here probably that the inscription is finished.

The result which has now been gained is that the inscriptions proceeded from a Maurya king, or from a contemporary of the Mauryas, who was a Buddhist lay-brother during thirty-two years and a half, and a member of the *sangha* for upwards of a year, i. e. who was a Buddhist for more than thirty-three and a half, and that in the thirty-fourth year of his adherence to the Buddhist faith 256 years after the Nirvāṇa had elapsed, or in other words the 257th year after the Nirvāṇa corresponded to the second half of the 34th year after his conversion. Now we know of no Indian princes who made any great efforts for Buddhism in the third century after the Nirvāṇa besides Aśoka and Daśaratha, his grandson. But the latter cannot be the author of the inscriptions, as he reigned only seven years. There remains, therefore, nobody but Aśoka, whose reign lasted more than thirty-seven years. This inference is fully confirmed by the *Mahāvastu*, which, provided a certain line of interpretation is adopted, gives the years of Aśoka's reign after his conversion as upwards of 34, and places his death in 257 Buddha.

The chronological dates regarding Aśoka which occur in the Ceylonese chronicle are as follows:—

1. Interval between Bindusāra's death and Aśoka's *abhisheka*. . . . . (upwards of) 4 years.\*
2. Interval between Aśoka's *abhisheka* and his conversion to Buddhism. . . . . (upwards of) 3 years.\*
3. Conversion of Tishya, the *Upajjā*. . . . . in the 4th year of Aśoka's reign.†
4. Ordination of Mahendra and Sanghamittra. . . . . in the 6th year.‡

\* Vide Childers' Pali Dict. s. v.

† Mahāvastu, V, 17-20.—Turnour, pp. 21-22.

‡ Mahāv. V, 36.—Turnour, p. 23. In this passage and the preceding one the author says that three and four years respectively had elapsed when the second event took place; the latter fell, therefore, in the 4th and 5th years. Mr.

5. Death of the Sthavira Tishya and Samanasa. . . . . in the 8th year.
6. The third Buddhist convocation. . . . . in the 17th year.§
7. Planting of the Bodhi-tree in Ceylon. . . . . in the 18th year.
8. Death of queen Asandhimittra. . . . . 12th year after the last event.
9. Aśoka's marriage with her attendant. . . . . 4th year after the last event.
10. Destruction of the Bodhi-tree. . . . . 3rd year after the last event.
11. Death of Aśoka. . . . . 4th year after the last event.
12. Total of Aśoka's reign . . . . . 37 years.¶

There are two points connected with these dates which require consideration, viz. if the years of Aśoka mentioned under Nos. 3-7 are to be counted from the death of Bindusāra or from Aśoka's *abhisheka*, and, secondly, how the dates under 8-11 can be reconciled with the statement No. 12, that Aśoka ruled 37 years.

As regards the first question, the common custom of the Hindus to reckon the years of their kings from the date of their *abhisheka*, and not from their actual accession to the throne, is a strong argument for taking all the years mentioned under Nos. 3-7, as well as the total under No. 12, to refer to the period after Aśoka's *abhisheka*. This argument is further strengthened by the consideration that if the 4th year, in which Aśoka's brother Tishya entered the *sangha*, and the 6th year, in which his (Aśoka's) son Mahendra and his daughter Sanghamittra were ordained, had to be counted from Bindusāra's death, both these events would fall before Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism. For his conversion cannot have taken place earlier than the 8th year after Bindusāra's death. Now Indian princes were, and are, no doubt, great latitudinarians in religious matters, and it would not be extraordinary to find that the brother of a Brahmanical king had turned Buddhist with his sanction. But it seems extremely improbable that a Brahman should persuade, or even give permission to, a son and a daughter to become ascetics of another sect than his own. For this reason also I can come to no other conclusion

Turnour translates *abhisheka* (V, 20) wrongly by 'in the fourth year.'

† Mahāv. V, 103-121.—Turnour, p. 34.

‡ Mahāv. V, 114.—Turnour, p. 37.

§ Mahāv. V, 226.—Turnour, p. 42.

¶ For the last dates see Mahāv. XX, 1-6.—Turnour, p. 127.

but that the dates of Tishyn's and of Mahendra's and Sanghamitra's ordinations fall in the 4th and 6th years after *Asoka's abhisheka*, i.e. in the 1st and 3rd years after his conversion. If that is conceded in the case of these two events, it follows that all the other dates have to be taken in the same manner. The second question—as to how the dates given under 8-11 are to be reconciled with the statement under 12, that *Asoka* reigned 37 years—has attracted the attention of Professor Lassen, who is of opinion that the *Mahāvamsa* contradicts itself. He maintains that at the death of *Asa* and his sister fell in the 12th year after the 18th year of *Asoka's* accession, the marriage of *Asoka* is the 4th year after that event, the destruction of the Bodhi-tree in the 3rd year after the marriage, and the death of *Asoka* in the 3rd year after the destruction of the Bodhi-tree, the total of *Asoka's* years ought to be 41, instead of 37. The *Mahāvamsa* certainly does express itself very loosely, but still its statements may be reconciled with each other. For it does not assert that the last four events took place at intervals of 12, 4, 3, and 4 years, but at intervals of

11 years +  $x$  months or days.

3 years +  $x$  " "

2 years +  $x$  " "

3 years +  $x$  " "

Nor does it say that the Bodhi-tree was sent to Ceylon 18 years after *Asoka's abhisheka*, but in the 18th year, i.e. after 17 years and  $x$  months or days had elapsed. If we now assume that the number of the months or days in excess of the full years elapsed on the occurrence of each of the last five events does amount to more than one entire year and to less than two entire years, and if we concede that, as Turner and others have already conjectured, the total of *Asoka's* reign, 37 years, refers only to the number of completed years, and leaves out odd months and days, then the two statements will agree perfectly. In order to make my meaning plainer, I will, merely for argument's sake, put down definite figures for the unknown number of months or days, and the agreement of the two statements will appear at once:—

Yrs. m.

(7) The Bodhi-tree planted in Ceylon  
in the 18th year after *abhisheka* .. 17 7

(8) *Asandhimitra* died in the 12th year  
after that .. 11 7  
(9) *Asoka* married her attendant in the  
4th year after that .. 3 3  
(10) The Bodhi-tree was destroyed in  
the 3rd year after that, .. 2 4  
(11) *Asoka* died in the 4th year after  
that .. 3 1

The total of *Asoka's* reign was then .. 37 10  
and that is just what the *Mahāvamsa* says, provided its total 37 is taken to refer to completed years only.

The figures assigned for the months are, as I have stated, entirely fictitious, and, as far as the statements of the *Mahāvamsa* are concerned, the surplus over 37 years may be just as well ten days as ten months. But it seems obvious to me that the above interpretation of the passage is more accurate, and more in accordance with the literal meaning of the text than that proposed by the *Piṭṭ*, which declares it necessary to avoid counting the last year of each period twice.\*

If we now turn to consider the adjustment of Buddha's years and of *Asoka's*, we shall again find an element of uncertainty in the statement of the *Mahāvamsa*. But it will also appear that, under certain suppositions which the text by no means disallows, the statements of the *Mahāvamsa* and of those of the new inscriptions completely agree. The *Mahāvamsa* says, V. 21, that 218 years after the *Nirvāṇa* had passed when *Asoka's abhisheka* took place. This obviously means, according to our manner of expressing ourselves, that the *abhisheka* was performed in 218 a.v. The text leaves it doubtful if the 218th year had only just closed, or if a number of months had elapsed since its completion. On this point, regarding which, I repeat it, no certainty can be gained from the *Mahāvamsa*, as well as on the other point, which according to the preceding discussion is equally uncertain, the amount of the excess over the total of 37 years, depends the determination of the year of the *Nirvāṇa* in which *Asoka* died. If at the time of the *abhisheka* 218 years of the *Nirvāṇa* plus a few months, say two or three only, had elapsed, and if the excess of months over the total

\* Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I. p. 288, 2nd ed. He has overlooked the fact that the *Piṭṭ* of the *Mahāvamsa*—Turner.

Introd. p. xlv. —warns against this 'laughable mistake.'  
\* Turner, *Mahāv.* Introd. p. xlv.

of 37 years of Asoka's reign amounts here also to a few months, say two or three only, then the death of Asoka will fall in the year 256 of the *Nirvana*. For 218 years and 2 months + 37 years and 2 months makes 257 years and 4 months. Under this supposition Asoka died in the first half of the year 256 of the *Nirvana*.

But if many months, say 10 or 11, of the 219th year of the *Nirvana* had passed at the time of the *abhisheka*, and if many months, say ten or eleven, have to be added to the total of the years of Asoka's reign, then his death falls in the year 257 after the *Nirvana*. For 218 years and 11 months + 37 years and 11 months makes 256 years and 10 months. It might appear that in order to bring about agreement between the inscriptions and the *Mahavamsa* this second interpretation ought to be adopted. But only in case Asoka died towards the end of 257 a.d. will it be possible to allow that his piety had caused an inscription to be inscribed some 256 years after the departure of the *Tathagata*.

Now only one more point, the probable date of Asoka's conversion, remains to be considered in order to complete the agreement between the inscriptions and the *Mahavamsa*. The equation of the former is 33 years, 6 months, and 3 days = 253 a.d. + 2 months or days. The *Mahavamsa* says, V 34, "The father of Asoka, being of the Hekimattakul path, used to lead a life of sixty thousand Brahmanas. He himself did so for three years." Now this may mean either that the interval between Asoka's *abhisheka* and his conversion was filled by three years exactly, or that some months and days have to be added. The equation in the new inscriptions makes it necessary to add at least eight months, because the middle of the thirty-fourth after the conversion would not fall under any other supposition in the 257th year after the *Nirvana*. But if this addition is made the dates of the inscriptions and of the *Mahavamsa* agree perfectly. But then we obtain—

Asoka's *abhisheka* 218 years after the *Nirvana* and say 11 months, i.e. at the end of 219 a.d.

Asoka's conversion 3 years after the *abhisheka* and say 2 months, i.e. in the middle of 222 a.d.

Date of the inscriptions 33 years and 6 months and odd days after conversion, i.e. in the beginning of 257 a.d.

Death of Asoka 37 years and say 10 months after *abhisheka*, i.e. in the end of 256 a.d.

The agreement which has thus been shown to exist between the inscriptions and the *Mahavamsa*, completes the agreement introduced by the neglect of causal months in the latter work sufficiently close to prove that the *Mahavamsa*'s statement regarding the history of Buddhism in the days of the first Buddhist Council is trustworthy. There must be some very genuine historical data, stripped from contemporary accounts.

The numerous contradictions of the *Mahavamsa* retain all attempts to explain the Ceylonese chronology as that of the first day by means of a subtraction of a few months and the distance between the Vaisakha and Vaskartha holidays. Henceforth it must be accepted as a fact that the establishment of Asoka took place in 219 a.d. and that he reigned in the beginning of 257 a.d. If the establishment of Asoka's grandfather, Chandra, agrees with the second day of the *Crakka*, and Asoka's own relations to Anuradha, the Anuradha or Anurajaya of the new inscriptions, prove that the *Vijayavamsa* date of the *Nirvana* (249 a.d.) has been placed 60 or 70 years too early, the date must be set far in the past after Asoka, since the departure of the states of the Indian Empire required the *Vijayavamsa* date. It is possible that even later dates have been so purposely inserted as to be *harmless* to the historical perspective of Asoka, and therefore good. The same will be of his predecessors and successors, who have been intentionally excluded. The latter alternative seems to me more likely, because, as Mr. Conner's and other *Chandragupta* have shown, the date of Pataliputra being at Mathura reached a few months earlier by the conquest of Kusasa, compared with the latter, who represented the metropolitan, should have required 250 years. The comparison becomes stronger through other considerations, especially through the fact that Vijayavamsa's date is within the billion the day of the *Nirvana*. I am not prepared to risk any further statement as to the manner in which the origin of the *Vijayavamsa* ought to be explained, and the exact amount of years between the *Crakka* and *Vijayavamsa* very likely that Dr. P. G. Goddard's collection of Ceylonese inscriptions will completely solve

up the question. For all practical purposes the date for the *Nirvāṇa*, 477-78 A.D., fixed by Professor M. Müller, by General Cunningham, and others, is perfectly sufficient. The new inscriptions show that it cannot be very far wrong. The two outside termini for the beginning of Chandragupta's reign are 321 B.C. on the one side, and 310 B.C. on the other. For this reason, and because the Ceylonese date for the beginning of the Mauryas, 163 A.D., must now be considered to be genuine, the *Nirvāṇa* must fall between 483-82 B.C. and 472-71 B.C. If, therefore, the date 477-78 for the *Nirvāṇa* should eventually be proved to be wrong, the fault cannot be more than five or six years one way or the other.

Certainly regarding the date of the *Nirvāṇa*, as already stated, will probably be obtained from the Ceylonese inscriptions. But there is a chance that the same goal may be reached by a different road. If a perfectly trustworthy account of the interval between Aśoka's death and the beginning of the Vikrama or of the Śaka era could be obtained either from Indian inscriptions or from books, then the question would also be solved. I must add that an account of this kind exists, though I should be sorry to call it trustworthy on the evidence hitherto adduced. The Śvetāmbara Jains place Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* in 470; before the era of Vikramāditya 56-7 B.C., and the beginning of the Mauryas in 316 after Mahāvīra, or in 311 B.C. This date agrees well enough with the statements of the Greeks, and I should be prepared to adopt it if the manner in which the Śvetāmbaras arrived at it agreed with the Buddhist chronology, and the age of the *gāthā* in which it occurs were better authenticated. But the Jain account of the dynasties in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. differs from those of the Buddhists and of the Brahmins. The *gāthā* says that Mahāvīra died on the night in which king Pālaka of Ujjain was installed on the throne; that Pālaka ruled 60 years; that, next, the Nandas held India for 155 years, and that the latter were succeeded by the Mauryas. Thus the Śiśunāgas are left out altogether—a point which makes the dates

suspicious. Under these circumstances I give the Jain account merely as a curiosity, and in order to warn against its being used, without further inquiry, as a means to find the exact date of Chandragupta's accession and of the *Nirvāṇa*.

The additions to the history of the last years of Aśoka which the new inscriptions furnish are of great interest. We now hear for the first time that Aśoka's zeal for the Buddhist faith produced towards the end of his reign something very like bigotry. His boast that he caused the people of Jambudvīpa to abjure their ancient gods, which probably must be taken to mean only that he did his best to bring about such a result, stands in strange contrast to his earlier toleration. The change finds its explanation partly in the increasing age of the monarch, and the domestic difficulties which, both according to Buddhist and Jain accounts, he had with the queen whom he married after Asandhimitra's death, and partly by his turning ascetic. This fact is likewise new and of great interest, as Aśoka, in spite of his asceticism, apparently continued to govern the country. It indicates that the Buddhists allowed, just like the Jains in exceptional cases, an intermediate stage between the *Śrāvaka* or lay brother and the *Bhikkhu* or monk. The Gujarat chroniclers assert that the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla, to whom they even give the title *saṅghādhipati*, 'lord of the Saṅgha,' took at various periods of his reign vows of continence, of temperance, of abstention from animal food, and of *apratigraha*, i.e. to renounce the confiscation of the heirless property of Vāṇijas. I am not aware that other instances of royal Buddhist ascetics occur who continued to administer the affairs of their kingdoms.

There is yet another question for which the new inscriptions are of the utmost importance,—the history of the ancient Nāgarī numerals. Hitherto the oldest inscriptions showing them were the Mathurī inscriptions of Kanishka, the Śātavāhana inscriptions on the Nānāghāt, and the inscriptions of the Andhrabhūtiyas. It is satisfactory to find now that these numeral signs are contemporaneous with the

† See Ind. Ant. vol. II. p. 302, and Jour. As. Soc. vol. IX. p. 147. Kern in his *Journal*, p. 24, gives 483 before Vikrama as the date of Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa, on the authority of Professor Weber's extracts from the *Śvetāmbaras*. That work is a well-known forgery by some part of the 12th or 14th century, as the chapter on *Kumārāśoka* of *Asandhimitra*, 1164-74 A.D., and the

numerous *śāstrikas*, show. The Śvetāmbaras mean the era of Vikramāditya of 56-7 B.C. when they say 470 before Vikr. aa. The Digambaras place Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa in 485 before Vikrama, and refer to the so-called Śaka era.

§ See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. II. p. 276, 2nd ed.



oldest known form of the Indian alphabet. But the form of the sign for 200 is still more important, as it furnishes the clearest proof for the correctness of Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī's discovery of the syllabic origin of the Nāgarī numerals. The sign for 200 employed in the Sahasrām edict is 𑀕𑀺, and, if the right-hand side-stroke denoting the vowel *u* is added is left out of consideration, closely resembles the sign for 100 in the Nāgārī inscriptions and the fifth Gupta sign.† But in the Rāpnāth edict the common sign for the syllable *su* 𑀲 appears in its stead, showing, however, an unusual elongation of the left-hand vertical stroke. It is obvious that the elongation of the vertical stroke serves here the same purpose as the side-stroke in the Sahasrām figure, i. e. to denote that 200, not 100, must be read. But the fact that the common sign for the syllable *su* is employed, instead of the differentiated form used in the Sahasrām edict, proves that the engraver knew it to be a syllable, and pronounced it as such.

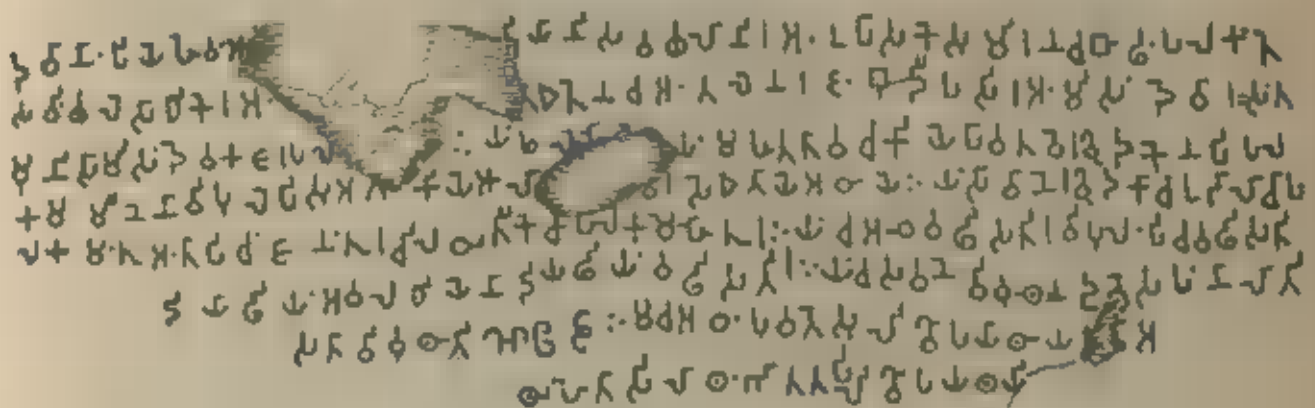
I take this opportunity to give an attempt at an explanation of the very curious fact that in the syllabic notation of numerals 200 is expressed by the syllable *su* or *śu* plus one stroke, and 300

by *su* or *śu* plus two strokes, which latter are attached, according to the fancy of the writer, either at the right-hand side both high up and low down, or even placed at the top. This manner of notation is not easily explicable on the supposition that the side-strokes represent *notes* of figures. For in that case we ought to find two side-strokes for 200, and three for 300. I propose, therefore, to take them as marks intended to show that in this case of 200 the syllable *su* had to be pronounced long, *śu*, and in the case of 300 *pluś*, i. e. *śuś*. This explanation holds good for the Amliharāya and Vichitaka signs for 1,000, 2,000, and 3,000 also, which may be read *śuś*, *śuś*, and *śuś* respectively. It is confirmed by the fact that in the case of 400 the sign for the syllable expressing 4, *śuś*, or 5, according to Bhagvānlāl, is attached to *śuś*. The Hindu grammarians allow syllables of three *akṣaras* only, and it was therefore impossible to employ an additional stroke in order to denote 400.

The sign in the two sheets for 50 also deserves attention. Rāpnāth shows the form used in the Kshatrapa and Valabhi inscriptions, while Sahasrām gives that of the Eastern plates and of the MSS.

#### Inscription on a Rock at Sahasrām.

From General Cunningham's facsimile, revised according to photograph.



#### Transcript and Restoration of the Sahasrām Edict.\*

Devānām piye bhavaṃ ā[hā sātīlekāni adhit]i-

† Ind. Ant. vol. VI p. 45, col. 1 and col. 5.

¶ In the case of 300 the Jains also place the second stroke above the syllable, and write 𑀕𑀺.

\* Materials used: Plate XIV. of General Cunningham's *Corp. Insar. Ind.* vol. I. and a photograph supplied by General Cunningham.

yāni savachchālāśi, | aṃ upāsake suzi, | na śha  
bādhām palukantī. — 1 —

Savimabhale sūdhike | aṃ [sum bādhām pala-  
kath]i[?].

1. 1. The facsimile and photograph show that some or eight syllables have been lost. The restoration of the first six is absolutely certain on account of the identical readings of *h* and *ś*. A third vowel is less certain. I take it for a representative *u* added to *śuś* caused by the change of *ś* to *h* and its subsequent loss, just as in Pāṇini *śh*, thirty, and *śhāś*, thirty-one.



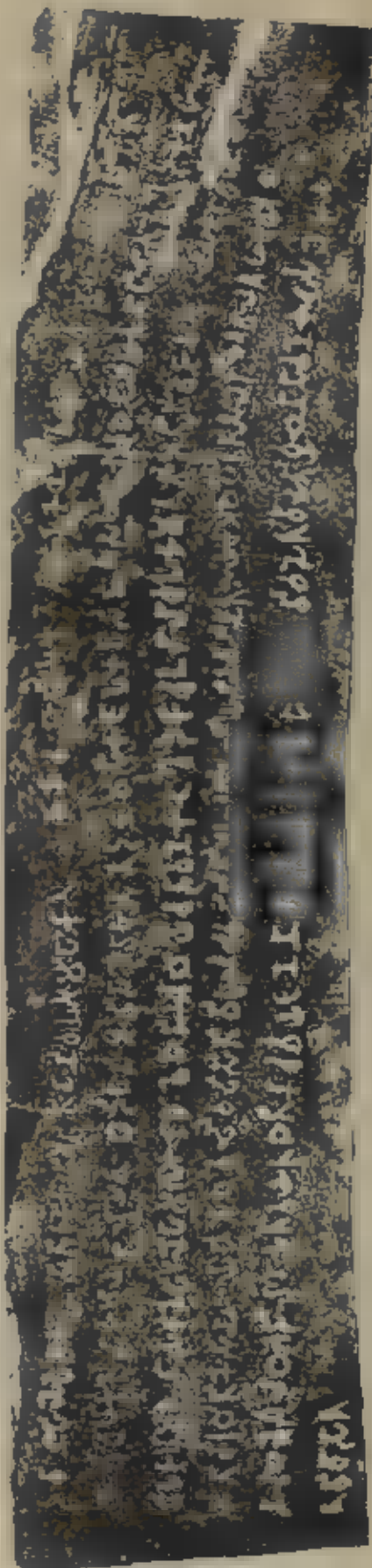


PHOTO-ZINCGRAPH OF GENERAL CUNNINGHAM'S IMPRESSION OF THE MONYKIE RIVER.





have now been attained. For through exertion (comes) this reward, and it cannot be obtained by greatness. For a small (man) who exerts himself somewhat can gain for himself great heavenly bliss. And for this purpose this sermon has been preached: "Both great ones and small ones should exert themselves, and should in the end gain (true) knowledge, and this manner (of acting) should be, what? Of long duration. For this spiritual good will grow the growth, and will grow exceedingly, at the least it will grow one (size) and a half." And this matter has been caused to be written on the hills; (where) a stone pillar is, (there) it has been written on a stone pillar. And as often as (man brings) to this writing ripe thought, (so often) will he rejoice, (learning to) subdue his senses. This sermon has been preached by the Departed. 256 (years have elapsed) since the departure of the Teacher.

*Transcript of the Bairāt Edict.*

Devānam piye āhā sātī[lekāni] . . . . .  
i. e. as . . . . . —1—  
vātā-nām ya haka upānke n[o] oha bādham.  
. . . . . —2—  
am mamoyā saṅghe paṇayito [hā]dha[sh] cha.  
. . . . . —3—  
jambudīpāni amish-nām deva-hi . . . vi . . . .  
[pala]kamaśi cen[phā]le—4—  
(n)o hi cen mahatano vachakaye . . . . .  
. . . . . [pala]rumamimena ya . . . . .  
pa—5—  
vipula pi evaṃge [sa]kya klādhotā(v)o . . .  
. . . . . [khuda]kā oha adāla cha  
palakamata ti—6—  
amte pi jamaśta ti chulathiti[ke] . . . . .  
[vi]pulaṃ pi vadhinati—7—  
diyadhīyaṃ vadhiṃti [phā] 56 . . . . .  
. . . . . —8—

*Index of Words occurring in the three Edicts.*

Āh, B. 1, 2; B. 3 = Sansk. *yat*; compare Dhauti VI. 3, 5; sep. ed. I. 2, 4a.

§ The original has a double meaning. The other meaning is, "And as often as (a man reaches his) boiled rice with this condiment he will be satisfied, falling into a state of *maṃsara*, i. e. that state of intense satisfaction and repulsion in which he closes his eyes from pleasure, and suspends the activity of the senses generally.

|| Materials used: Cunningham's *Corp. Inscr.* vol. I. plate XIV., and a cloth copy made by Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī.

L. 1. Cloth copy: *devānām*. The remnants of three letters towards the end of the line are also from the latter.

L. 2. *Corp. Inscr.*: *yaka*. Cloth copy shows lower part of a (v). *Corp. Inscr.*: *bādhi*. Cloth copy has remnants of these letters towards the end of the line.

L. 3. *Corp. Inscr.*: *paṇaye aṭe* and *bādhi*. In the cloth copy the top of *āhā* is wanting.

L. 4. Cloth copy: *amish-nāṃ deva-gi* and omits *vi*. I conjecture *amish-nāṃ deva-gi* to be *āhā*. Portions of the letters late appear on the cloth copy; *Corp. Inscr.*: *maśi*.

Āhā m, S. 7; aṭhāya, B. 5, R. 4, aṭhā; S. 5, R. = Sansk. *artha*, Pali *arhā*; compare Dhauti IV. 7, V. 7, &c. and pillar edicts.

Āhā, R. 4 = Sansk. *arhā*; compare Dhauti IX. 1, &c.

[Āhā]iyāni, S. 1, a vicarious form for the following = *āhāyāni*; compare Panjabī 164, thirty, and *ikāthi*, thirty-one, 164, twenty, and *pañjā*, twenty-five, &c.

Āhāyāni, S. 1 = Sansk. *arhāyāni-trishadhi*, Gujarāṭi *arhāyā*; compare also *arhā-kosikyaṇi*, Delhi sep. ed. 2. Regarding Sansk. *arhā* = *arhā* see *Pali Diet.* s. v. *arhā*. *Āhā* or closely allied forms occur in all the modern Prakrits.

Āhā, B. 3 = *arhā* = Sansk. *arhā*.

Āhā, S. 7 = Sansk. *arhā* with the meaning of the plural *arhā*; compare Childers' *Pali Diet.* s. v. *arhā*, and Delhi sep. ed. 11. *arhā arhā arhā arhā*.

Āhāyāni, S. 2 = Sansk. *arhāyā*; compare Dhauti, s. v. IV. 1, and pillar edicts.

Āhā, S. 5 = Sansk. *arhā*.

Āhā, B. 7 = Sansk. *arhā*.

Āhāyāni, R. 4 = Sansk. *arhāyāni*.

Āhā, R. 2 = Sansk. *arhā*.

Āhāyāni, B. 4 = *arhāyāni* + *nama*.

Āhāyāni, S. 3, mistake or vicarious form for *arhāyāni* = Sansk. *arhāyāni*; compare, regarding nasalization, Kuhn, *Beiträge Pali Gram.* p. 35, and Dhauti II. 3. *Āhāyāni* = *arhāyāni* = *arhāyāni*, &c.

Āhāyāni, S. 6 = Sansk. *arhāyāni*.

Āhā, R. 5 = Pali *arhā*; see Childers' *Diet.* s. v. For the change in the quantity of the initial *ā* compare Kuhn, loc. cit. pp. 22-23, Dhauti IX. 1, *arhāyāni* = *arhāyāni*, &c.

Āhāyāni, *churn*: see *churn*, *churn*.

Āhāyāni, R. 3, mistake for *arhāyāni* = Sansk. *arhāyāni*; compare Girāṭ VI. 17. *Tave*, i. e. *tave* = Sansk. *tave*, occurs in the pillar edicts.

Āhāyāni, S. 4, B. 6: see the preceding, and compare Dhauti IX. 7, &c.

Āhā, S. 1, K. 1, R. 1 = Sansk. *āhā*.

Āhā, S. 7 = *imā* = Sansk. *imā*.

Āhāyāni, R. 2 = Sansk. *arhāyāni*; compare Girāṭ III. 8.

L. 6. *Corp. Inscr.* begins the line *āhā*, the cloth copy shows a clearly. *Corp. Inscr.*: *evam*. I think *evam* should be read, as the word forms a compound with *vachakaye*. Read *[pala]kamaśi eva*. The cloth copy omits *ya* . . . . . *pa*, which are not easily explained.

L. 6. Cloth copy: *vipula āhāyāni*; *Corp. Inscr.*: *vipula pāṇayāni*. The above reading is conjectured, but supported by the analogy of 8, and R. Possibly *arhāyāni* may be the right form. Towards the end *Corp. Inscr.*: *arhāyāni* = *arhāyāni*, which is incorrect.

L. 7. Cloth copy omits *āhā*(te), shows half a *va* instead of *ti* in *chulathiti*(ke), and omits *ya* in *(vipula)*.

L. 8. Cloth copy: *diyadhīyaṃ vadhiṃti*, and omits the numeral signs. I must confess that I doubt the correctness of the latter, on account of their position.

¶ The references to the published edicts refer to Mr. Burgess's *Girāṭ facsimiles*, and to the plates of General Cunningham's *Corp. Inscr.* vol. I, which he has kindly forwarded to me.





*Se*, S. 4 = Pali *se*; compare Dhauli IV. 1, VI. 1, Delhi II. 16, R. 2, &c.

*Sraṅga*, R. 3 = Sansk. *svarga*.

*Hukā*, R. 1, B. 2 = Sansk. *aham*, Māgadhi, *haga*; compare also *paḥa*, and Dhauli VI. 5 and *paṣam*.

*Hadāḥa*, R. 4 = Sansk. *iha*, Pali *hiha*; compare pillar edicts, e.g. Delhi I. 3, *hiḍa-ta*.

*Hi*, S. 3, R. 2, B. 5 = Sansk., Pali, *hi*.

*-Huṣa*, (*hu*)*ṣam*, B. 2, S. 2 = *abhiṣaṇ*; compare *a-huṣan*, and *huṣan*, Delhi VII. 12.

*Hets*, S. 8 = Sansk., Pali, *etc* (acc. m. of *stad*).

*Havasi*, S. 1, R. 1, B. 3 = Sansk., Pali, *evam*; compare Dhauli VI. 4 and *passim*.

*Hotu*, S. 5 = Sansk. *bhūtvā*; compare Dhauli V. 8, &c.

### BOOK NOTICE.

LA LANGUE ET LA LITTÉRATURE HINDOUSTANES EN 1876: *Revue annuelle*. Par M. Garcin de Tassy, membre de l'Institut, professeur à l'école spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, président de la société asiatique, &c.

So far as we are aware, there is no publication either in India or in Europe, from which the state of Hindustani literature may be so distinctly ascertained, year by year, as from the *Revue* of M. Garcin de Tassy, where not only the books, but all the newspapers and societies which spring into existence are registered in detail. The number of reprints, translations, and original works this year is as large as usual, if not larger; this holds good also of their contents,—religion, history, science, with fiction both in prose and poetry, the latter prevailing. Both natives and Europeans appear to have signalized themselves more than previously by their publications.

The Hindi *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsidās prepared by E. S. Growse—not a translation, nor even an imitation, of that of Vālmiki, although dealing with the same subject—will no doubt be appreciated. Dr. Häbler has brought from Kāśmīr Chandra Prithivī Rāvan, which is important from a historical as well as a philological point of view, and ought to be published. As to the *Adigrantha* of the Sikhs, which Dr. E. Trump is engaged in translating, 800 pages of it, preceded by an introduction, have been printed. Mr. J. Beames has introduced to the notice of Europeans a new Hindi bard, giving a few pages of text and translations in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Part I., No. 3, 1876); but the whole work, in praise of Jagat Singh, who revolted against the Moghul emperor Shāh Jahan, occupies a small 4to volume of 105 pages. The *Yajur Veda* in Sanskrit, with a commentary in Hindi, was published by Gopīprasad, Rājā of Benares, and printed in that town. It is curious to note that at present several Hindi works formerly edited in Persian characters are being printed in Devanāgarī; of these are the translation of the "Thousand and One Nights," the *Bhagavati*, and the *Totakāṇḍi*.

Among larger works, such as the *Muntakhbat al-tawdrikā*, translated from Persian into Urdu, pp. 545; the *Ma'dan-al-ikhsat*, "Mine of wisdom,"

a treatise on medicine in Urdu and English, pp. 409 8vo; and among other books, treatises on astrology and talismans—the *Saṅgraha Siromani*, 680 pp., and the *Indarfat*, 104 pp.—would imply that superstitious practices are not expected to die out soon. And besides treatises on hygiene and physical geography produced after European models, some Hindi and some Urdu versions of Bain's *Mental Science*, Fowler's *Logic*, Taylor's *Ancient History*, and Huxley's *Physiology*, are also announced. Lastly, the progress of Dr. S. W. Fallon's large Urdu Dictionary, several fascicles of which have appeared, together with an improved edition of the first 33 them, is also encouraging; the learned author is uninterruptedly engaged in his colonial labour, and will in course of time, no doubt, bring it to a prosperous end.

Periodical literature appears also to be on the increase, especially as printed matter can be brought out very cheaply by lithography, and editors are not sanguine in their aspirations for subscribers; thus, for instance, the *Panjābī* says, concerning the journal published by the Anjuman of Kāśmīr, in the *Lahor* *alif*:—"The monthly journal published by the Anjuman has 320 subscribers, which number ought to satisfy us." The number of newspapers has decreased since last year by more than 50; but, as is annually the case, many of them will soon again disappear and make way for others. A long time is required for a journal to take firm root; those who demand quick returns, and are not prepared to make any sacrifices, must quickly retire from the arena.

The *Berne* terminates, as usual, with a necrology. The first place is assigned to Dr. Wilson, and is followed by a notice of Dr. M. Haug.—During the same year with Drs. Wilson and Haug, also Rādhā Kishin or Rāo Kishin, a former tutor of the Mahārāja Dhulip Singh, died; he was a good Sanskrit scholar—and one of the most fertile of Hindustāni poets.—Edward Thornton died on the 24th December 1876, at the age of 77 years. He was for several years the editor of *Allen's Indian Mail*, and is well known by his *History of the Oriental Empire of India*, as well as by his *Gazetteers of Sind and of India*. During the



same year also Francis Johnson, the author of the most extensive Persian dictionary, expired. He occupied during 31 years the chair of Sanskrit, Telugu, and Bengali at Haileybury, where he had been installed at the age of 24, and remained till 1853, when he was succeeded by Mr. Munier Williams, now Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. He was endowed with a prodigious memory and great talents for languages. His two editions of the *Allopadāśa*, with text, translation, and vocabulary, his select pieces from the *Mahābhārata*, his editions of the *Meghadūta* and of the *Utkṛṣṭa*, are valued by students of Sanskrit or Persian.—On the 4th January 1876 M. Jules Mohl, President of

the Asiatic Society of Paris, editor and translator of the *Shāhnāmah*, died.—On the 24th July 1876 Robert Childers expired, at the age of 36.—On the 10th August of the same year Edward William Lane died, at the age of 75 years. He is well known as the author of the *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, and the translator of the *Thousand and One Nights* with extremely valuable notes; but his chief work—over which he died—was his *Arabic and English Lexicon*, a treasure of vast erudition, of which five volumes are already published, and the sixth is in the press, while the seventh and eighth will be edited from the manuscripts left by the author.—E. R.

## ON THE KRISHNAJANMĀSHTAMI, OR KRISHNA'S BIRTH-FESTIVAL.

BY PROF. A. WEBER, BERLIN.

Read in the Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin, 17th June 1867.\*

(Translated from the German by B. Hatcher.)

Since I communicated to the meeting of philologists at Erlangen (1851) "some data relating to Krishna's birth-festival,"† a very rich mine of new materials on this subject has become accessible to me, to arrange and utilize which the time has perhaps arrived.

In the first place these sources are themselves to be indicated, and the manner in which the subject is treated in them is to be discussed (§ 1), whereby particular aspects of it will be at once specially illustrated, so that only a brief retrospect will afterwards suffice. To the elucidation of the ritual of the festival itself (§ 2) an investigation concerning the origin of the festival (§ 3), or rather of Krishna-worship in general, as well as on the pictorial representations connected therewith, will then be added (§ 4).

### § 1. The Sources.

In order to obtain a chronological standpoint, I adduce, in the first instance, in their proper order, the texts referable to fixed authors, or

rather those the period of whose compositions can in any way be fixed, and only afterwards I deal with the works not allowing of being ascribed to a fixed author. For though the works belonging to this latter class are just those quoted in the texts to be first treated of, they are still, at present, with the exception of the passages actually quoted from them, devoid of definite chronological value. Their higher antiquity in general is no voucher that in single instances considerable additions or other alterations have not crept into the texts, especially in those sections which cannot yet be pointed out in their acknowledged texts, and appear merely as pieces detached from them, though with a claim to belong to them.

Accordingly the oldest chronologically fixed text making mention of the festival is the *Vraṭa-khaṇḍa* of Hemādri,‡ written perhaps at the end of the thirteenth century, and representing the various festival-days of the Brāhminic ritual according to the order of the lunar

\* As the printing of the paper could only be begun after a considerable time, it became possible to utilize, or rather to interweave, several communications or publications of later date,—thus, e.g. the number of the *Athenaeum* of 10th Aug. 1867, mentioned in the beginning of § 3, and others.

† See *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesell.* B. VI. pp. 22-27, and my *Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS.* pp. 337-340.

‡ Conf. Wilson, *Maxwell's Coll.* vol. I. p. 33; Burnand, *Bibl. Pav. Com.* I. pp. viii-cii; my *Catal. of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS.* pp. 332-343; *Anfrucht, Catalogus*, p. 37b. There are several Hemādri. The patron of Vopadeva bearing this name was minister to king Rāmachandra of Devagiri. But a commentator on Vopadeva at the court of a king Rāmāṅga was also called Hemādri

(*Anfrucht, Catalogus*, p. 33a). Our Hemādri, son of Chāradara, styles himself minister (*pramāṇika*, *pramāṇika*, *pramāṇika*) of a king Mahādēva, by whose command he composed the *Vraṭa-khaṇḍa*. I determine the first part of which is the *Vraṭa-khaṇḍa*. I determine the age from the circumstance of his being quoted several times by Mādāra in the *Kāṇḍa*. (Mādāra also mentions him in the beginning of his *Tithi* before the latter.) One of our MSS. of the second portion of the *Chaitanyagachhindant*, the *Aluṣṭhāṇḍa*, is dated Sakāb 1435, a.d. 1579. (Conf. the first half of the facsimile added to the *Out. of the Berl. Sansk. MSS.*) Besides the *Aluṣṭhāṇḍa*, king Mahādēva caused also the *Kāṇḍa* and the *Kāṇḍa* to be prepared (see v. 13 of the *Introd.* to the *Vraṭa-khaṇḍa* and to the *Aluṣṭhāṇḍa*). By this both the works of Vopadeva bearing these names can scarcely be meant, as the other data do not agree.

calendar. Unfortunately, however, the MS. we possess of the work breaks off just with the seventh day, the eighth, where the festival belongs to the next following date, the eighth. Thus we lose not only Hamādrī's own representation of it, but also the quotations from older representations of the kind, which he had, according to his wont, doubtless utilized very abundantly. From the citations added by later authors from this section of his work, it is shown, for example, that he utilized for it particularly the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.§ It is to be hoped that the *Pratukhagā* will yet be discovered complete. On account of their richness and comparative antiquity the works of Hamādrī really deserve special consideration.

The second text, chronologically fixed, treating

§ On account of the quotations to be made hereafter, I insert the following abbreviations by which I designate the several texts of the *Bhaviṣya*, or rather the *Bhaviṣya* without *Purāṇa*—

Q. = Bodleian Wils. 124 (O1) and 124 (O2)

No. 15, &c., the three texts of this class which are at my disposal in Bodleian's *Pratukh* (all three also in Vienna's *Pratukh*—No. 15).

B. = Chambers 7034.

C. = Chambers 731 (C1 = fol. 12-5a).

D. = Chambers 810.

Also the other abbreviations may be here inserted in one view, because they will also be often used:—

M. = *Mādhava* (Mādhava).

Al. = *Alakāṣṭha* (Nāgārjuna).

R. = *Raghunandan* (Raghunandan).

N. = *Nāgārjuna* (Nāgārjuna).

N. = *Nāgārjuna* (Pratukh); the three *Bhaviṣya* texts of which are No. 15, &c.

K. = *Kaṇadāsa* (Nāgārjuna).

Bh. = *Bhaviṣya* (Nāgārjuna).

Pr. = *Pratukh* (Pratukh); the three *Bhaviṣya* texts of which are No. 15, &c.

Me. = *Mādhava* (Me.).

Al. = *Alakāṣṭha* (Alakāṣṭha).

R. = *Raghunandan* (Raghunandan).

N. = *Nāgārjuna* (Nāgārjuna).

V. = *Vijayanagara* (Vijayanagara).

E. S. K. Bh. Pr. N. especially refer to Hamādrī or their work.

|| According to Lassen, *Ind. IV. p. 1408* 977, this piece of *Vijayanagara* reigned "from about 1400-1470." Mādhava, in the introduction to the *Bhaviṣya*, mentions that, after completing his commentary on the *Bhaviṣya* (Mādhava's *Bhaviṣya*, p. 224), he began to compose this work, the *Kāṇadāsa*. From the introductions to the commentaries on various *Vijayanagara* works ascribed to him and to his brother *Sāyana*, their later composition, or rather the following order of them, further appears:—The first place is occupied by the explanation of the two *Mādhava*, *pāṇḍurāṅga* (conf. c. 9 of the *Ind.*) to the *Jayantya* (p. 224), and the *viśva* (p. 224), pp. 13, 15, &c. Goldschmidt; then follows the commentary on the *Vijayanagara*, on the *Rigveda*, on the *Saṁhitā* of the *Alakāṣṭha*, on the *Bhaviṣya* (which was, on the *Shrī* &c., as in the beginning of all these works, or rather commentaries, king *Bhukāsa* (or rather *Bhukāsa* mentions) as patron, he must very probably have reigned more than 500 years). At the conclusion of the introduction to the commentaries on the first part of the *Alakāṣṭha*, Mādhava calls himself the son of *Śrī-Nārāyaṇa* (pāṇḍurāṅga) *Mādhava* *Śrī-Nārāyaṇa*, *Beri MS. Orient. fol.*

of the festival is the *Kāṇadāsa* of Mādhava (Mādhava), minister of king *Bhukāsa*, of the second half of the fourteenth century. Here the festival is explained in vv. 65-75 of the introductory *kārikā*, or rather in the fourth section of the work itself, with very great detail—however, in harmony with the character of the whole work, not according to its ritual, but according to its calendar relation, yet with the insertion of numerous quotations from earlier works. The author begins with statements from the *Purāṇa* which concern the high significance and death-sin-expiating force of the *Jayantya* festival; partly they threaten with severe punishments those who neglect it or the obligatory fast enjoined therewith—thus three passages from a *Smṛiti*, the *Bhaviṣya*, and

N. 452, which elsewhere, as in the introduction to the commentary on the *Bhaviṣya* (Aufrecht, *Ind. Orient.*, and in other places, but rather as called *Mādhava*. On a column of 21 letters *Bhaviṣya* was engraved in the introduction of the work bearing the name of Mādhava, as Rādhā in the *Maya* (p. 224, p. 224), or rather the inscription commenced by *Major Jacob* in the *Jour. du. R. A. S.* (p. 111). As, moreover, this inscription states concerning him that, whilst temporarily entrusted with the government of the town (and district) of *Jayantya* he had conquered *Gova* (now *Gom*), the capital of the *Kāṇadāsa*, where he found the still existing great of *Śrī* situated in the district of *Kāṇadāsa* (now *Kāṇadāsa*), and which were henceforth to be called 'Mādhava-town,' as a monument of his conquest by the 14th *Saka* year (A.D. 1302), just 107 years before Vasco da Gama's arrival, the question is not out of place whether on acquaintance with *Syrian* *Christians*, who were so numerous in that very district, had not created some influences on the special religious reported by him to the *Kāṇadāsa* (Mādhava). This was, according to all appearance, just in the northern part of India, where at that time the *Jaṇa* exerted considerable influence, a peculiarly favourable soil for a certain system of religious systems at that period, as appears, among other circumstances, also from the commingling of the *Vijayanagara* with *Siva*-worship as manifested in the name *Hārī* (or *Harī*) borne by a brother and a nephew of king *Bhukāsa* (p. 224, *Ind. IV. p. 171, 172*). This may have been in a measure commendable simply on patriotic and political grounds, as in opposition to the invasion of *Moslems*, against whom these princes had to contend.—According to Mādhava's *Ind. IV. p. 171, 172*, the *Kāṇadāsa*, *Ind. IV. p. 171, 172*, the *Kāṇadāsa* comprised the *Nārāyaṇa* (p. 171, 172); it is unknown to me on what this statement rests. Conf. also *Colobrooke, Misc. Res. vol. I. p. 301* (Mādhava, *Ind. IV. p. 171, 172*). Hermann, in his edition of *Ziegenbalg's Genealogie der Molabers* (p. 118), has refounded *gur Mādhava* with an older name *gur* (p. 118, 119), who appears as a very serious promoter of *Nārāyaṇa*-worship (but whose real name is *Ānandotītha*). See, on the latter, Wilson's *Select Works*, vol. I. pp. 135-141 (fol. 135, where among his works, curiously enough, also a *Śrī* is addressed). Hermann, *Bh. P. vol. I. p. 171*, and *Ind. IV. p. 171, 172*, *Ind. IV. p. 171, 172*, *Ind. IV. p. 171, 172*.

[Compare at present *Hornell, Family* *Bhaviṣya*, *Ind. IV. p. 171, 172*.—A. W.]

§ On fol. 781-88a of the only complete, but unfortunately very incorrect MS. (Chambers, 210) at my disposal for the work. The festival occupies the fourteenth part of the whole work, from which circumstances alone it is quite evident what a high significance the author attached to it.









*Togitvara*. The ritual prescription that at the *Jayanti* festival an *arghya* gift is always to be given to the moon, which term is on its part again limited to the *rising* of the moon, serves, on the authority of a passage from the *Vishnu-Smṛiti*-*śra.*,† as a closer determination. If, however, *Bhikṣi* does not meet the *eight* exactly at midnight, it will suffice if this meeting occurs at any other moment either in the diurnal or nocturnal portion of this lunar date: for this there are quotations\* from the *Vasishṭha-smṛiti* (fol. 84a) and from another *Purāṇa*. In a year in which such a meeting does not occur at all, then not the *Jayanti* form, but the *simple Janmāṣṭami* form of the festival is to be celebrated. But then also the midnight-term for the *tithi* is kept.† With this, moreover, several specialities are connected concerning the various possibilities of the beginning of the *tithi*, whether it coincides with sunrise, or occurs during the night,‡ &c. There are, moreover, yet other possibilities added for

१ ardhakṛte tu yogo 'yam t śrīpatyudayo tathā |  
 nityatāt saccān enītaḥ pūjitaḥ paratraye tñ |  
 Aḥ inanta-bhavaḥ loṭha bhūmāśā a third : Jagantī nāma  
 pā rātraḥ tatra jāto Janārdanaḥ |

\* *Vasisthaśāstra* (Skt.) (Sūtra)—*abhidhātayor* (*vrahitayor*, Cud.) *yogo* ('yuganpāma bhavad yali / vrūṭīnam apy abhidhātayogai ciet tām upaśayed iti śl.

Parināmanā 'pi—rahant' eha yadā kriahnapakaho  
'ahamāyina dvijottama | Jayanti | nāma śi puṅgava maha-  
pāhara tithiḥ |

(The following series is, according to R., from Vajish-  
(ho): *cham* *ai* *nichit* *ai* *gata* *vai* *pi* (so also  
R. *radi* *yak* to R.) *rohi* *vi* *man* *abho* (so  
R.) *mi* *ro* *ph* *ya* *man* *abho* (so also R. *ma* *ti* *ro* *ph* *ya* *man* *abho*)  
*iti*]. The thirty days of the lunar month are dis-  
tributed in a constantly changing way among the 27  
Nakshatras which are at its service: see more in my *Abh.*  
*über das Jyotisha*, pp. 42-46, *Ind. Stud.* N. 263.

[illegible]

I śāryaṁ layam brāhmya varṇamānāṁ caṭvāriṁśatānāṁ, śāhī  
śāhī arvāṁ caṭvāryāṁ śāhī 'ya yuktā viddhā.

§ Wherefore the *rekinashiki* *shikami* is in the first place fourfold.—*ushiki*, *tsukiai*, *tsukihodoshiki*, *yiddoshiki*; but each of these four species is again divided into three sub-species.

|| Vāṇarāṣṭraya (surāṣṭi in R.):  
prājāpatyarkahasmayuktā bhīṣṇānabhasi cā  
'bhūmā' mahūrtum api labhyeta so 'padyā' surmah-  
cchāḥ || 1 ||

[illegible]

vīṣaṁ pīṣatvā nāṁ pīṣakāne, kīṁ kartavyaṁ navaṁbāhuvān  
 'śhṭamī' āhvaṁ vāidhī 'pṛasāpānā' nāḥ pīṣatvān 'śhṭ-  
 mī' (ads. the Horthakāṁṭhīla, cited in sū., reads in  
 the first pīṣa-pīṣakāne.)  
 P. śhṭamīhārdm 'pṛasāpānā' in R.; Jayanti diva-  
 rāṣṭraḥ kaṭyābhāṣaṁ jayavānāḥ āhivaṁvānāḥ śhṭmī  
 tāḥ (and R.) karvāṁ pīṣatvā R.) āhvaṁ pīṣatvā.

the Jayanti form (fol. 81b), because the star *Bahini* belongs to those (see *Ind. Stud.* X. 306) the connection whereof with the moon lasts throughout  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Nycthemera. The principal question after all is. How in all these cases is the *fast* to be placed?

As a closer discussion of these specialities here would carry us too far, I shall content myself with the subjoined quotations || from the *Viṣṇurāhasya* (fol. 85b), *Āḍityapurāṇa* (fol. 85b), *Viṣṇuśarma*, *Gāṇḍa-Padma-Brahma-vairarta* (fol. 86c)- and *Skanda-Purāṇa*.

After further briefly elucidating a special heightening of the sacredness of the Jayanti celebration by quotations from the *Padma* (fol. 865) and *Shanda-Purāṇa*, as well as from the *Vishṇudharmasūtra*,<sup>5</sup> viz. in the case when it falls on a *Monday* (*somaśukṛa*) or *Wednesday* (*radhāśukṛa*), the author turns in conclusion to the *pitṛpūjā*, i.e. to the infringement of the *śruti* enjoined by the festival on the day

The examination of the *Fischbachtherm*, as it is one of the older *diatomaceous*, would have been of special importance (most, particularly A. - Böhrer's remark in the *B. d. R. M. G. XXI. 347*); but according to R. it is to be read *Fischbachtherm*, there, whereby the question considerably loses interest, as the other part of the *Fischbachtherm* is evidently of a much later date than the *Fischbachtherm* itself.

(Fikou, *apud* J. J. (1980, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, vol. 75, p. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870,

Ja y a t i j ā m pūcaviditāyānā upanāśānā amācāharet ;  
 lībhayāte vaktāyānā yā vācā kṛtā pāṇānāni

[illegible][illegible]

Država osuđuje — najjače prijavu eksploziv-  
nih bombi i svih eksplozivnih materijala, a i N. K. i ponašanje  
osoba koje su u njima učestvovali (A. N. K.) i pridržavaju se zakona  
i svih državnih zakona (A. N. K.)

*Stereopurina* (*Stereopurina*) *E. p. 81*.  
*stereopurina* (*stereopurina*) *E. p. 81*.  
*stereopurina* (*stereopurina*) *E. p. 81*.

Poś napisał: „... pūṣṭaviddhā 'sthand yā tāditya (R. A.  
navamidino / mahārātra apī mīmāṃsā (also R. 'tend' g  
R. N.) sampradāyā 'sthand lāghāḥ || ||

kaik-kahj'uk-mukdētā 'pi yulā kriśho'abiamā tichib  
zavav'āh mīra grāhā syā septimānāyāt na hā 2

¶ We have already above (p. 163) the quotation from the *Padma*, (*pratyakṣa*): but here yet a fourth hemistich is added (*.. vikalpataḥ*) [ ]: *kim gaur navamlyukh kula-koṭyale tu mukhideti* [ ]

Skandapurāṇa (so also N. 336, R.; Padmapurāṇa AL; Iṣṭhamañjari R.; the first verse in D. as 28); odaya

chā 'śikharā' kīrchāhā naranī eskālā yadi | bhavet tu va-  
dhaasayuktā śābathā āreca, B.} prājāpāyakaśaṣṭhyā

ape varuhasatvā 'pi labhyate yadā eṣa na veti |  
 'Vānandaharmottara'ge m. D. no 37 :  
 aṣṭaṇi varuhasaṇa rūpāṇāṁ yadā | bhavet ta ma-  
 nuskāṇā kiṁ kriyā vatakuṭūbhā it |



















copyist has on his part needily stitched together these verses in order to make up for the blamed defect.† However the case may be, the ritual texts beginning from Hemādri all unanimously point to the *Bhaviṣya* and to the *Bhaviṣyottara Pur.* as the chief sources for the celebration of the festival: hence there is no doubt that they are actually to be considered as such, and that accordingly the Oxford MSS. of the last-mentioned *Purāṇa* justly contain the *Janmāṣṭami* chapter as a portion of the work. For a copy of this chapter from both MSS. I am indebted to the kindness of one of my former students, Hermann Brunnhofer, residing at present in Oxford. Unfortunately both these MSS. are of recent date, the one (Wilson 126) having been copied at the end of the last century, and the other (Wilson 124) as late as 1826. They are also rather incorrect, but nevertheless closely agree with each other (= O.), both assigning to the chapter the same 67 verses. A comparison of their contents with other texts on the *Janmāṣṭami* now before me in a detached form as sections of the *Bhaviṣyottara*, or rather the *Bhaviṣya Pur.*, leads to the conclusion that it is, on the whole,—of course excepting very numerous differences in detail,—identical with that text which Śaṅkara (= Śe, or rather after him again Vratarāja = Śo. 1) adduces after Hemādri from the *Bhaviṣya Pur.* (not from the *Bhaviṣyottara Pur.*), but in 78 verses.‡ On the other hand, the two texts adduced by Śaṅkara from the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* (Śb., Śc.) have nothing in common with the Oxford text.¶ Further, among the other texts of this kind occurring

separately in the Chambers collection, and designated in their final signatures as having been taken from the *Bhaviṣyottara*, there is, firstly, one which in reality almost wholly corresponds with the Oxford text (Chambers 724 = C.), and further a second (Chambers 7934 = D.) which shows at least in the first ten of its 87 verses close relations, whereas afterwards it differs entirely, and shows again a few closer points of contact only in the description of the festival itself. These latter coincidences then occur again also in the third text of this kind (Chambers 816 = D., written A.D. 1634), and are therefore evidently to be recognized as a common original stock; as to the rest, however, this third text is quite different from the Oxford text, whilst on the other hand some verses of it recur partly in B., and partly in Sa., Śb.

Now the question is how this discrepancy is to be explained. In the first place, by the fact that the *Janmāṣṭami* appears to have been treated in both works,—in the *Bhaviṣya* as well as in the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*; and that the consequence of the similarity of names and the identity of the subject, in citations as well as in larger independent extracts from these two works, the confusion of the one with the other easily arose. Further, particular stress is doubtless to be laid also on the circumstance that all the *Purāṇa* texts in general are, so to speak, in a fluent state, easily allowing of interpolations as well as of alterations; especially it may often have been the case that refuge was taken under the authority of the name of

† These verses are—

teṣa viśvānāṁ vākyaṁ kṛtāṁ rājan yathābhāṣaṁ |  
tasmā dīnāṁ pūjāṁ pūjāṁ tathā pūjāṁ kṛtāṁ |  
nā "lapet pūjāṁ pūjāṁ tathā pūjāṁ kṛtāṁ |  
bhāṣāṁ dāśāṁ vā kṛtāṁ pūjāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ |  
tathā dāśāṁ kṛtāṁ bhāṣāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ |  
90-11a. 8. 9. 33-38. 24-29. 53. 67.  
120. 140. 11. 34-38. 32-34. 54. 60.  
15. 12. 37. 87a. 54b-60. 62-67.  
16. 15. 83b. 89a. 61. 68.  
30. 31. 13. 14. 89. 8a. 63. 74.  
22. 23. 16. 40. 41. 40. 41. 55-57. 77-78.  
23b-23a. 17. 18. 42. 44. 45.

pūjāṁ kṛtāṁ dāśāṁ kṛtāṁ pūjāṁ kṛtāṁ |  
jayatāṁ dāśāṁ kṛtāṁ pūjāṁ kṛtāṁ |  
tathā kṛtāṁ pūjāṁ kṛtāṁ pūjāṁ kṛtāṁ |  
kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ |  
māyāṁ brāhmaṇāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ |  
(Śaṅkara) 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

‡ They correspond as follows:—

| O.        | Sa.     | O.      | Sa.     | O.      | Sa.     |
|-----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1. 2.     | 1. 3.   | 15b.    | 19a.    | 43b-45. | 44. 47. |
| 34-3a.    | 2. 4.   | 26b.    | 21b.    | 45b-47. | 48.     |
| 54-5a.    | 5-7.    | 27b.    | 23b.    | 47b-51. | 49-53.  |
| 90-11a.   | 8. 9.   | 33-38.  | 24-29.  | 52.     | 67.     |
| 12.       | 10.     | 26a.    | 81a.    | 68.     | 69.     |
| 130. 140. | 11.     | 34b-38. | 32-34.  | 54a.    | 60a.    |
| 15.       | 12.     | 37b.    | 87a.    | 54b-60. | 62-67.  |
| 16.       | 15.     | 83b.    | 89a.    | 61.     | 68.     |
| 30. 31.   | 13. 14. | 89.     | 8a.     | 63.     | 74.     |
| 22. 23.   | 16.     | 40. 41. | 40. 41. | 55-57.  | 77-78.  |
| 23b-23a.  | 17. 18. | 42.     | 44. 45. |         |         |

Accordingly the following verses are peculiar to O.:—  
3a. 5b. 5a. 11b. 18a. 14b. 17-19. 25a. 27a. 37a. 38a. 43a. 46.  
62. 64. 65. and 82a. alone has the following verses:—  
19b. 20. 21a. 22. 23a. 24. 31a. 34a. 35. 36. 37a. 38a. 42. 43.  
54. 58. 60a. 61. 62. 70-73. 75. 76.

¶ In the *Vratarāja* (Śo. 2. 3), indeed, the second of them (Śo. 3) is at the conclusion designated as taken from the *Bhaviṣya*, not from the *Bhaviṣyottara*. No source whatever is given at the conclusion of Śo. 1 and Śo. 2, so that *Vratarāja* appears to have considered all the three texts as taken from the *Bhaviṣya*.—No reference to Hemādri occurs in Śb., Śc.



some *Purāṇa* for sectarian purposes, and that any special elaboration by utilizing older constituent parts was perhaps bluntly designated as a section of such a *Purāṇa*. Hence it will always be necessary to be very cautious in using texts of any only so-called *Purāṇas*, in their final signatures; and only such passages of this sort as may be supported by being quoted as parts of a particular *Purāṇa* also in other works can with certainty be used as being original.\*

Now if we compare the quotations adduced in the ritual texts from the *Bhaviṣhya* (*Bhaviṣyat M.*, N.), and the *Bhaviṣyottara Pur.*, with those texts just purporting to belong to these *Purāṇas* (O, Sa., U., B., D., Śb., Śc.), it first appears that a not inconsiderable part of those quotations does not occur in them. This, at all events, may very likely be attributed to the fact that they may have been taken from the yet wanting *Janmāṣṭami* section of the *Bhaviṣhya Pur.*; though of course yet other circumstances may have co-operated to effect this. Further, those quotations which can be identified, though with numerous and considerable variants, yield the following result:—The far preponderating number of those is taken from O., Sa., U., mostly indeed from the verses common to these three texts; some, however, also from verses peculiar either to O. or to Sa. (U. has but few of this kind).<sup>†</sup> Also from B. a few verses are quoted; also a certain number of verses from D.; the latter are, however, mostly attributed directly to other *Purāṇas* than to the *Bhaviṣhya*, or *Bhaviṣyottara*.<sup>‡</sup> Lastly, of Śb. and Śc. I find no verses at all quoted which are peculiar to them alone. Or, in other words, O, Sa., U. are really ancient *Bhaviṣhya* or *Bhaviṣyottara* texts. B., D., Śb., Śc., on the con-

trary, are, in comparison with them, of secondary origin, although they contain ancient portions.

Now, as these texts on the *Janmāṣṭami* celebration which are assigned to the *Bhaviṣhya*, or the *Bhaviṣyottara*, constitute in reality the chief basis of our knowledge of this festival, I think it proper, before I proceed, to examine them individually according to their principal features.†

1. In Chap. 48 of the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* in the texts of both the Oxford MSS. (= O.) compared with Chambers 724 (= C.)§ and Śaṅkara's *Vratārka*, fol. 141b-143b (= Sa.),|| Krishna himself instructs Yudhishtira on his own establishment of the festival of his birth-celebration (*Janmāṣṭami*) which ensued after Kāśya's death in Mathurā. He had instituted it on the occasion when, taken into the lap of his mother Devaki with tears of joy, and tenderly embraced by his father Vasudeva, for the sake of the people arriving in rejoicing crowds, and, at the fervent requests of all castes, also of Śūdras and other believers (*dharmaika*) he had ordered it to take place (vv. 11-19), at midnight the eighth of the dark half of Bhādra-pada, whilst the sun is in Leo, and the moon in Taurus (*Vriṣabha*), or more definitely in the *grājūpatya riksha* (i.e. Rohini, Abhisharāṇi). At Yudhishtira's request (vv. 20-21) Krishna then explains to him the details of the celebration.—The same begins with taking the vow to fast at the break of the day in question, after the necessary cleansing of the teeth (so that no remnants of food are left on them); at noon a bath in pure water, in a river, or elsewhere; then the erection of a beautiful injuring-house (*utikāgraha*).¶ provided with all

\* But with reference to these latter passages a peculiar circumstance is not to be overlooked,—the fact, namely, that, considering the large extent of the *Purāṇas*, complete copies of these works are not very frequently to be met with, which is manifest simply from the circumstance that several authors of ritual texts (R., S., K.) often expressly state that they have not taken their quotations from the respective *Purāṇas* themselves, but from other works. How easily in this way might false coin also obtain currency? Corresponding to this, we have already, several times above, observed that the same verse is by various authors attributed to different *Purāṇas*.

† All quotes, e.g., the verses 75, 64-75 together. —In one case some verses which occur only in Śc. I (15b, 16) are quoted already by M. (191).

‡ Thus M. attributes two verses (p. 34b, 34c, 34, 42b, 42c, 43, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

by him without special statement whence they are taken, merely by pointing or citing them. Also the verses elsewhere quoted from U. namely 112, 114b, 116, 120, 131, 132, are all adduced especially in Bhā. M., only 115, 116, 117, 118, and 133 in Bhā. M. without giving any special source (therefore not as taken from the *Bhaviṣhya*).

§ In Chambers 724, 1016, and 816, and also the room invocations already used by me in the *C. C.*, I, II, & III, 24, 25, and in the *Texts*, after Rev. N. H. 11, pp. 338-340.

¶ Via of the 2nd section of the 24. A section in *para* but mixed with 30 verses, mostly again occurring in D. provided the 1.1. Śa. = 101, which contains another representation of the worship (pūjā) to be addressed to Krishna. Some of these verses might to have found a place again also in the 2nd section (which Lord C. has as wanting); there are the verses 445-52 in the Oxford text. In consequence of this and of some other differences C. has only 62, not 67, verses.

|| — Vistara, 1.1. 101-102 (d. 1).

¶ Conf. K. III 1, fol. 8a, Śa. 141a-142a fol. 8a. Kā. III 1, fol. 186.









(śrīṃ) of silver, or plated of reeds, and upon it the god (i. e. image of Kṛṣṇa) wrapped in a garment is to be placed (v. 10). Then follow 16 *upachāras*, i. e. sacred formulas,† and gifts to Kṛṣṇa, who is to be served as a beloved and honoured guest. This is followed by‡ the worship of the persons forming his suite &c., by name-prayers (vv. 27-28). After this comes (till 33) the offering of incense, candles, delicious victuals (*śaśredyam*), betelnuts, fruits, the fee for sacrifices to the priests, and lastly the *hūstroti* (*hūstjanam*). To this now prayers to Kṛṣṇa are added. When the moon rises, the *arghya* to the moon follows, after Kṛṣṇa and Devaki have previously received the like (37-43 entirely as above in D. 127-134; and a portion of the verses likewise as in O.). The birth-ritual is wanting. The night is to be watched through, with song, dance, &c., as well as by listening to old legends. At the grey of morning (*pratyahle*), a bath, a gift of milk &c. are presented to "the lord of the world," as well as 108 *ghṛa*-offerings, &c. connected with the *Paruṣasūkta*. Next the "teacher" (*dehārya*) is to be honoured with ornaments, clothing &c. : a brown cow (*kapilā*) with her calf (conf. herewith above, B. 80), richly adorned with gold, jewels, &c., is also to be given to him, or if none of the *kapila* colour is to be had, another cow (v. 50). After further rich presents to the Brāhmins, who are besides to be festively fed, the landlord may himself eat, with his family.

Apart from the above-treated *Bhāṣiṣya* texts on the *Janmāṣṭomi*, I have at my disposal another text of this kind from the circle of the *Purāṇas*, purporting to be taken from the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, which I therefore append in this place. I mean the *irjannāṣṭamieratākatā*, Chambers's collection 340 (= V.), in 130 verses

(to fol. 6a); annexed to it is yet another piece, in 75 verses (till fol. 8a), called *janmāṣṭamieratodyāpīṇavidhī*, for which an special *Purāṇa* is mentioned as a source. I have already reported—in the *Z. der. D. M. G.* VI. 92, and *Catal. of the Berlin MSS.* p. 337—on the first piece, which appears in the form of a narrative of Nārada to Indra, and have observed that neither in Wilson's translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, nor in the MS. text of it (Chambers 799), anything corresponding to the order and words of this piece occurs. The contents of it are, however, closely related to *Vishṇu Pur. V. 1 seq.* (Wilson, pp. 491 seq.), as it narrates likewise the antecedent history§ of Kṛṣṇa's birth, as well as the birth itself|| and some of his infant deeds¶ till the death of Kaiśa. Only the last verses (122 seq.) give a short account of the celebration of his birth-day, wherein mention is made also of a golden image of Kṛṣṇa, to be worshipped on a large pitcher (*kṛṣṇamūrtiṣṭha cha sampādya manureṇaḥ kalakūpari*), as well as of the adoration of the ten *acāryas* of Vishṇu, of Devaki, of the cowherds, and of Yādū.

Many particulars on this subject are commented in the *second piece* by Kṛṣṇa himself to Yudhiṣṭhira. To the bath, to be taken at noon of the eighth, an adoration of Hari is added (*śodhanam*, and *śaṇḍāṭhī*, v. 10). The further proceedings, although given in entirely different words, materially correspond with what has been communicated above from &c., except for the insertion of an *aṅguṣṭhā*, just in the manner of the one described in the *Vrāta rāja*. Wanting here, however, besides the birth-ritual of the other texts, also there omitted, is the honour-gift to the moon. Of the night it is merely said that it is to be spent with song, music, and legendary tales (*purāṇa*

† They are destined for—1. the *dhyānam*, the adoration of the god; 2. the *arthānam*, adulation of the god; 3. *śaṇḍam*, the offer of a coat; 4. *pādyam*, the foot-water; 5. *arghyam*, the honour-gift (perfumes, flowers, scented barley); 6. *dehamaṇḍyam*, water for rinsing the mouth; 7. *madhuparka*, the honey-fee; 8. again *dehamaṇḍyam*; 9. *pośādamīlam*, the five ingredients of the bath,—milk, sour milk, butter, honey, sugar; 10. *śnānam*, the bath; 11. *velāṅghraṇam*, two new garments; 12. *pañcavarṇas*, the meritorious thread; 13. *śāśahomāṣ*, all kinds of ornaments; 14. *chandanam*, sandal-oil-scent; 15. *śaśṭumāśatā*, scented barley, anointed with saffron; 16. *paśāpāṣ*, bowers.

‡ So. 3 adds here yet a special worship of the separate limbs of Kṛṣṇa (*āṅgaṇḍī*), at each of which he is worshipped with another name.

§ Herewith some new points—Devaki, whose six first boys were slain by Kaiśa, and who is just pregnant with her seventh child, went to fetch water, and sat molly under a large tree-rose. Yādū, the likewise pregnant spouse of

the cowherd Nanda, arrives, and asks the reason of her tears. Enlightened on the subject, she promises to exchange her own child in case it should be a girl for the seventh of Devaki if it should be a boy. Kaiśa, who does not find his sister at home, goes after her, and keeps her henceforth shut up at home and closely watched. But after the birth of Kṛṣṇa the bolts open spontaneously, the watchmen all asleep, and Devaki goes to her husband Vasudeva and requests him to carry the infant to Yādū, and there to exchange it for her girl; the Yādūnd touchet by Kṛṣṇa's foot becomes shallow, so that all this easily takes place. Kaiśa does not himself kill the girl, but causes a servant to do so. Of the "slaughter of the innocent" (*Vishṇu Pur. V. 4. p. 304; Bhāṣ. Pur. X. 4*) no mention occurs here.

|| Ver. 33: *sampādya bhāṅgaṇḍī*.

¶ The frustration of Pūtāṅk's evil intentions, as well as of those of a Brāhman sent forth by Kaiśa, the humiliation of the serpent prince Kāśya, the killing of Chandra, Kaiśa, &c.

*pañānena*, v. 42). On the other hand, the ritual for the next morning is discoursed here in still more detail than in *Sc.*, although materially corresponding therewith. The colour of the richly adorned cow to be presented to the teacher is not specially dwelt upon, and therefore left optional. The presents to be given to the priests, or rather to the Brāhmanas, are very specially treated.

The withdrawal of Devakī appears to be particularly worthy of remark in this narrative. Whilst she and her *sūtikāgrīha* occupy in *O.* (*O.*, *Sc.*), as well as in *B.*, *Sb.*, a specially prominent position, and also the birth-ritual constitutes a material part of the celebration, here in both texts of *Vi.*, as well as in *Sc.*, strictly speaking, only Kṛishṇa himself is celebrated, and Devakī mentioned only incidentally. Nor is Kṛishṇa here any longer represented at his mother's breast, but his image alone is worshipped, and that over a pitcher. Lastly, also, the great stress laid in *Vi.* *Sc.* on the presents to be given to the Brāhmanas, is to be noticed, inasmuch as it likewise appears to militate in favour of a more secondary origin of this narrative. An intermediate step between the two groups of texts is formed by *D.*, where the *sūtikāgrīha* of Devakī is indeed specially mentioned, and the god is also still represented as a suckling on her breast; the latter representation, however, no longer takes place in its natural place, the *sūtikāgrīha*, but (as in *K. Śa.*) over a pitcher; moreover, the birth-ritual at midnight is entirely wanting (as the presents to the Brāhmanas also play in *D.* a notable part). This adoration of the god (and moreover, as in *D.* of the god suckling the mother's breast) over a pitcher (*kumbha kalāśa*) appears, in comparison to his worship, as a suckling reposing on a couch by the side of his mother, or rather sucking her breast, to be very extraordinary. It becomes intelligible only when we observe (see p. 179) that at other similar sectarian festivals also, a pitcher filled with holy water placed in the centre of the sacred circle, plays the same part. Thus it appears to be a variation which has, on the strength of other Indian ritual forms, been put in the place of that other representa-

tion which corresponds to the natural circumstances.

Other allied Purāṇa texts on the *Kṛishṇajāyantī* are not at present at my disposal. Accordingly I am not able to verify the numerous quotations adduced concerning it by the ritual texts from the Purāṇas or from the *Smṛitiśāstras*. According to Aufrecht's excellent *Catalogue*, the festival is indeed explained in detail also in chapters 164, 165 of the *Uttara-khaṇḍa* of the *Padma Purāṇa* (Aufrecht, p. 146; Wilson's *Select Works*, ed. Kost, III. 70), as well as in chap. 6, 7 of the *Kṛishṇākhaṇḍa* of the *Bṛāhmanavivarta Purāṇa* (Aufrecht, p. 26b, Wilson III. 109);\* and corresponding with this these two Purāṇas, especially the *Bṛāhmanavivarta Pur.*, occupy in fact an important place among the quotations of the ritual texts. Besides, the *Vāhni Purāṇa*, the *Vishṇuśarmottara*, and the *Skanda* (from which 21 ślokas are cited) play a prominent part in this respect. In all these quotations, however, the ritual celebration is not dealt with specially—only the fast and the *pūjā* of the god, the watching through the night, and the *pārapam* are often dwelt upon. In this, however, the *Gurūda Purāṇa* is an exception, and appears to treat the ritual celebration very specially, as in *R.* (pp. 27, 28) and in *N.* (31ab, 32a) quite a number of prayers pertaining to it are quoted from it. Also a verse quoted from the *Bṛāhma Pur.* by *R.* on p. 24 refers to a speciality of the ritual; likewise two verses which only *Kd.* adduces from the *Agni Pur.*, and 2½ verses quoted by *K.* from the *Vāhni Pur.* (see above, p. 169) after Madanaratna.

Now all these texts give one and the same date for the *Jāyantī* celebration (be it for *īrāṇas* or for *ākṣarapada*). In contrast to this, it is of special interest that we find in the *Vārāha Purāṇa* (Chambers 385a, fol. 142a, Chambers 557, fol. 40b,—conf. my *Catalogue of the Berlin Sansk. MSS.* pp. 142-43, and ch. 46 in Aufrecht) an entirely different datum for the celebration of the *Kṛishṇa-jāyantī*. It is there called *Kṛishṇadrāghishirāṇam*, and falls on the twelfth of the white half of *Āśvadhā* (June, July). Moreover the text runs just as in *Vi. Sc. (D.)* about a golden

\* Wilson's statement (p. 120) that this Purāṇa was composed only "about four centuries ago" can at all events relate only to the text which he had before him, because that one Purāṇa of this name existed already at the time of Mādhava, or rather of Hemādri, appears by the quo-

tations from it in these authors.

† On the other hand, the *Vārāha Śaikhya* (quoted by *M.*, fol. 83a, see above, p. 164) has the usual date for it; we are therefore to separate it from the *Vārāha Purāṇa*. *R.* indeed quotes both works (pp. 25, 26, 30).

image of Vāsudeva which, after a previous *cāgopāśā*, being covered with clothing, is to be placed over a pitcher (*ghata*), to be worshipped with perfumes, flowers, &c., and then to be presented to a Brāhman. The legend on the birth of Kṛishṇa revised by Durvāsas, who appears as the narrator, is entirely divested of the usual additions, and simply states that,—“Nārada once came to the house of the Yādava prince Vāsudeva, who had no children by his wife Devakī and reported to him what he had just seen in heaven: ‘The earth stepped into the assembly of the gods complaining; that it could no longer carry its burden, and pleaded for relief. Then the gods turned their thoughts to Nārāyaṇa, who immediately arrived in person and promised them to assume the human form: “The woman who will with her husband fast during the white half in *Āśāḍha*, into her womb shall I enter.” Then the gods dispersed, and he (Nārada) immediately hastened to this place.’ Accordingly Vāsudeva conformed himself herewith, fasted on the 12th of the *Āśāḍha*, and obtained Kṛishṇa for a son, and great glory. And so also now the celebration of this festival secures the birth of a son.”

Here the idea at once suggests itself that an older narration is before us, and this the more so as the *Vārāha Purāṇa* in general seems to contain rather old material. Wilson (*Vishnu Pur.* I. lxxi. ed. Hall) places it in “the early part of the twelfth century,” and mentions also just the very absence of the *Janmāṣṭami* in it as a sign that the work belongs “to an earlier stage of Vaiṣṇava worship.” In other words, he considered this festival to belong to a later time. That he was, however, mistaken *veritas*, apart from the other points involved in this question, is evident from the simple fact that a century later Hemādri uses the *Bhaviṣya Pur.*, the *Vāṇi Pur.*, &c. in his description of the festival. Accordingly, as with regard to the total omission of it in the *Śāṅkara Pur.*, so we must here also look for an explanation of this indication of a different date, resting on a basis other than a chronological one. There might exist for it many geographical, religio-historical, or other reasons the particular details of which escape our notice. In the first place special

stress is, at all events, to be laid on the fact that in the *Vārāha Purāṇa* the birth-festival of Kṛishṇa appears as a single link of an entire series of such festivals to be held on the twelfth, and addressed to the ten, or rather eleven (?) *avasthas* of Viṣṇu as fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, Śārngava (&c. Paraśurāma), Rāma, Kṛishṇa, Buddha, Kalkin, and as Padmanābha (&c.). With the general calendar this single festival had to be harmonized. Therefore this description does not exclude the possibility that in other quarters it was contemporaneously celebrated also according to the manner known to us, which finally become the only acknowledged one. In the festival-calendars of other nations similar differences are also found to occur by the side of each other. I am moreover inclined to recognize an after-effect of this festival described by the *Vārāha Purāṇa*, in that form of the *Janmāṣṭami* celebration which (see above, p. 178) likewise, as is done here, requires the worship of the god over a pitcher. We shall return to the probable reason for this manner of adoration in § 3. I have finally to state an extremely peculiar fact, in the above discussed (p. 162) modern *Vaiṣṇava* ritual *Ms.*, which breaks off in our *MS.* at the representation of the *Janmāṣṭami* (fol. 82a-83b), we find an exposition also of this festival of the *Vārāha Purāṇa*, and that shortly before it (fol. 25a-26a), under the very name of *Jayanti*, or rather *Jayantimahādēśadāśeritam*, in such a manner, however, that the description entirely agrees in the essential points with that of the *Janmāṣṭami* itself (except the erection of the *utāhagṛha*, which is here wanting), so that the defect at the end may be considered quite supplemented by the former description. We have here, then, a peculiar commingling of the view of Mādhava, according to which *Jayanti* and *Janmāṣṭami* are two special *cratas* (the month-date whereof, however, is the same), with the divergent month-date of the *Vārāha Purāṇa*,—in such a manner, however, that whilst according to *M.* the *Jayanti* is the richer form of the festival, here rather the *Janmāṣṭami* appears as such. This is, however, probably quite a secondary arrangement, as it cannot as yet be traced to other sources.

There is, besides, yet a third date, though of a

<sup>1</sup> *Conf. Vishnu Pur.* V. 1. Wilson, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> In reality all these dedicated celebrations are held entirely in the same manner: on the festival-day, fasting, bathing, *cāgopāśā* of the god, worship of the idol over a

pitcher, watching through the night, the giving away of the idol in the morning,—these are, throughout, the separate stages of the celebration.



somewhat indefinite kind, ■ hand, at least for the birth of Kṛiṣṇa, if not for a special celebration thereof. In the *Harivaṃśa*, v. 3315, it is said that Devakī and Yaśodā gave birth to infants in the same night. This night is in v. 3247 called the ninth day of the dark half (*śuklamyān con sahyātā* *īrīṣṇapakahārya ca* *tithau*), but the month is not mentioned, and in v. 3320 it is designated by the name *Jyanti*. In the latter place, also, *Abhijit*, not *Itkint*, is named as the star of the birth, and the hour of the birth is as above, p. 177, called *Vijaya*, but in v. 3317 *Abhijit* (conf. also v. 3248). Now, although it is evident that in this statement the root *ji*, "to conquer," intentionally employed, is of great importance, and therefore perhaps no special stress is to ■ laid on the difference of the birth-star, it remains nevertheless strange enough; besides, the difference of the date is in no wise touched by any reasons for the use of the root

*ji*. The verse (3320), moreover, which gives the star *Abhijit*, the day *Jyanti*, and the hour *Vijaya* as the birth-marks of Janārdana, is elsewhere (see above, p. 169) quoted from the *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, or rather was known already to Hemādri, and is therefore just as old as any other statement concerning the subject in question.

Considering the vast extent of India, it is self-evident that various calendar-ritual differences must have taken place there, and do take place, according to the locality, time, sect, or sub-sect. Thus we find, for instance, for the same date which was finally fixed as the solemn one to celebrate the *Kṛiṣṇajānmashtami*, and in the same work which is the chief source for it, namely in the *Bhāṣiṣyottara Purāṇa*, almost immediately after the description of this festival, also a festival dedicated to Śiva in *Śrāvṇa* as *Sarva* (see above, p. 171), and in *Bāddrapada* as *Tryambaka*.

## ELEVEN LAND-GRANTS OF THE CHAULUKYAS OF ANHILVĀḌ.

### A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF GUJARĀT.

BY G. DÜHLER.

Some time ago Major J. W. Watson, then Acting Political Agent, Rorākānṭhā, informed me that a large number of ancient copper-plates were lying in the Gaikvāḍī *kacheri* at Kadi, the chief town of the Uttara Mahāls. At the request of the Honourable Sir E. C. Bayley, Dr. Thornton, Officiating Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, was good enough to ask the Agent to the Governor-General at Baroda to use his influence with the Gaikvāḍī Dvān to make these important historical documents accessible. On hearing of the matter, Sir T. Madhavrao, with the greatest readiness and courtesy, gave orders that the Kadi plates should be made over to me for publication, and I received shortly afterwards, 20 pieces—Nos. 1 and 3 to 11.

No. 2 I owe to the kindness of Colonel Shortt, Political Agent, Pahlapur, who obtained it, together with a very valuable grant of

Govinda III., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Mālkhēt, from the Rādhanpur Darbār. The first information regarding the existence of the plates I received in this case also from Major Watson.

Hitherto three grants only, issued by Chaulukya kings of Anhilvāḍ,—the Nāḍala plates of Kumārāpāla, a Kachh grant of Bhīma-deva I., and the Ahmadābād plates of Bhīma-deva II.,—have been partly published.\* The discovery of so large a number of new grants is therefore an important event for those who take an interest in the history of Gujarāt. The Chaulukyas have had, it is true, more, and more trustworthy, chroniclers than any other Indian dynasty; and the hoarding disposition of the Jaina Pañchāyats has preserved, if not all, at least many important works of these writers.† Still there are a number of points in the history of the Chaulukya kings which require further elucidation. Thus the origin of the Anhilvāḍ Chaulukyas, and the

\* Tod, *Annals of Rājasthān*, vol. I. pp. 707-8; Forbes, *Edinburgh*, vol. I. p. 6; *History of Kachh*, p. 17, by A. J. S. D. D. D.

† The works hitherto recovered are:—

1. Hemachandra Abhayatilaka's *Dvaydhrayatsaka*, about A.D. 1180, but revised A.D. 1265-66.

2. Somdevra's *Kṛiṣṇamull*, 1220-25 A.D.

3. Kṛiṣṇabhaṭṭa's *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, about 1230 A.D.

4. Merutunga's *Prabandhaśāstram*, 1508 A.D.

5. Merutunga's *Fichāṇṇaśāstram*, about 1510 A.D.

6. Rāṣṭrakūṭa's *Prabandhaśāstram*, 1540 A.D.

7. Harabhaṭṭa's *Vastupāṭyaśāstram*, 1440-41 A.D.

8. Jitmandana's *Kundrapāṭyaśāstram*, 1485-86 A.D., and abstracts of the same in Gujarāt.



manner in which the first king Mûlarāja came to the throne, is not quite clear. Next, the number of the kings is doubtful, as Bhīmadēva's published grant leaves out the fourth king, Vallabha. Further, the statements of the later Muhammadan writers about the invasion of Gujarāt by Mahmūd Ghaznavi do not agree with the chronology of the Jains. Finally, the duration and the history of the last portion of the reign of Bhīmadēva II., the last Chaulukya of the main or Anhilvād line, and the accession of the Vyāghrapallī or Vāghelā branch line to the sovereignty of Gujarāt, require further elucidation. The information given in Mr. Kinloch Forbes's standard work, the *Ris Mûlā*, on these last points is very scanty, because Someśvara's *Kirtikāvanudī*, Rājāsēkhara's *Prabandhakosha*, and Harshagujarī's *Vastupitācārī* were not available when he wrote. A not very correct Gujarātī abstract of the latter work has been published by Vrijlāl Śāstri in the *Buddhiprakāśa* for 1866. Owing to the language, and the obscurity of the periodical, it has not received any attention on the part of Orientalists. Under these circumstances, it will be advisable to prefix to the transcripts and translations or abstracts of the new inscriptions a short review of the history of the Anhilvād Chaulukyas, with special reference to the doubtful points. Though it is not yet possible to solve all the doubtful questions, still the information which these grants afford, advances our knowledge not inconsiderably.

Most Jaina chroniclers of Gujarāt agree that the first Chaulukya ruler of Gujarāt was descended from Rāja, a son of king Bhuvanāditya who ruled at Kalyāṇa, the capital of Kānoḷ, and from Lilādēvi, the sister of the last Chāpotkata or Chāudā king of Anhilvād Pāṭhaḷ. A rather romantic story is told of the manner in which Rāja came to Pāṭhaḷ, attracted the notice of Sāmantasinhha, and became his brother-in-law. Merutunga asserts that Rāja in 998 Vikrama, with two brothers, in disguise, made a pilgrimage to Somanāthapāṭhaṇ, and on his way back attended at Anhilvād a parade of cavalry, on which occasion his criticism of the performances and an exhibition of his equestrian skill, gained him the

esteem of the king. When his descent became known, Sāmantasinhha wished to retain him, and married him to Lilādēvi. The latter died in childbirth. But her body being opened, a living son was taken from it, who was called Mûlarāja, after the constellation under which he was born. Mûlarāja was educated and adopted by his maternal uncle. When he was grown up, Sāmantasinhha used repeatedly, when drunk, to abdicate in his favour, and to resume the kingly power after he had become sober. Mûlarāja, who became tired of being a plaything for his uncle's varying moods, finally caused him to be assassinated, and usurped the throne.

Mr. Forbes has accepted this account, merely toning down some of the palpable absurdities of the story, and assuming with Mr. Elphinstone that Mûlarāja's father came, not from Kānoḷ, but from Kalyāṇa in the Dekhan, the seat of the great southern Chaulukya dynasty. I do not think that the accuracy of any portion of the story can be upheld, except perhaps the assertion that Mûlarāja's mother was a Chāudā princess, and that his father was a Chaulukya. For if the chronology of Merutunga is compared with his story, the utter absurdity of the latter comes out very clearly. Merutunga says that Sāmantasinhha mounted the throne in 991 Vikrama, and ruled seven years, until 998. At the same time and in the same breath he states that Rāja came to Anhilvād in 998 Vikrama, married Lilādēvi, and had a son by her, as well as that this son grew up to manhood under his uncle's care and slew him. Now for all these events at least twenty years are required, and yet we are told that Rāja came to Pāṭhaḷ in 998, and that Mûlarāja dethroned his uncle in the same year! It will not avail anything to say that the arrival of Rāja must be dated earlier. For as Sāmantasinhha reigned only seven years it could not have fallen in his reign at all, and the story of Rāja's meeting with Sāmantasinhha while king must be untrue. I think Merutunga's whole narrative must be thrown aside, as an invention of the bards, who wished to join in a convenient manner the history of their Chāpotkata and Chaulukya rulers. In this opinion I am confirmed by the silence of the *Dvāyātrīyakośha* on the point, and by the short statements of our grant No. 1. The *Dvāyātrīyakośha* is, as Mr.

↑ Forbes, *Ris Mûlā*, vol. I. p. 49.  
 ‡ *Hist. of India*, p. 241, 242 ed.

§ *Ris Mûlā*, loc. cit. and vol. I. p. 244.

Forbes has already pointed out, not simply a work of Hemachandra. It has probably been revised by Abhayatilaka<sup>¶</sup> in 1312 Vikrama, and contains a sufficient number of anachronisms to prove that even its earlier parts are not simply the work of an author of the 12th century. But on the whole it is more trustworthy than Merutunga's 'varian history.' Now this work merely states that Mûlarâja was a Chaulukya, and extols his valour and power. The statement of our inscription regarding the donor's origin is very short, but, I think, sufficient to further discredit Merutunga. He calls himself a descendant of the Solankis (*chaulukikânyas*) and son of the great king of kings Râji, and says that he acquired the *Sâmantamahadala*, i.e. the province watered by the Saravati, by (the strength of) his arm. Now it may be conceded that the assassination of Sâmantasinha might, and probably would, be represented by the pagdis of the murderer as an honest victory gained 'by the strength of his arm.' But it does not at all agree with Merutunga's narrative that Râji is called 'the great king of kings.' Such a title would hardly be given to a wandering Rajput younger son. I do not think that the desire to do honour to his patron's father would induce a pagdit to call him *mahârâjâdhirâja* if he had not really been a king seated on the *gâthi*. At least, before I could admit such an hypothesis, I should require a much stronger proof than Merutunga's inconsistent story.

As matters now stand, I think it safer to take the statement of Mûlarâja's grant as the basis for the reconstruction of the origin of the Chaulukya rule in Gujârât. The above-cited words of the inscription, coupled with the fact that Mûlarâja is always, in the grants and elsewhere, named as the first Chaulukya king of *Aphilevâd*, lead to the conclusion that his father was actually king of the native country of this branch of the Chaulukyas, and that Mûlarâja, either driven out of his paternal realm by other enemies, or impelled by ambition and 'hunger for land,' attacked and conquered northern Gujârât. The question is now where Râji's home and kingdom was. The Gujârât chronicles state that in 752

Vikrama, Bhûrâja, Bhûyâda, or Bhûvâda (i.e. Bhûpati), king of Kalyâṇakataka, in Kânôj, held Gujârât and destroyed Jayasêkhura; that after him Karûḍitya, Chandrâditya, Somâditya, and finally Bhavanâditya occupied the throne of Kalyâṇa, the last being Râji's father. Mr. Forbes, Mr. Elphinstone, and others have identified this Kalyâṇa with the capital of the Dekhani Châlukyas, and have assumed that the Gujârâtis are in error. I must confess that until very lately I have been of the same opinion. But a careful reconsideration of the question inclines me to side now with the native writers. The fact that Kalyâṇa in the Dekhan was for more than eight centuries a Châlukya capital, and that no famous town of this name has been traced in Kânôj, is no doubt a strong argument in favour of the European historians. It becomes all the stronger by the repeated statements of the Dekhani Châlukyas in their inscriptions that they conquered Gujârât, and by the fact that a grant of a Châlukya king Vijayarâja dated Samvat (i.e. probably Śaka Samvat) 394, or 472-73 A.D., has been found, which proves that that king held the Bharuch districts. But the arguments in favour of the native statement appear still stronger. Firstly, the form of the family name used by the Dekhanis slightly differs from that given by the Gujârâtis. The latter always call themselves Chaulukyas (whence Solanki or Solanki), and the latter are named now Châlukyas or Chalukyas, now Chalikyas, or even Chalkyas. Hence their modern descendants are called Chalkes. I do not doubt that Chaulukya and Châlukya are only dialectic forms of the same name. But it is inexplicable why the founder of the Pâthav dynasty should call himself *Chaulukika* if he came direct from Kalyâṇa, where the form *Châlukya* was used. On the other hand, the difference would be easily explained if he was descended from a northern branch of the family, separated for a long time from its southern brethren. Secondly, the *kuladevatâ*, or family deity, of the Dekhani Châlukyas is Vishnu, while the Gujârât Chaulukyas are

¶ Mr. Forbes (p. 260) gives the name of the reviser as Leishje, or Leishjya (Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 73) as Leishhai. The Pâthav copy in Hemachandra's *Bhavân* reads clearly *arjuna-vara-vârâhikâ-lâhaya-dakagani*, i.e. the in-

significant pupil of Sri Jineśvara Sâri, Abhayatilaka. Jaina names are frequently formed with *adaya*, e.g. Abhayadeva. Leishjya has no meaning. *Lâh* means 'a particle,' and *âhaya* literally 'a particle of a pupil,' i.e. 'an insignificant pupil.'

Saivas. Thirdly, the cognizance of the former is the boar, and that of the latter, as grant No. 1 shows, the bull, Nandi. Fourthly, the names of the kings from Bhūpati to Rāji do not agree with those of the *raṇṇāvalī* of the Dekkani inscriptions. Fifthly, it seems certain that the relations between Mūlarāja and his Dekkani clansmen were anything but friendly. After his accession to the throne he had to encounter an army under Bārap, sent by Tailapa of Telingana. Sixthly, Mūlarāja, as well as his successors, settled in Gujarat numerous colonies of Brahmans, who down to the present day are called Andichyas, 'Northerners.' He gave to them Simhapura or Nihor, in Eastern Kāthiawar, Stanbhatirtha or Khamtiy, and numerous villages in the country between the Banis and the Nābharnati.\* Now, as a general rule, Indian kings, on making new conquests, import people from their native homelands if they do so at all. If, therefore, Mūlarāja had come from the Dekkan, Gujarat would have been filled with Telingana and Karmāta Brahmans. If, as the chronicles say, he came from the north, the introduction of the Andichya Brahmans is at once explained. This last point is, in my opinion, one of the strongest arguments in favour of the native statement, and least likely to be reconciled with Elphinstone's theory. Several of the other points above mentioned may be explained away. Thus, it may be contended that Mūlarāja changed his religion and his creed on succeeding to the Chāndā throne, and accepted those of his mother's family. But though the adoption of a new deity is not a matter of great importance for a Rajput,—because, as I was told in Rajputana, a rājā might not to be exclusive in the point of worship, but favour all the various sects among his subjects,—and though the adoption of new memorial bearings may have occurred in other cases, still it would be desirable to have some proof (which has hitherto not been furnished) that Śiva and his Nandi were affected by the Chāndās. I must leave the reader to estimate the weight of each of the other arguments for himself. But in concluding this discussion I will add that the existence of a Chaulukya kingdom in Kānoj and the existence of another

Kalyāṇa are not so very incredible. There is a gap in the history of Kānoj from the times of Yaśovarman, in the beginning of the eighth century, down to the end of the tenth century, when the Rāthors appear as its lords. This gap very nearly corresponds to the period assigned to Bhūpati and his successors, as the former is stated to have reigned in 695-6 a.v., and Mūlarāja's accession is placed in 841-42 a.v. Further, the Dekkani Chālukyas assert that their ancestors came from the north, and ruled in Ayodhyā and other towns, and from the *Gazetteer of the N. W. Provinces* it appears that Chālukya Rajputs are found in the Kānoj districts to the present day. As regards the existence of another Kalyāṇa, it ought to be borne in mind that the name is by no means uncommon. Two towns of this name are well known and of great antiquity, viz. Kalyāṇa near Bombay, the *Kallienē* of the Greeks, and Kalyāṇa in the Dekkan. Less noted Kalyāṇapūras occur frequently on the map of India. Considering all these circumstances, I adopt the statement of the *Gujarātī*, and take Mūlarāja to have been the son of a king who ruled in Kānankubja and who reconquered Gujarat, which had been an old dependency of his paternal empire. It may be that his mother belonged to the Chāndā family. As the account of the chronicles is evidently based on bardic stories, it deserves, in such a particular, some credit. The genealogies are the special province of the bards, and they are more careful in matters connected with these than regarding other historical facts.

There are two other points in the inscription which require their explanation through facts related by the chronicles, and confirm the history given by the latter. The first of these is contained in the statement No. 1, Pl. I. l. 2, that Mūlarāja was *tryambakaśaśa vīṭhāśchakāśrayaśa*, literally, "like Tryambaka, one who took up his residence on a mountain." Now, if we did not know that Mūlarāja's capital was Apahillapātaka (Pl. I. l. 8), situated in an entirely flat, sandy country, and not even within fifty miles of any hill, the inference might be made that he held his court in some hill-fort. As the case stands, such an explanation is not admissible, and we have to look for some other solution of the problem. This is

\* Forbes, *Asa Māhā*, vol. I. p. 65.

† As an instance I may quote the introduction of Devas-

the Marāṭhā Brahmans into Gujarat since the conquest of Harodā by the Gaikwāds.



afforded by Merutunga, who tells us that soon after his accession to the throne Mûlarâja was assailed by two armies, that of the Sapaḍalakaḥiya Râjâ of Śākambharî (Śāmbhar) and that of Bârapa, the general of Tailapa of Kalyāṇa. Unable to resist his foes, he fled to Kanthidurga, the modern Kanthkot in the eastern (Vâgad) division of Kachh, and there bided his time. Now it seems to me very probable that the Paṇḍit who composed the *pramiti*, in his anxiety to find points of resemblance between his patron and the various gods, found nothing more to the purpose than Mûlarâja's temporary stay on the hill of Kanthâ, which he boldly compared to Śiva's residing on Kailâsa.

The second point is clearer. Merutunga says in the *Prabandhashintumûl* that Mûlarâja was a constant worshipper of Somanâtha, and used to perform a pilgrimage to Somanâtha Pâthar every Monday, i.e. a journey of about 250 miles, and back! Somanâtha was so much pleased with this devotion that he personally migrated first to Maṇḍali (now Māṇḍal, in the Virangām Talukâ), and later to Aghilvâd. At Maṇḍali, Mûlarâja built for him the temple called Mûlôâvara. This is evidently the Mûlanâthadvara to which the village of Kamboikâ was given.

It is a pity that the historical portion of the inscription is so short, and affords no information regarding the great expeditions of Mûlarâja against the Abhira or Yâdava of Vâmaṇathall (Vanthal) and the ruler of Lâṭa. Its date, 1043 Vikrama (986-87 A.D.), agrees with the statement of the chroniclers that Mûlarâja ruled from 988 to 1053 of the same era.

According to the account of Merutunga, Mûlarâja was succeeded by his son Châmapâ, who ruled for thirteen years, until 1068 (A.D. 1009-10). After him came his two sons Vâlabbharâja and Durlabbharâja, the former of whom died of small-pox after a reign of six months, while the latter occupied the throne until 8. 1078 (A.D. 1021-22). In that year he abdicated in favour of his nephew Bhîmadêva I., the son of his younger brother Nâgarâja. No historical events are recorded of these three reigns except that both Châmapâ and Durlabha became ascetics, and that

during this period the enmity between Mâlava and Gujarât began, owing to an affront offered either to Châmapâ or to Durlabha when proceeding to Banâras. A great deal of confusion has been caused in this account by the fact that Mr. Forbes's grant of Bhîmadêva II., dated 1266 Vikrama (1209-10 A.D.), does not enumerate Vâlabbharâja among the kings of Aghilvâd, and that some of the later Muhammadan historians place the expedition of Mahmûd Ghaznavi in the reign of Jâmad, i.e. Châmapâ. The first circumstance led Mr. Forbes to doubt that Vâlabbha actually reigned. The new collection of grants settles this question in favour of the chroniclers. Seven out of the eight grants which give the complete genealogy of the Chaulukya kings, Nos. 4-10, include Vâlabbharâja, while one only, No. 3, omits him. It is evident that the shortness of his reign induced the writers of Mr. Forbes's grant and of our No. 8 to omit his name.

The other point, the discrepancy between the chronology of the chroniclers and that of the *Ayin Akbari* and other late Muhammadan writers, is very serious. If Châmapâ is placed in 1024 A.D. instead of in 1010, the dates of the Gujarâtî writers are entirely disarranged, and the confusion becomes worse by the identification of the descendant of the Dâbichlim, whom Mahmûd is said to have placed on the *gâd* of Aghilvâd, with Durlabbhasena (Durlabbharâja). Mr. Forbes's chapter on this period is, therefore, most unsatisfactory. His narrative first follows the account of the Gujarâtîs, which is plain enough. When, afterwards, the conflicting version of the Muhammadans is given, accompanied by hints that this may contain, after all, the real historical facts, the reader is left in an uncomfortable state of perplexity and doubt. This is, however, not the fault of Mr. Forbes, in whose time it would have been difficult to obtain a satisfactory solution of the question without a thorough study of the rare MSS. of the earlier Muslim historians of the Ghaznavi dynasty. It is gratifying that now the Gujarâtî chroniclers can be proved to be in the right, both by the testimony of early Muslim writers and of the inscriptions of Bhîmadêva I.

† *Ras Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 51.

‡ The name is spelt Bârp by Mr. Forbes. The Government copy reads Bârkha,—probably a mistake for Bârapa. The statement that this invasion occurred shortly after

Mûlarâja's accession cannot be correct, as Tailapa began to rule in 978 A.D., and Mûlarâja in 941-42.

§ *Ras Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 71.



In the Appendix to Sir H. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. II, pp. 429 seq., a full review of the history of Mahmūd's expeditions against India has been given. The oldest account of the Somanātha expedition by Ibn Asir, p. 469, states that the "chief of Anhalwāra, called Bhīm, fled hastily (on Mahmūd's approach), and abandoning his city he went to a certain fort for safety and to prepare himself for war." Next the march against Somanātha *viâ* Dabalwāra, "which is two days' journey from Somanāth," and the capture of the temple, are related. After this we are told\* that "Mahmūd received intelligence that Bhīm, the chief of Anhalwāra, had gone to the fort of Kandahat, which is situated about forty parasangs from Somnāt, between that place and the desert. He marched thither, and when he came in front of the place he questioned some men, who were hunting, as to the tide. From them he learned that there was a practicable ford, but that if the wind blew a little he might be submerged. Mahmūd prayed to the Almighty and then entered the water. He and his forces passed over safely and drove the enemy out of the place. From thence he returned, intending to proceed against Mansūra," &c.

In this narrative we have the name of Bhīma twice. He was therefore on the throne in 1024 A.D., as the Gujarātī chroniclers assert. This account is remarkable also in other respects. It knows nothing of a long stay of the Muslims in Gujarāt, or of the establishment of a descendant of the Dābiashlīma on the throne of Anhilvād. That tale occurs first in Mirkhond's history together with a wild description of the riches of Gujarāt and its gold mines, and it may be therefore rejected as one of the later embellishments which have been added so freely to the fall of Somanātha by the latest Muslim writers. As regards Ibn Asir's story that Bhīma fled at Mahmūd's approach to a fort called Kandahat, there is no reason for rejecting it. On the contrary, the flight is what might be expected from a king whose dominions probably included not much more than the Pahlapur Agency, part of the Mahikāṣṭha, the Gaikvādi Uttar Mahāla,

the Ahmedābād Collectorate north of the Sābhar-mati, and eastern Kachh (Vagad), and who was taken by surprise. The fort of Kandahat I consider to be Kānthkot, in Kachh,—the same to which Mūlarāja retired before his enemies. Just this last point, as well as the resemblance of the two names, its position between Somanātha and the desert (of Marrād), and the fact that Bhīmadēva did possess eastern Kachh, are strong arguments in favour of this identification. It seems to me also that the difficulty about the sea being near Kandahat may be got over. For in marching from Somanātha to Kānthkot Mahmūd had to cross the Rap of Kachh, which in his time probably extended further east than now. The statement that the sea was fordable at low water, and that it became dangerous at high water if the wind rose, fits the Rap well. Anybody who has crossed its eastern outlet will know how frequently the boats stick in the mud at low water, while a strong west wind with the tide is sure to fill the narrow bed to a considerable depth. The only difficulty which remains is the phrase "when Mahmūd came in front of the place," which would seem to indicate that the sea was close to the fort. This is not the case, as Kānthkot is about twenty miles north of the Rap. But it is not too much to suppose that Ibn Asir and his successors, who were not possessed of any personal knowledge of Gujarāt, may have made a little mistake on this point.

If we now turn to Bhīmadēva's inscriptions, they fully confirm the Gujarātī chroniclers' chronology, as they show that he reigned in 1086 and 1093 Vikrama, or A.D. 1029 and 1036. It is highly interesting that both grants are dated from Anhilvād, and prove that Mahmūd's invasion did not prevent the king from reoccupying his capital soon after the invader's departure. This fact confirms the narrative of Ibn Asir, who makes Mahmūd march from Kandahat against Mansūra. To sum up, the Gujarātī chroniclers are right in placing the accession of Bhīmadēva in S. 1058 Vikrama, or 1022 A.D. Bhīmadēva was the king who ruled Gujarāt at the time of Mahmūd's invasion. He fled, at the latter's approach, to his ancestral fortress Kānthā or

\* *Loc. cit.* vol. II, p. 449.

† See H. H. Wilson, *As. Res.* vol. XVII, p. 194.

‡ See grant No. 7 and Mr. Kishor's grant, *Kandahat*, p. 17.

§ As is expressly stated by the later Mahāmudaga,—see Elliot, *loc. cit.* p. 474.

† The historian of Kachh, *loc. cit.*, says that Bhīmadēva's grant is dated in S. 24, and he refers this date to the years of the Chaulukya dynasty. If the grant really is dated 24, which may be doubted, as it has been imperfectly deciphered, it is more likely that the handrade here has been left out according to a very common habit of Hindu writers.

Kanthkoṭ. Mahmūd, after following him thither, and forcing him to seek again safety in flight, marched against Mansūra, probably through the northern part of the Rāṇ and Thar-Pārkan. Bhīmadēva on his part returned to Anhilvāḍas soon as the great storm-wave had passed, and ruled for nearly fifty years longer, not without glory.

Our inscriptions furnish no information regarding the latter part of Bhīmadēva's reign, nor for that of his son Karna I., S. 1128-50 Vikrama (1072 to 1093-94 A.D.) except that he bore the surname *Trailokyamalla*, 'the wrestler of the universe.' Regarding Karna's son Jayasīnha, the *varāḥavali* of No. 5 repeats the statement of Mr. Forbes's Ahmedābād plate that he conquered 'the lord of Avantī, (and) Varvaraka;' while Nos. 3 and 6 to 10 insert *Tribhuvanagandha* between the two names, and No. 4 shows an erroneous displacement of the names. The first fact is well known. Who *Tribhuvanagandha*, 'the hero of the three worlds,' was, I am not able to tell. Varvaraka deserves passing remark. In the *Doyāḍraya* *Varbar* is represented as a leader of Rākshasas who troubled the Brāhmins at Śrīsthala-Siddhapur. Jayasīnha conquered him, and granted him his life at the instance of his wife Pingalikā. Afterwards *Barbar* gave valuable presents to Jayasīnha, and "served him as other Rajputs did." Mr. Forbes\* expresses his opinion that *Barbar-Varvaraka* was a name of the king of Mālava whom Jayasīnha conquered. He has been led to form this view by a mistake in the rendering of the compound *avāntīnāvaravarakajishu*, the first two parts of which make a copulative, not a determinative compound, and which must therefore be translated as has been done above. The proof of the correctness of this interpretation is afforded by the fact that most of the new inscriptions insert *Tribhuvanagandha* between *Avantīnātha* and *Varvaraka*. The chroniclers also separate the subjugation of *Barbar* entirely from the expeditions against Mālava. Somāśvara (*KīrtiKaumudī*, II. 38) gives the following notice of this event:—*amāśīno yāśīnhaṇḍarūḥ baddheṣṣaṁ barbarakābhīṣṭam | siddharājēti rājendur yo fajjē rājarājishu || 38 ||* "This moon among kings fettered the prince

of goblins, *Barbaraka*, in a burial-place, and became known among the crowd of kings as *Siddharāja*."

The verse shows that within a hundred years after Jayasīnha's death this story had become completely mythical. Instead of *Śrīsthala* we have a burial-ground as the scene of the fight, and the *Rākshasa* has been converted into a prince of goblins (*yāśīnha*). The inscriptions, in placing the lord of Avantī, *Tribhuvanagandha*, and *Varvaraka* side by side, indicate clearly that they consider him a human foe. The account of the *Doyāḍraya* gives the same impression, in spite of the appellation 'the leader of the Rākshasas.' It seems to me most probable that *Varvaraka* belonged to one of the non-Aryan tribes who are settled in great numbers in northern Gujarat, and that he was either a Koli or a Bhil, or perhaps a Mōr. Such people are occasionally called *Rākshasas* on account of their cruelty and want of civilization.

Of the numerous important events of Kumārapāla's reign the inscriptions Nos. 3-10 mention only the victory over the lord of Śākambharī (*Sāmbhar*), which is described at great length by the chroniclers. Regarding *Ajaya pāla*, the next king, the chroniclers say little, as they were Jains, whom the king hated as his uncle's friends and protégés. Our inscriptions say that he made tributary the *Sapāṭalakaśahamāpāla*, i.e. the king of Śākambharī. It would seem, therefore, that Kumārapāla's conquest had no lasting effects. His epithet *paramādheśvara* or *mahādheśvara*, 'the ardent devotee of Śiva,' alludes to the reaction against Jainism which took place during his reign. He is said to have converted *Bhāmachandra*, the pupil of Hemachandra, alive, and he have destroyed the Jain temples and books. The only fact noted by the chroniclers regarding the reign of his successor Mōlarāja II., the struggle with the Musalmāns, is confirmed by our inscriptions, as he is called "the king who overcame in battle the ruler of the Garjanakas, who are difficult to conquer." *Garjanaka* is a Sanskrit word coined to represent *Ghasnavi*, and intended to give to the latter an etymological meaning, viz. 'the conquer.' Merutunga uses it or *Gajjanaka* in several passages and in the same sense. Somāśvara (*Kīrti*, II. 57) says of Mōlarāja II. that

\* Ind. Ant. vol. IV. pp. 335, 336. *Barbaraka* is the reading of great No. 10, and it ought to be noted that Nos. 3-9

make no distinction between *ra* and *ba*. *Barbaraka* may therefore be the correct form.

\* *His Māli*, vol. I. pp. 60, 126.





No. XVI.¶ (Wilson), dated Śaivnt 1285, or 1208-9 A.D., Bhimadeva is mentioned as lord paramount of Ābā, and he occupies the same position in the Ābā inscription No. IV,\* which is dated twenty-two years later, in A.D. 1230-31. At the same time the inscriptions prove also that his rule was not without "thorns." Our grant No. 3 was issued by a Chaulukya ruler, Jayantasiṃha, who describes himself in the following terms:—*The great king of kings, the supreme ruler, the supreme lord, the illustrious Jayantasiṃha, a new Siddhārtha who rules in the royal city of Apahitapura, who is possessed of the whole series of honorific titles, such as "he who obtained grace in consequence of a boon given by the husband of Uṃdā," "he who has become the self-chosen husband of royal Fortune," "he who is a son of exceedingly marvellous fierceness," "he who is resplendent on account of his having extended the paradise-cropper-like Uṃdā-lukya race," "he who is the great bear (able) to raise the earth that has sunk into the noons of evil times," "he who is the only cloud (able) to cause to grow the seed-like Gāṛjara country, that has been burnt up by the fire of misfortune," "who is the hero (who conquers) through one body (ekāṅga) (his own) only (not as other kings through a [caturanga] four-bodied army)." This vainglorious passage is preceded by the usual eulogical, beginning with Mūlarāja I. and ending with Bhimadeva II. But after naming the latter and giving his titles, and just before the enumeration of Jayantasiṃha's own titles, follow the significant words *śaśanantaram āsthān*, "after him (Bhima) in (his) place." Considering these statements, and the further assertion, in the preamble to the grant, that Jayantasiṃha ruled over the Vardhipathaka and the Agambhūta or Gambhūta pathaka, it is evident that he was a usurper who supplanted Bhima for a time. As one of Bhima's own grants (No. 5) is dated in 1283 Vikrama and from Anahilapataka, it follows that Jayantasiṃha, who dates his grant in 1280 Vikrama, must have been ejected by the rightful owner soon after issuing the grant. But it is by no means probable that 1280 was the first year of his reign, and it must not be forgotten that the last known grant of Bhima, issued before*

1280, is Mr. Forbes's Ahmedābād plate of 1266 Vikrama.

While it is thus evident that Bhimadeva maintained himself, though amidst difficulties and struggles, in the northern portion of the Chaulukya kingdom, it is no less certain that he lost the southern and south-western portion, the country between the Sābharmati and the Narmadā, as well as the Dholkā and Dhandhūrā districts to the Vāgholīa. The very man whom Morutunga calls his *pradhāna*, Lavaprasāda, appears to have forsaken his liege lord, and to have founded a Vāgholī kingdom at Dholkā, which, shortly after Bhimadeva's death, absorbed the northern possessions of the older branch of the Solunkis. The fact of the rebellion is not clearly stated by the chroniclers. According to the habits of their kind, they smooth the difficulty over by making Lavaprasāda have a vision or dream in which he is commanded to restore the fortune of Gujarrāt and of its princely house. The oldest and most authentic version of this story is found in Somdev's *Kirtivarmudā* II. 62-115, the author of which states that he himself was called by Lavaprasāda to hear the relation of the dream and to explain it. An abstract of the fifty verses, which contain also all the information which Somdev gives regarding his patron's ancestors, may find here a place. After giving (II. vv. 59-61) the short notice of Bhimadeva which has been quoted above, he goes on as follows:—

"Now there was one Anorāja who belonged to another branch of the Chaulukya race.† That royal saint was unable to bear the destruction of the country. He began to cleanse the kingdom of 'thorns,' and gained great victories and immortal fame in the three worlds.‡ His son is the illustrious Lavaprasāda, a warrior of the greatest bravery. He slew the chief of Nāḍol (Nāḍol, in Marvāt). In his well-ordered kingdom thieves are unknown: he himself takes only their glory from hostile kings. Rebellious Śiṃṃtas are unable to check him. Before him the ruler of Mālava, who had come to invade the country, turned back; and the southern king also, when opposed by him, gave up the idea of war.§

¶ *As. Res.* vol. XVI. pp. 290-301.

\* *Ibid.* p. 290.

† i.e. the Vāgholī or Vāgholī family.—see Forbes, *Ind. Mus.* vol. I. p. 193.

‡ V. II. 62-66.

§ *Kirtī.* II. 67-75.—The king of Mālava alluded to was no doubt Subhatavarman, who, according to Morutunga, was turned back by an epigram of Bhima's *pradhāna*.





Neither in the *Ābū* nor in the *Girnar* inscriptions of the two brothers is *Bhīmadēva* mentioned with a single word, though another *Ābū* inscription of the same time acknowledges him as lord paramount.† On the other hand *Lavaṇaprasāda* and *Virādhavala* are given the titles *mahārāja* and *mahārājādhirāja*. The time of *Lavaṇaprasāda*'s defection can be fixed approximately from *Vastupāla*'s *Girnar* inscriptions. There† *Vastupāla* says that he transacted the 'business with the soul' in *Gujarāt* since 1276 *Vikrama* (1219-20 A.D.). The portions of the *Chaulukya* kingdom which *Lavaṇaprasāda* and *Virādhavala* 'saved' were, besides the *Dholkā* and *Dhavadhūka* districts, *Khamboy*, *Lata*, and *Godhrā*, which are mentioned by *Somēśvara* as subject to *Virādhavala*. The *Chaulukya* conquests in the *Kāthiāvād* peninsula fell to the local chieftains, who again became free, as they had been before the time of *Jayanichin*. The *Praharadhakumha* mentions especially the chief of *Vajhvān* as having become independent and engaging in war with *Virādhavala*. If *Chand*'s and the *Muhammadian* accounts of events referring to *Bhīmadēva*'s reign are added to the notes given above, it will be possible to give a tolerably accurate outline of the history of *Bhīmadēva*'s reign. But I defer this for another opportunity, when I shall give a short history of the whole *Solanki* period.

All the *Gujarātī* chroniclers close the list of the *Chaulukya* kings of the main line with *Bhīmadēva*. If grant No. 10 now furnishes the name of an additional king, *Tribhuvanopāla*, who held *Anhilvād* 1299 *Vikrama*, after *Bhīmadēva*'s death, and declares himself to be 'meditating on his feet,' i.e. to be his lawful successor, the most probable solution of the difficulty is that this ruler maintained himself only for a short time, and was not generally acknowledged as king of *Gujarāt*. In favour of this view *Merutunga*'s statement, from the *Vichārāṅga*, may be adduced, according to which *Vīśādeva* the son of *Virādhavala* succeeded to the throne of *Anhilvād* in 1300 *Vikrama*, or 1243-44 A.D., as the first *Chaulukya* king of the *Vāgholā* branch. *Merutunga*'s dates have been proved to be

† Wilson, No. 11. *As. Res.* vol. XVI. p. 230.

‡ See J. Burgess' inscription from *Kāthiāvād* No. 10, l. 4: ॐ सर्वज्ञं सर्वमहं सर्वकर्मसुखदुःखं प्रव्याप्यन् प्रव्याप्यन्. Mr. Limaye, the translator, has made a mistake of this passage.

correct in so many cases which appeared at first sight rather doubtful that I have no hesitation in accepting them as long as they are not proved to be wrong by very strong evidence.

As regards the history of *Vīśādeva* *Vāgholā* of *Anhilvād*, *Rājasekhara* and *Harahagisista* that his father *Virādhavala* died at *Dholkā* not long before his great minister. As the latter's death occurred in 1297 *Vikrama* (1240 A.D.), the *Rājā*'s career must have come to an end either in 1295 or 1296 *Vikrama*, i.e. between 1238 and 1240 A.D. *Virādhavala* had two sons, *Vīramadēva* and *Vīśādeva*. The former, who, as the elder, was the rightful heir to the *gāḍh*, had given offence both to his father and to *Vastupāla* by ill-treating a *Vāṇi*, and had been banished to *Vīramagrāma*, the modern *Vīramgam*. On the news of his father's mortal illness he came to *Dholkā* and tried to assert his right. But *Vastupāla* was too strong for him. He secured *Vīśādeva*'s succession, and forced *Vīrama* to fly from the city. *Vīrama* then tried an appeal to arms. Being defeated, he went to his father-in-law *Udayasinha*, chief of *Jābāṭi*, and was treacherously murdered at the instigation of *Vastupāla*, who, like a true Hindu *mantri*, made it his first care to remove "the thorns" from the kingdom. If *Vastupāla* hoped to keep *Vīśādeva* in dependence, and to retain the great influence which he possessed during his father's reign, he was disappointed. The new *Rājā* appointed a *Brāhmaṇ* called *Nāgaḍaḥ* as his prime minister, and left to the two brothers some minor offices only.† They suffered many indignities, and had been nearly obliged to undergo the ordeal by 'the snake in the pot' (*ghaṭasarpa*) in order to prove themselves innocent of peccation. Their old friend *Somēśvara* saved them by a timely epigram. Not long after, another incident occurred which had nearly driven *Vastupāla* into open rebellion against his new master. The king's maternal uncle, called *Sinha*, gave a blow to the *goryl* or *pālī* who was *Vastupāla*'s spiritual guide. The proud minister avenged it by causing one of his Rajput servants to accept *Sinha* in a seemingly friendly manner and to cut off his

§ Mentioned as minister in grant No. 11, Pl. I. l. 7.

† Harahagisista says that the change in the ministry did not occur at once, but that *Vīśādeva*, before it happened, was rescued by the brothers from an invasion made by *Narasiṃha*, king of *Dhola*, i.e. *Tripara-Tivra*, and that he was afterwards corrupted by his uncle *Sinha*.

hand. After performing this feat the brave carried the bleeding member to Vastupāla, who displayed it in front of his palace. The mutilation of their chief roused all the Jathvā Rajputs, Simha's clansmen, and they vowed to slay the *mantri* with his family. The latter made preparations to resist both the Jethvās and the Rājā, "abandoning the hope of life." While matters were thus in a critical state, Somāvara again interposed and brought about a reconciliation. After these events the chroniclers lose sight of Visaladeva, and we hear nothing more of him than that he became, as stated above, king of Gujārāt in 1190 Vikrama. It is very probable that the reunion of all the Chaulukya possessions in his hand did not take place peaceably. Probably he ousted Tribhuvana-pāla by force of arms. Grant No. 11 proves that he took up his residence at Anhilvād. It also shows that he was not allowed to rest on his laurels, but had to defend his new possessions against numerous and various foes. Singhapala, the Yādava of Devagiri, who ruled until 1247-48 A.D.,\* had already unsuccessfully assailed Vinadhavala, as we learn from Somāvara, *Kāśī*. IV. If V. Visaladeva boasts that he "dried up the ocean of his army," that means, probably, that he successfully resisted another invasion. The ruler of Mālava was one of the hereditary foes of Gujārāt, who probably tried another invasion. Vinadhava's contemporary in Mālava was Pāryamallā†. The king of Medapāta appears for the first time in this grant as

an enemy of the Solankis. Medapāta is the Sanskrit form of Mervād. The word means etymologically 'the country of the Medas,' the Mēras of modern times, who still inhabit the Aravalī hills, on the boundary of Mervād. Perhaps the Tejani mentioned in the Ahrī inscription, which gives the pedigree of the Solankis down to 1255-56, was the opponent alluded to. Another interesting fact recorded in our grant is that Visaladeva was the maternal grandfather of the king of the Kachh country. I suppose the latter must have been one of the Dāllādas Yādavas of Dākakasa-mandira. Our grant is dated in 1317 Vikrama, or 1260-61 A.D., and this agrees with the statement of Merutunga in the *Vichitravārt* that Visaladeva reigned until 1318 Vikrama, 1261-62 A.D. According to the same authority his three successors ruled as follows:—

Arjunadeva 1318 to 1331 V. = 1261-62 to 1274-75 A.D.

Śāringadeva 1331 to 1353 V. = 1274-75 to 1296-97 A.D.

Karṇaghele 1353 to 1360 — 1296-97 to 1303-4.

We have inscriptions of Arjunadeva at Somnātha Pāthana dated 1261 Vikrama, and in Kachh dated 1328 Vikrama, or 1271-72 A.D. and of Śāringadeva in the temple of Vastupāla at Ahrī, dated 1291 V. These dates agree, therefore, with Merutunga's statement. The final annexation of Gujārāt by the Muhammadans in 1394 is well known.

No. 1.

Plate I.

- (<sup>1</sup>) ९ राजवलीपुर्जम् ॥ राजवंत इव विमलभयपक्षः । कमलपानिनि-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) व विततकमलाश्रयः । विगुरिव विक्रमाकानभूतलः । चम्बक इव विहितान्-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) लान्धपः । शतमस इव विदुषानंदजमकः । कल्पपृष्ठ इव वाञ्छितार्थफलपा\*  
 (<sup>4</sup>) दः । मेकरिव सन्वेदा मध्यस्थः । नौवधिरिव बहुसन्वाश्रयः । जलद इव सश्वसन्वा-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) नुकपी । सुगैरादिप इव सदा दानतोषादौकृतकरः । चौकफिकान्वयो महारा-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) जाधिराजश्रीमूलराजः । महाराजाधिराजश्रीराजसुतः । निजभुजोपातितसारस्व-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) तमण्डलो श्रीमोडेरकीयाद्रीष्टवेषु कम्बोजकायामे समस्तराजपुष्पान वास-

\* See Fleet, *Jour. As. Soc. Ind.* vol. XLI p. 8.

† Prinsep, *Remains*, vol. II p. 252.

‡ See also *As. Res.* vol. XVI p. 292, where inscription X. gives the *visaladeva* of the Solankis of Udepur, or Medapāta. The word occurs frequently in Jauns books, in the same form above.

§ *Parbes, Rd. M. A.*, vol. I p. 276.

¶ *Atankarān K. Drivedi, Kachhadeino Itihas*, p. 12.

‡ Measurements 7 inches by 10 inches. Characters ancient Kavyalla Devanagari. Preservation good. This photograph made after painting the plates in black and white.

§ L. A, the letters on the plate look like 'जननः', but, I think, only because the right vertical stroke of the 'क' has been obliterated. Read इक्षुः L. A, date Anandavāra over 57.

- (<sup>8</sup>) गोत्तरान् तन्निवासिजनपदांश्च बोधयस्सु वः संविदितं । यथा । श्रीमदणहिलपाट-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) कस्यानाशस्यितैरस्याभिः सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि श्रीस्यलके प्राचीसरस्वतीकारिणि  
 (<sup>10</sup>) [ज्ञाना] तृदशपति रुद्रमहालपदेवमभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां निधिम् नलिनीदल-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) गतजललवतरल प्राणितत्त्वमाकलयं । अदृष्टकलमंगीकृत्य च । अतापित्रोरात्मन-

## Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) अ पुण्यपद्मोभिर्बुद्धये । उपरिलिखितप्रामोयं स्वसीमापर्यन्तः स्वकाष्ठनृणोदकोपे-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) तः स्वगोचरसहितः सदण्डदशापराधो कर्त्तव्यये मण्डल्यां स्यापितश्रीमूलनाथदे-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) वाय शासननोदकपुर्व्वमस्माभिः पदतः । इति मन्वा । तन्निवासिजनपदियथादीप-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) मामभागाभोगकरहिरुपादि सर्वमाताश्रयणविषेर्भूत्वा सर्वदाऽस्यै समुपने-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) तव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुधाऽस्मदंशैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मद्वत्तय-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) र्मदायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । पतिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्व-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) गो तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता धानुमंता च तान्येव नरेक वसेत् ॥ बहुभिर्बुधैः पुत्रा भुक्त्वा राज-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) भिः सगरादिभिः । पश्यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ पानीह दन्तनि पुरा नरे-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) द्वैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्त्यपशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवा[नप्रति]मानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराद-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) दीत ॥ लिखितमिदं शासनं कायस्य मेरु- सुतकांथनेति ॥ ७ ॥ समत् १०४२  
 (<sup>11</sup>) माघ वदि १५ रवौ श्रीमूलराजस्य ॥

## No. 1.—Translation.

Om ! First the pedigree of the king.†

He who resembles a royal swan, since both sides (of his family, *paksha*) are spotless, just as both wings (*paksha*) of the bird,—who resembles Brahmā, since he is the abode of great prosperity (*kamalāśraya*), just as the god reclines on a large lotus (*kamalāśraya*),—who resembles Vishnu, since he has conquered the earth by his prowess (*vikramākrāntabhāta*), just as the god measured the earth with one step (*vikramākrāntabhāta*),—who resembles Tryambaka, since he took up his residence on a mountain, just as the god dwells on Mount (*Kailāsa*)‡,—who resembles Indra, since he gladdens wise men (*śibudha*), just as the god gladdens the wise deities (*śibudha*),—who resembles the tree of paradise, since he fulfils the desires (of his dependents),—who resembles Mount Meru, since he is always impartial (*madhyastha*), just as the mountain always stands in the centre (of the universe, *madhyastha*),—who resembles the ocean, since he is the abode of great courage

(*sattatraya*), just as the sea is the abode of many creatures (*sattatraya*),—who resembles a cloud, as he takes compassion on all beings,—who resembles the elephant of the king of the gods, since his hand is always moist with libations (poured out in confirmation) of gifts (*dānatrayādrīkṛitakara*), just as the trunk of Airāvata is always moist with the ichor (flowing from his temples, *dānatrayādrīkṛitakara*),—the king of kings, the illustrious Mālarāja, the son of the king of kings the illustrious Rājā,—who belongs to the Chetukika family,—who has conquered with his own arm the province watered by the Sarasvatī, (thus) addresses all royal servants, and all people, Brahmans and others, dwelling in the *Aradhāstama* of Moḍhara, in the village of Kamboikā ॥

Is it known to you that, while residing in (my) capital, the famous Avahilapātaka, after having bathed on the day of an eclipse of the sun at Śrīsthalaka in the water of the eastern Sarasvatī, having worshipped the lord of the gods, the deity of the Rudramahā-

\* L. 8, the sign under म in मयन् looks like a व; but I think it is intended for the Vedic. L. 10, read विद्वत्पति.  
 L. 11, read वरुण; dele Anurādra over व; read अदृष्ट.

† L. 8, dele Anurādra over व. L. 8, read वरुण. L. 7, read पुण्य. L. 10, read कांथनेन.

‡ I take *śrīśailaśraya* as a compound. It is probably

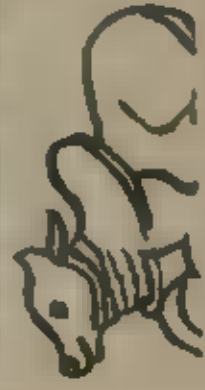
a translation of the Gujarati phrase राजावसी वेहल. Similarly Marāṭha uses वरुण, a literal translation of Gujarati वरुण वेहल, instead of वरुणाव.

§ Regarding the explanation of the allusion see above.

¶ Now Kamboi, situated north-west of Moḍhara, in the Gujarati Uthar Mahā.



८ राजावली प्रवृत्तः। राहुं सः सः विमलः पयः। कमलया निरि  
 वरितकमलाश्रयः। विष्णुनिव विक्कमाक्रान्तुतलः। शुक्लः व विहितिः।  
 लाश्रयः। शतमखः ०० व विष्णु नंदनः। कल्प पृष्ठः ०० व वीकिताहु हृतप्र  
 दः। मेरुनिव सर्वदा मयः। सुः। लायति सिद्धयः। यः। दातः ०० त प्रवृत्तः।  
 नुर्कपी। सुतं द्विपः ०० व स दयनताया। द्वा द्वीपत कः। लोभु किं कौ नृप्या मदाश  
 दा विराड्। शी मलराडः। मलराडा विराड्। शी राडि सुतः। निड दुडा पाडि तः। रश्मि  
 त मलरौ शी। लाट चकीया। द्वा मयु कः। ला ०० का शा म म म म ग डा पु रु षा नृ शा नि  
 लोत्र ग नृ त त्रि वा मि ड न प दं। शरा ए य ट सु वः ०० विदिनः। यथा। शी म द ल हित घाट  
 क यूना वः। मि ति र श्मा दिः ०० म य ग रु ल प र्वे। मि शी म्बु ल कः। प्रा वी म य म्बु ती वा रि  
 । वृ द श प ति र क ड म ल ल य द व म हृ त्तु सं। आ र श्मा सा र ती वि सिं श न ति नो द ल  
 रा क ड ल ल व त र ल श लित शृ ना क ल यः। अ ट छ रु त र म पी त य रा म ल। यि त्वा रा म न





laya,† having pondered on the worthlessness of the world, having considered that life is unstable as a drop of water lying on a lotus-leaf, and fully understood the rewards of spiritual merit, I have given, confirming the gift by an edict and a libation of water, for the increase of my own and my parents' merit and fame, the above-mentioned village up to its boundaries, together with its wood, grass, and water, together with the right of pasturing cattle, and with the right of (indistinct) fines and (deciding) cases arising out of the ten flaws, to the illustrious Mālanāthadava,\* that is established at Māndhal, in the Varddhī zilla.† Knowing this, the people

dwelling there shall obediently give to this (deity) everything according to custom, viz. the share of produce, taxes, gold, and the like; and future kings, whether they belong to our family or be strangers, knowing that the reward for the merit acquired by such (gifts of land) is common (to all kings), should agree to and protect this our religious gift. Wherefore the divine Vyāsa has declared. . . . . This grant has been written by Kāñchapa, the son of Kāyastha, Jr. . . . . Samvat 1043, on the 15th day of the dark half of Māgha, on a Sunday. (The signature) of the illustrious Mālarāja.

No. 21

Plate I.

- (<sup>1</sup>) ९ विक्रम समत् १०८९ कार्तिक शुदि १५ मदेह श्रीमदनहिल-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) पादके समस्तराजवलीविशजितमहाराजाधिपजभीधी-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) मदेहः स्वभुव्यमानकच्छमंडलांत मातिघडहिकादादश-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) के ममूरधामे समस्तराजपुरुषान् नाक्षणेनरोस्तेषिवा-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) सितनपदीश्व वीधयस्तु वः संविदितं यथा अद्य कार्ति-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) कीर्णणि भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य कच्छमंडलमध्यव-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) तिनवणीसकस्थाननिर्गताय भाचार्यमंगलशिवमुता-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) य भद्वारक मानपालाय सरिरण्यभागः सदंडदसापराधः  
 (<sup>9</sup>) सर्वोदायसमेत उपरिलिखितममूरधामः शासनेनोद-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) कपूर्वैश्वर्याभिः प्रदत्तो यस्य पूर्वस्या दिशि घडहिकाया-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) मो दक्षिणस्यां ऐकपिकामामः पश्चिमायां भरवदिकामाम  
 (<sup>12</sup>) उत्तरस्यां प्रत्तरिकामाम इति चतुष्टयाटोप-

Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) लखितं ममूरधामं मत्वा तस्मिन्नातिभिर्पयादीय-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) मानभागभोगादि सर्वं सर्वदा आतामकण-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) विपैर्भूताऽमै मानपालाय समुपनेतव्यं सामा-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) म्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्ध्याऽऽर्द्धमनैरन्येऽपि भाविनो-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) कृभिरस्मपदत्तधामेदासोपमनुमंतव्यः पाल-

† This is apparently the synonym of the modern name of Mālarāja's temple at Buddhapura, Hudeesāh. It means 'the palace of Bodhi, i.e. Jeta'.

\* At a late visit to Māndhal I inquired to learn for any trace of this now famous temple, and the monastery attached to it, which occurs so frequently in the grants. Nobody had ever heard that such a temple had existed. An ingenious eschewer of all but at last suggested that the temple might have stood near a well called Māndhal-ka, about two miles east of Māndhal, and that Māndhal might be a corruption of Mālarāja. I should say that it cannot 'breakish'. I believe that the temple stood on the south side of the village, where many sculptured stones lie about.

† Varddhī is a synonym of Vardhī, the ancient and also

modern name of the country adjacent to the Rao of Kachh from Bādhapur to Jamkhorā. The word Vardhī represents Sanskrit Vardhīśvara, not Vardhī.

‡ Measurements of the plates 9 inches by 7 inches. Characters modern Brāhmanical Devanagari, frequently mixed with the ancient forms of *da, va, da, dha, bha, oya*. Preservation good. Transcript, made under my supervision, by Nābhayya Shettri.

§ L. 8, read 'देसापराधः'. L. 10, read 'माकटाः'. L. 11,

'वद्वि' is Sanskrit doubtful.

¶ L. 4, read 'बुद्धाम' L. 5, read 'स्वमर'.

- (<sup>6</sup>) नीयश्च उक्तं च भगवता ज्यसेन वष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि\*  
 (<sup>7</sup>) स्वर्गो तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमता च तान्ये-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) व नरकं वसेत् लिखितमिदं कापिलकाचनमुते[न]  
 (<sup>9</sup>) नृपेशेण दूतकोऽथ महाताधिक्रियहिकश्रीचंद्र-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) शर्मा इति मंगल महाश्रीः श्रीभीमदेवस्य  
 (<sup>11</sup>) स्वरजी स्यापीत

## No. 2.—Abstract.

I. *Preamble*.—In Saurvat 1086 Vikrama, on the 15th day of the bright half of Kārttika, the king of kings, Bhīmādēva, who resides in Anahilapāṭaka, addresses all officials and inhabitants of Masūra, situated in the *Dvādśa* of Ghaḍaḥadikā, in the province of Kachha, and announces the following grant:—

II. *Grantee*.—Bhaṭṭāraka Ajapāla,† son of Achārya Mangalaśiva, an emigrant from Navagāsaka, situated in Kachha.

III. *Object granted*.—The village of Masūra,‡ bounded—

- (a) East by the village of Ghaḍaḥadikā,  
 (b) South by the village of Aikayikā,  
 (c) West by the village of Dharavādikā,  
 (d) North by the village of Prajharikā.

IV. *Officials*.—Writer of the grant: Vateśvara, son of Kānchana,§ a Kāyastha. Dātaka: the minister of peace and war, Chandraśarma.

## No. 3.]

## Plate I.

- (<sup>1</sup>) ॥ स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्वकस्तमस्वरानावली[विश]जितपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) मूलराजदेवपादानुप्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीचापुंडराजदेवपादानुप्यातपर-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) ममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीदुर्लभराजदेवपादानुप्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराज-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) परमेश्वरश्रीभीमदेवपादानुप्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीलोक्यमलश्रीकर्ण-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) देवपादानुप्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरान्तीनायात्रिभुवनगंडवर्कजिष्णुसिद्धच-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) कर्तव्यश्रीजयसिंहदेवपादानुप्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरउमापतिवरलब्धप्र-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) सादमौढमतापस्वभुजविक्रमरणगणविनिर्जितसाकंमरुमूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादा-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) नुप्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरप्रबलबाहुदंढदंढकंदर्पकंदर्प- ॥  
 (<sup>9</sup>) कलिकालनिष्कलंकावतारितरामराज्यकरदीकृतसपादलक्ष्मपालश्रीजयपालदेव-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) पादानुप्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरहवराभूतदुर्जयमर्जनकाधिरा-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) जश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुप्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरामिनवसिद्धराज-  
 (<sup>12</sup>) श्रीभीमदेवः स्वभुजमानगंभूतापयकान्तःपातिनः समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तभि-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) युकाधिकारिणो जनपदांश्च बोधयमस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमद्विष्णुदिशोत्पादितसं-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) न्तरक्षेत्रेषु दादस्तु तृषष्टि उत्तरेषु लौ० श्रावणमासशुक्लपक्षद्वितीयायां रविवारेऽज्ञाकतो-

\* L. 6, read वष्टि 'सहस्राणि'. L. 8, read नरके. L. 11. The letters in this line are modern and a later addition. I think the sentence is a note referring to the painting of the plate with the Vāsi in whose possession it was found, and it means "Saurj, i.e. Sūrj, the priest or Brahman, has deposited it (in my house)."

† Descendants of this Bhaṭṭāraka exist to this day in Kachh, as Mr. D. Khakar informs me.

‡ Neither this nor any of the other villages mentioned can be traced on the map.

§ See grant No. 1.

§ Measurements 11 inches by 12½. Characters Jaṇa-Devanāgarī. Preservation good. The plates had been heated, to remove the rust, before coming into my hands. Transcripts of this and following grants made, under my own and Vāmanacharya Jhalakar's supervision, by Kāṭyāyana Chhetri. Mistakes in Sandhi occurring in this and the other plates have not been corrected in the text, as they are too numerous.

¶ L. 8, read कंदर्प. L. 12, perhaps 'मार्गमुत्पन्न' or 'भूय'; letters half destroyed. L. 14, read विष्णु.



- (<sup>15</sup>) पि संवत्[१३]६२ श्रावण शुदि २ रवावस्थां संवत्समासपक्षवारपूर्विकायां विधावहे श्रीमद-  
 (<sup>16</sup>) [गहिलपाट]केऽदौव व्यतीपातपार्वणि ज्ञात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भगवतीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसा-  
 (<sup>17</sup>) रासारतां विचित्र नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाकलयौ हे कर्माभुक्तिं  
 (<sup>18</sup>) च कलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये इंदिलायामः स्वसीमापर्वन्तः स-  
 (<sup>19</sup>) वृक्षमालाकुलः सहिरण्यभागभोगः सदैवदशाश्वराधः काष्ठतृणोदकोपेतः सर्वदा-

## Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) यत्तमेतः पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवदायनक्षदायवर्जं चाहु०राण० समरसीहसुताराजीश्रीलीला-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) देव्या करीराममालकतरिग्रामपौरंतराले निष्पादितलीलापुरे कारितजीभीमेश्वर-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) देवश्रीलीलेश्वरदेवप्रपासत्रागारेभ्यः शासनोदकपूर्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तः ॥ यामस्या-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) स्थाघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्वस्यां दिशि देउलवाडाग्रामसीमा । दक्षिणस्यां दिशि कान्हरीग्रामसीमा । प-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) श्चिमायां दिशि शेषदेवतिग्रामसीमा । उत्तरस्यां दिशि घारीयावलिग्रामसीमा ॥ एवममी-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) भिराघाटैरुपलक्षितं याममेनमकाम्य सन्निवासिजनपदैर्यथादीपमानभागभो-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) गकरहिरण्यादि सर्वैः सर्वदाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा एभ्यः श्रीभीमेश्वरदेवश्रीलीले-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) श्वरदेवप्रपासत्रागारेभ्यः समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं मत्वाऽस्मदंशजैर-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) न्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोऽयमनुमेतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च भग-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) वता न्यासेन ॥ षष्ठि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥ आच्छेत्ता चानुमेता च तान्येव न-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) रके वसेत् १ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नष्टैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयज्ञास्कराणि । निर्मात्यवा-  
 (<sup>12</sup>) निप्रविमानि तानि कीं नाम साधुः पुनरुददीत । २ [स्वदत्तां य]रदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरां ।  
 (<sup>13</sup>) स विद्यायां कृमिर्भूत्वा [पितृभिः सह ममति] । ३ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः समरादि-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) भिः । यस्ययस्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ ४ दत्ता भूमिं भाविनः पार्थिवेदान् भूयो-  
 (<sup>15</sup>) भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं दानधर्म्मो नृपाणां स्वस्वे काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।  
 (<sup>16</sup>) लिखितमिदं शासनं कापस्थान्दयप्रसूतमहाक्षपटलिक उ० श्रीकुमरमुत्त उ० बंसरिणा  
 (<sup>17</sup>) दूतकोऽव महातांभिविग्रहिक उ० श्रीमू- इति  
 श्रीभीमदेवस्य ॥

## No. 3.—Abstract.

1. Preamble.—(a) *Vamśāvali*.<sup>2</sup>

1. Mūlarāja I.

2. Chāmunḍarāja.

3. Durābhārāja.

4. Bhīmadeva I.

5. Karṇadeva, Trailokyamalla.

6. Jayasīmbhadeva, conqueror of the  
 lord of Avantī, of Tribhuvanagaṇḍa  
 and of Varavarka, wheel-king of the Sid-  
 dhas.

\* L. 15, the first two figures of the date १३ have been  
 destroyed. L. 15, read "पर्वणि." L. 17, read "कर्माभुक्तिं."  
 L. 19, read "काष्ठ".

† L. 10, read "सहस्राणि." L. 11, read "निर्मात्यवा". L.  
 12, read "तपतिवति";—वसुधरां. L. 17. The १३ at the

7. Kumārapāladēva, conqueror in  
 battle of the king of Śākambharī.

8. Ajayapāladēva, the ardent devotee of  
 Śiva, who made the Sapādalaksha king  
 tributary.

9. Mūlarāja II., who conquered the ruler  
 of the Garjjanakas in battle.

10. Bhīmadeva, a second Siddharāja.

(b) Bhīmadeva, who ruled at Anahilla-  
 pātaka, addresses the officials and inhab-  
 itants of the Agambhūtā or Gambhūtā

end of this and Bhīma's other inscriptions shows the  
 ancient forms of the letters ३३.

1 All the kings mentioned receive in this and the following  
 grants the titles mahāvajīradhīrāja paramakṛpā, and para-  
 mahāśīrīṣṭa, and various other epithets, which declare  
 them to be possessed of high virtues and worshippers of  
 Śiva.

Pathaka, dating on Sunday, the second day of the bright half of Śrāvama, 1263 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. *Object granted.*—The village of Indilā, bounded—

- (a) East by the village of Deūlavādā,
- (b) South by the village of Kālhari,§
- (c) West by the village of Śeṣadevatī,
- (d) North by the village of Ghāriyāvali.

III. *Grantee.*—The temple of Bhimeśvara and Lileśvara, built by queen Lila-

devī, daughter of Rāṇā Samarasimha, Chahumāna, at Lilāpura, between the villages of Karirā and Mālakatari, to the drinking-fountain and almshouse (situated in the same place).

IV. *Officers.*—Writer of the grant: Mohā-kṣapatahika, i.e. the chief registrar Thakur Vosarin,|| son of Thakur Kumāra, a Kāyastha.

2. Dūtaka: the minister of peace and war Thakur Sūdhā (V).

No. 4. ¶

Plate I.

- (<sup>1</sup>) णं । स्वस्ति रामावलीपूर्वम् समस्तणमावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम--महारा-  
रक ] उमापतिवरलब्ध-
- (<sup>2</sup>) प्रसादप्रौढप्रतापादिबचौलुक्पकुल[कमल] ---- नानेकसंघामने ---- श्रीम-मूलराजदेवपादानु-  
ध्यातमहारा-
- (<sup>3</sup>) आधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहाराक उमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्राप्तारण्य लक्ष्मीस्वयंवरश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादा-  
नुध्यातम-
- (<sup>4</sup>) शाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहाराक उमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादसंपादितारण्यलक्ष्मीस्वयंवर -----  
श्री-
- (<sup>5</sup>) वलमहाराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहाराक उमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्रौढप्रतापा --  
---- तश्रीदुर्ल-
- (<sup>6</sup>) भराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहाराक उमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्रौढप्रतापकिमि- ¶  
रारि-
- (<sup>7</sup>) राजभीमश्रीमद्वीरदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहाराक उमापतिवरलब्धप्रसाद [ प्रा-  
परा- ]
- (<sup>8</sup>) अलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरकामिनीकंदर्पत्रिलोक्यमलश्रीकर्णदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमम-  
हाराक उमा-
- (<sup>9</sup>) पतिवरलब्धप्रसादावापराअलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरमहाराकप्रतापमार्तंडचौलुक्पकुल[ल]तिलकात्रिभुवनगंडदम्बर-  
[क]त्रिष्णु-
- (<sup>10</sup>) मर्वतीनायसिद्धचक्रवर्तिश्रीमज्जयसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराज[परमे]श्वरपरममहाराक उमा-  
पतिव-
- (<sup>11</sup>) रलब्धप्रसादसंपादितारण्यलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरमहाराकप्रतापभास्वानुचौलुक्पकुलकल्पद्रुमविचारचतुरानत-  
रणांगणवि-
- (<sup>12</sup>) निर्मितसाकम्भरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहाराक उमा-  
तिवर-

§ Probably Kāiri, on the road from Viramgām to Pāṇam.

¶ Perhaps a mistake for Kāstria.

¶ Measurements 14 inches by 15 inches. Characters

Jaina Devanāgarī. Plates badly damaged by rust, and by attempts to clean them by exposure to heat.

¶ L. 6, the last three letters are doubtful. L. 13, read भस्वान्. L. 12, read शाकम्भरी.

- (<sup>12</sup>) लब्धप्रसादपौढप्रतापादिलकलिकालनिष्कलंकवतारितरामरान्यवासा ऽ जापालश्रीमजयपालदेव-  
पादानुध्यात-
- (<sup>13</sup>) महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादपौढप्रतापनालार्कआहवपराभूतदुर्जन-  
परावर्जनका-
- (<sup>14</sup>) धिराजश्रीमूलरानेदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराज[परमेश्वर]परमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसाद-  
----- ना-
- (<sup>15</sup>) रायणावतारश्रीभीमदेवतदनंतरं स्थाने महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्र-  
साद-
- (<sup>16</sup>) संपादितराज्यलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरमहाप्रतापमार्तंडचौलुक्यकुलकल्पवलीविस्तारणदीप्तसदुःसमयजल-
- (<sup>17</sup>) धिजलमयमेदिनीमंडलोदरणमहावराहदुर्दैवदागामलनिर्दग्धगूर्जरधराजीनपरैहैकपदमन्यएकांग-
- वरिष्ठा-
- (<sup>18</sup>) दिसमस्तविरदानलीसमुपेतश्रीमदणहिलपुरराजधानीआभिष्टितअभिनवसिद्धराजश्रीमन्जयंतसिंहदेवो
- (<sup>19</sup>) बर्हिपथकेगंभूतापथके घनस्मिपुक्तविषयाधिकारिणो नोभयव्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ अस्यां  
तियौ संकसरमास-
- (<sup>20</sup>) पक्षारपुक्तायां गतसंकसरदादशवर्षातेषु अशीत्युत्तरेषु पौषमासे शूद्रपक्षे तृतीयायां तियौ भौमवार
- (<sup>21</sup>) संजातउत्तरागतसूर्यसंक्रमणदिने अंकतोऽपि सम्यत् १२८० वर्षे पीप शुद्धि ३ भौमेऽहोर् संजात-  
[उत्त] राजय-

## Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) नवर्षेण स्नाना शुचिभूत्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भगानीपतिमध्यर्धं संसारासारतां वीक्ष्य नलिनी-  
दलगत-
- (<sup>2</sup>) जललवतरलसरं प्राणितम्यमाकलिन्य ऐहिकाभुषिकं च फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्म[नश्च पुण्ययशो]  
भिरुद-
- (<sup>3</sup>) ये पूर्वपुरुषाणां स्वर्गोत्थितये बर्हिपथके सांपावाढायामः पूर्व पलमानदेवदायव्रजदायवर्जं तथागं  
भूतापथके शेष-
- (<sup>4</sup>) देवतिग्राममभ्यात् डोटियापाटकसत्कभूमिखंड १ उभयमेतत् पुर्वस्वदेवदायव्रजदायवर्जितं  
अस्यामेव भू-
- (<sup>5</sup>) नौ सौलुं राणकभाना उ० लूणपसाकेन स्तीयमातृसलक्षणदेविनायके कारितसलक्षणपूरे  
श्री[आन]लेश्वरदे-
- (<sup>6</sup>) कशीसलक्षणे श्वरदेवाभ्यां शासनोदकपूर्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तं ॥ सांपावाढायामस्याघाता यथा ॥ पूर्वस्यां  
भट्टाश्री-
- (<sup>7</sup>) शेषदेवतभूमौ सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां फीचडीयामहांसलपुरग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमस्यां  
----- दे-ऊ-
- (<sup>8</sup>) ग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । उत्तरस्यां राणेलोयग्रामस्थोभिलग्रामद० आधीवाढायामाणां भट्टाश्रीशेष-  
देवतभूमौ च
- (<sup>9</sup>) सीमा । तथा डोटियापाटकभूमिखंडैकस्याघाताः ॥ पूर्वस्यां इटिलाग्रामकाल्हराग्रामगहचरपा-  
याणां सीमायां

\* L. 16, read श्रीमजयदेव. L. 17, दीनपुद्ग. L. 18, <sup>०</sup>बोरे  
indistinct. L. 19, read विरदा. L. 20, read च तथि.

† L. 1, बोरे indistinct. L. 2, read <sup>०</sup>मोकलय. L. 3,  
read बर्हि. L. 6, read देवी. L. 8, मट्ट indistinct.





- (a) East by the land of Śeṣhadevata,  
 (b) South by the villages of Phimchadi  
 and Hāmśalapura,  
 (c) West by  
 (d) North by the villages of Bānoloya,  
 Khāmbhila, † Ādhivādā, and the land of  
 Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Śeṣhadevata.  
 (2) A piece of land in Śeṣhadevati, in the  
 Gambhūtā or Agambhūtā Pāṭhaka,  
 bounded—

- (a) East by the villages of Itilā Kāi-  
 har and Vahichara.\*  
 (b) South by the village of Phimchadi.  
 (c) West by the land of Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī  
 Śeṣhadevata.  
 (d) North by Dodhiyāpaka.  
 III. *Grantee*.—The (temples of) Ānalaś-  
 vara and Salakhaṇṣvara, built by  
 Solunki Kāṇā Anio Lūpaṇṣaka for the  
 spiritual benefit of his mother Salakhaṇ-  
 derī in Salakhaṇapura.

No. 5†

Plate I.

- (1) । ५ । स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्ववत्तमस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-  
 (2) श्वपरममहाराकचौलुक्पकुलकमलिनीविकासनै[कमार्तदन्त्री]मूलराज-  
 (3) देवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहारा[क]श्रीचामुंड[राज]-  
 (4) [देव]पादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहाराकश्रीविलभ[राज]-  
 (5) [देव]पादानुध्यातमहाराजा[धि]राज[पर]मे[श्वर]परममहाराकश्रीदुर्लभरा[ज]-  
 (6) [दे]वपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहाराकश्रीमडी[मदेव]-  
 (7) पादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहाराकचौलुक्पकुलकमलिनीविकास-  
 (8) देवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरममहाराकमहाराजाधिराज अवन्तीनाथवर्वरक-  
 (9) जिष्णुसिद्धचक्रवर्तिश्रीमज्जयसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपर[मे]-  
 (10) श्वपरममहाराकपरममहेश्वरश्रीम-कुमागपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहारा-  
 (11) जाधिराज[पर]मेश्वरपरममहाराकहेलाकरदीकृतसपादलसम्भापाल-  
 (12) श्रीअजयदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरममहाराकमलेच्छतमोनिचयच्छभ[मही]-  
 (13) वलयपद्मोत्तमनालकर्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजा-  
 (14) धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहाराक[अभिनव]निदराजसममचक्रवर्तिश्रीमद्वीरद-  
 (15) कः स्वमुख्यमानचालीसापयकांतरीतनः समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्रा[ह्मणान्]रास्तानि-  
 (16) युक्ताधिकारिणो जनपदांश्च नोदय[यस्तु] कः संबिदितं पथा ॥ श्रीमद्विक्रमादि-

Plate II.

द्वितीयम् २.

- (1) [श्री]यादितसंस्तरशतेषु द्वादशसु वि[श]शीति उत्तरेषु लौकिक[ककार्त्तिकपूर्ण]मायां गुरुवा-  
 (2) रेऽर्वाकतोपि संवत् १२८३ वैश्वे लौकिक[ककार्त्तिक] शुदि १५ गुराव[देह]श्रीमदणहिलपा-  
 (3) टकेऽस्यां संस्तरमासपक्षपूर्विकायां त्रिंशो म्नावा चराचरगुण भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संता-  
 (4) रासागतां विचिंत्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाकलित्य ऐहिकाः[मुनि]।  
 (5) कं च कलमंगीकुल पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुष्पपद्मोभिर्द्वये नवाउलीयामः स्वसीमाप[र्वन्तः] स-

† See below, note 11 to abstract of No. 6, p. 203.

‡ Probably Kamhey of the Quarter-Master General's map, on the borders of the Gairvādī territory, east of Manjpur, in the Rājshahī state.

\* Probably Kāñi and Bhaṭṭāraka, on the road from Vīrma-  
 gū to Phāsa.

† Measurements 9½ inches by 11½ inches. Characters Jaṇa-Devanāgarī. Preservation good, a few patches pooled off.

‡ L. 15, read रवि.

§ L. 4, read वाकनप.

- (<sup>6</sup>) वृक्षमालाकुलकाष्टतृणोदकोपेतसहिरण्यभागभोगसदंकोदशापरः सर्व[दाने]॥  
 (<sup>7</sup>) समेतो नवनिधानसहित पूर्वप्रदत्तेदेवदायन्नदायवर्ज मंदव्या श्रीमूलेश्वरदेवा-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) य निरूपयार्थं तथा मठस्य नेत्यतपोधनानां भोजनार्थं च स्थानपतिः वेदगर्भराशेः शस-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) नोदकपूर्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तः ॥ यामस्यास्य आघाटा यया पूर्वस्यां ओकरा - अवया - - - - -  
 (<sup>10</sup>) यामयोः सीमायां सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां अवयाणिजचुयांतिजयामयोः सीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमा-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) यां वडसरतलपदभूमिसीमायां सीमा । उत्तरतश्च ओकरालयामसीमासंलघवडसर[सी]मा-  
 (<sup>12</sup>) [यां] सीमा । एवममीभिराघाटैरुपलक्षितं याममेनमवगम्य तन्निवासिभिर्जनपदैर्यथादी-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) यमानदानीभोगप्रभृतिकं सदाज्ञाश्रव[णविधेयै]र्भूत्वा अमुष्मै भट्टारकाय समुप[नि]त-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) [उप] सामान्यं चैतत् पुष्पफलं मला अस्मदंशजैरन्यैरपि माविभोक्तृभिरत्यदत्त[देवदा]  
 (<sup>15</sup>) [योऽयम]मुमंतव्यः । पालनीवश्च । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो तिष्ठति  
 [भूमिदः] ।  
 (<sup>16</sup>) आछेत्ता चानुमता च तान्येव नरकं व्रजेत् ॥ अस्मदंशज - - - - -  
 (<sup>17</sup>) करभमोऽस्मि मम दत्तं न लेपयेत् ॥ लिखितमिदं शासनं कायस्थान्वयप्रभूत ठंसा-  
 (<sup>18</sup>) [ति]कुमारमुत आक्षपटलि० सोमसीहेन । दूतकोऽत्र महासाधि ठं श्रीवदुदेव इति  
 श्रीमद्वीमदेवस्य

## No. 5.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) *Vaśīṣṭīvali*.

(1) Mōlarāja I., the unique sun causing to blossom the lotus-field-like Chaulukya race.

(2) Chāmunḍarāja.

(3) Vallabharāja.

(4) Duṭṭabharāja.

(5) Bhīmadeva I.

(6) Karṇadeva, Trailokyamalla.

(7) Jayasīmhadeva, conqueror of the lord of Avantiland of Varvaraka, wheel-king of the Siddhas.

(8) Kumārāpāladeva, the ardent devotee of Śiva.

(9) Ajayadeva, who made the Śāpā-dakṣha king tributary.

(10) Mūlarāja II., who conquered the ruler of the Garjjana, a morning son illuminating the earth.

(11) Bhīmadeva II., a new Siddharāja, the seventh wheel-king.

(b) Bhīmadeva II., who resides in Aṇa-hillapāṭaka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Chālīśā Pāṭhaka, on

Thursday, the 15th of the bright half of Śrāvapa, 1283 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. Object granted.—The village of Natāvali, bounded—

(a) To the east by Omkara.....and Avayā.....

(b) To the south by the villages of Avayāpīja and Chayāntīja,

(c) To the west by the Talapada land of Vajāsara,

(d) To the north by the villages of Omkara and Vajāsara.

III. Grantee.—The temple of Mōleśvara (at Māṇḍal), and the ascetics of the monastery attached thereto, for daily worship and maintenance, the Sthānapati Vedagarbhārāśi, (the superior of the Māṇḍal monastery) being the trustee.

IV. Officials.—The writer of the grant: Ākṣhapāṭalika Somasīha, son of (Sāti)kumāra, a Kāyastha. Dūtaka: the minister for peace and war, Thakura Vahudeva.

¶ L. 6, read 'काष्ठ'; 'पेतः', भोगः 'वर्द्धद'. L. 7, read सहितः; 'वर्ज'. L. 8, read 'नित्यं तः' 'पदे'. L. 16, read 'वर्षः' सहस्राणि; तिष्ठति.

No. 6.\*

Plate I.

- (<sup>1</sup>) ॥ स्वस्ति राजावली पूर्ववत्समस्त राजवली विराजित महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर परमेश्वरक चौलुक्यकु-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) लकमलविकासनैकमातदैश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादानु-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) ध्यातमहाराजाधिराजश्रीवलभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजश्रीदुर्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातम-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) हाराजाधिराजश्रीभीमदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजश्रीलोक्यमलश्रीकर्णदेवपादानुध्यातमहा-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रकविंतीनायविभुवमंगलवर्कराजिष्णुसिद्धचक्रवर्तिश्रीज-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) षसिहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रकस्वभुजविक्रमराणांगविनिर्जित-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) शाकंम[री]भूपालश्रीकृमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रकस्वहाराजाधिराजपरममोहे-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) श्वरहेलाकरदीकृतसपादलसत्मापालश्रीजयपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजहवपराभूत-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) दुर्जयगर्जनकाधिराजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रकाधि-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) नवसिद्धराजसप्तमचक्रवर्तिश्रीनहीमदेव स्वभुव्यमानवर्द्धिपयकांतवर्त्तेनः समस्त राजपुरुषान्  
 (<sup>11</sup>) ब्राह्मणोन्तरास्तन्निष्पत्ताधिकारिणो जनपदांश्च बोधयस्सु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ श्रीमत्त्विक्रमादि-  
 न्योन्या-  
 (<sup>12</sup>) दितसंवत्सरशतेषु द्वादशसु सप्ताशीत्युत्तरेषु आपादमासीयशुक्लाष्टम्यां शुक्लारेऽत्रांकतोऽपि तं-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) वत् १२८७ वर्षे आपादशुद्धि ८ शुक्लेऽस्यां संवत्सरमासपञ्चवारपूर्विकायां तिथावदोह श्रीमद-  
 णहिल  
 (<sup>14</sup>) पादके स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसारासारतां विवेच्य नलिनीदलगतजल-  
 (<sup>15</sup>) लवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाकलित्य ऐहिकामुष्मिकं फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययज्ञोऽधि-  
 (<sup>16</sup>) वृद्धये देवाग्र्यामः स्वसीमापयंत सर्वसमालाकुलकाष्ठतृणोदकोदकोपित सहिरण्यभागो-  
 (<sup>17</sup>) गसदंबो दशापराधसर्वादापसमेतो नवनिधानसहित पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवदायज्ञादायवर्जं तथा --  
 (<sup>18</sup>) मानपत्रकु --- तिपत्रमराप्रति इ १ दाणीयां पलश तथा मूलमदिल्यां --- का ---  
 मति इ १ तथा  
 (<sup>19</sup>) मूलगोडि --- प्रति इ १ भाट्टयकं प्रति इ० ॥ दाणीयां पत्रशतं ॥ उष्ट्रभरा प्रति इ १  
 दाणीयां पत्र-  
 (<sup>20</sup>) शत १ मूली --- भरा प्रति इ १ दाणीयां पत्रशत १ जलदभरा प्रति इ १ दाणीयां-  
 पत्रशत १ एवमेत-  
 (<sup>21</sup>) त् मलखणपुरे सौलुं० राणा० आनाऊ लूणापसाकेन कारितश्री जानलेश्वरदेवश्रीसलखणेश्वरदे-  
 (<sup>22</sup>) श्योर्निलनैमित्तिकादिपूजार्थं तथा मन्नागरे ब्राह्मणानां भोजनार्थं च मंडल्यां श्रीमूलेश्वरदेवम-  
 (<sup>23</sup>) ठेसस्थानपतिवदग्भैराग्ये आसनोदकपूर्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तं ॥ यामस्यास्याघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्वस्यां  
 (<sup>24</sup>) हांसलपुरग्रामसीमायां सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां क्षीचडीग्रामपाद्रे गृहाणां तन्निधौ संतिष्ठमानग्राम-  
 (<sup>25</sup>) स्यास्य सीमायां तथाहानीयाणीग्रामसीमायां च सीमा । पश्चिमपां मेढेराग्रामसीमायां सीमा ।  
 (<sup>26</sup>) उत्तरस्यां मुरयजग्रामसापासाबाग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा ॥ एवमग्निभिः राघादैरुपलक्षितं या-  
 (<sup>27</sup>) ममेनमवगम्य तन्निवातिजनपदैर्यथादीयमान[दानां]भागप्रभृतिकं सदाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वाऽ  
 (<sup>28</sup>) मुष्यै [तपोधनाय] समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत् पुण्यफलं मजाऽस्मदंशजैरन्यैरपि  
 (<sup>29</sup>) भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदापोऽयमनुमंतव्यः । पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च भगवता ज्यो-

\* Dimensions 14 inches by 15 inches. Characters Jaina-  
 Devanagari. Preservation, badly damaged.

† L. 5, dele one क्षम before महारक. L. 15, read

"नाकलप्य. L. 16, देवाङ्ग doubtful. Read पर्यंतः, काठ,  
 dele one दको. L. 17, read संदेहः, संहित. L. 24, read  
 संतिष्ठमान".

## Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) सेन ॥ अष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरकं ।  
 (<sup>2</sup>) वसेत् ॥ १ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुं धरां स विद्यायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ २ ॥  
 (<sup>3</sup>) वंघ्याटवीप्सतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्पाः प्रजायन्ते भूमिदानापहारकाः ॥ ३ बहुभिर्वसु-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) धा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्वयस्य यदा भूमी तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ ४ दत्त्वा भूमि-  
 भाविनः पापैर्धन-

- (<sup>5</sup>) दान् भूयोभूयो पाचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं दानधर्मो नृपाणां स्वेस्वे काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ ५ ॥  
 (<sup>6</sup>) लिखितमिदं शासनं कायस्थान्वयप्रसूतं तं सातिकुमारमुत महाक्षपटलिकं तं श्रीसामसिंहेन ॥  
 (<sup>7</sup>) दूतकोऽत्र महासाधि तं श्रीबहुदेव इति

श्रीभीमदेवस्य ।

- (<sup>8</sup>) तथा सलक्षण[पुरी]वास्तव्यः गणिक्यवहारिय - - - - - प्रभृति - - - - - लोकस्य - - -  
 हट्टकरण- -  
 (<sup>9</sup>) शुक्रमंडपिकाप्रौढ - - - - - आरिशतपथकेषु सलक्षणपुरीयमठ - - - - - वीतिकया काण - - - - - सं-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) श्वरतः संजातः - - - - - यथा ॥ समस्तकणानाभृतचेटिय - तिसृद्वपुणय - - - - -  
 (<sup>11</sup>) भृतचाक्यां - - - - - प्रति तथा दानी - - - - - २ २ घृततैलभृत के - - - - - तथा-  
 (<sup>12</sup>) भृतचा - - - - - क - - - - - ति तथा दाने २ ४ तथा कणचोपटभृतवाहनमध्ये - - - - -  
 (<sup>13</sup>) क ४ त - - - - - य ॥ अजम्बा मेयी आमला वेहेडा अ- - - - -  
 (<sup>14</sup>) सिका - - - - - दानं न ग्राह्यं ॥ तथा कणभृत - - - - - ६ दरदली - - - - -  
 (<sup>15</sup>) भीसेटप्रति २ २ तथा कणभृतपत्र - - - - - तथा तभृतपत्राणि - - - - -  
 (<sup>16</sup>) २ १ तथा सेहसरसत्रीपथकयोः समस्त - - - - - २ - - - - - कणभृतवेटीयावा - - - - - पतिक - - - - - स दा-  
 (<sup>17</sup>) ने २ १ तथा भृतचात्रयावा - - - - - तं प्रति तथा दाने - - - - - तथा मांजिष्ट । त्रपुक हिं ग मारं  
 प्रति वृद्धाने २ १  
 (<sup>18</sup>) पट्टसूत्र । हिंगुल । प्रवालक । श्रीखंड । कर्पूर । कस्तूरी । हंगु । कुंकुम । अगुरु । त - - - - - त ॥  
 (<sup>19</sup>) मालपत्र । जाइफल । जाइवत्री । लमसी । कापड । नालिकेर । हरडा । वेहेडा - - - - - कम्ब ॥  
 (<sup>20</sup>) खाडू । गुल । साकर । मरिच । दांत । मरुमांसि । महुवस । सवाही । कासी - - - - -

। ताज्या । का-

- (<sup>21</sup>) झालोह । वयलोह । साक्रुड । मीण । ज - - - - - चीधाहल । खब्जुर । सारिक । वस्त - - - - -

[प्र]भृति-स-

- (<sup>22</sup>) मसुकयाणकागोधुवमुत्सेन मूलकास्येदवादीप्रमाणेन पूर्णदानात् दानस्य धर्मं प्रति भु-  
 (<sup>23</sup>) कि २ अनया रीत्या दानं ग्राह्यं ॥ संजातपुरादामपट्टकस्य पथकोत्तारपरीस्यापने पट्टकं प्र-  
 (<sup>24</sup>) ति २ १६४ मार्गो । हिडियकप्रातीसारक - भिरधिकं किमपि न ग्राह्यं । राजः वीसलसत्क-  
 (<sup>25</sup>) कणाय - प्रभृतचात्रयावाहन १ वेहीयावाहन १ उपरितनरीत्या लेपायासिपायां प्रसा-  
 (<sup>26</sup>) देन भोक्तव्यं । इमां छेदपाटीं व्यतिक्रम्य यः कोऽपि वर्णसंकरं कुरुते तस्मात् छित्तिर्पाद्या ॥  
 यस्याः । स्वे - - - - - प्रमाणेन पालनीयः भोक्तव्यं च ॥

## No. 6.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) *Vashishta* agrees with No. 5 of S. 1283. Vikrama, except that the

description of Jayasimha is according to No. 3 of 1269.

(b) Bhimadeva II., who resides at



Apahillapātaka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of Vardhi Pathaka on Friday, the 8th day of the bright half of Āshāḍha of S. 1287 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. *Object granted.*—(1) The village of Devād (P) bounded—

- (a) East by the village of Hāmsalapura,
- (b) South by the villages of Phimchadi and Hāniyāni,
- (c) West by the village of Medhura,
- (d) North by the villages of Śūrayaja and Śāpāvādā.

(2) And various taxes in land and money.

III. *Grantees.*—The temples of Ānalaś-

vāra and Salakhaṇḍēvara, built by the Solanki Rāṇā and Thā(kura) Lūṇapāsaka in Salakhaṇḍapura, to defray the expenses of the temple service, and to feed Brahmans, the trustees being the superior of the monastery of Mūleśvaradeva in Maṇḍali.

IV. *Officials.*—The writer and Dūtaka are the same as in No. 5.

V. *Postscript.*—The postscript, which is considerably mutilated, apparently contains some more orders regarding dues to be paid by the Vāṇiś of Salakhaṇḍapura. I regret that I have no means of ascertaining the meaning of all the technical terms in ancient Gujarātī which it contains.

No. 7.¶

Plate I.

- (<sup>1</sup>) ॐ ॥ स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्ववन्तमस्तराजावलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभ-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) द्दरकचौलुक्यकुलकमलविकासनैकमानंदश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजा-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) धिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्दरकश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभद्द-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) रकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीवल्हभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजश्रीदुर्लभराजदेव-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) पादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभद्दरकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीभीमदेवपादानुध्यातपरम-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) श्वरपरमभद्दरकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीलोक्यमलश्रीकर्णदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधि-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) राजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्दरकावलीनायचिभुवनमंडवैरकजिष्णुसिद्धकवर्त्तनीराज-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) यसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभद्दरकमहाराजाधिराजउमापतिवरलब्धप्र-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) सादप्रभाराज्यपौंड्रप्रतापलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरस्वभुजविक्रमणोगणविनेज्जतशाकंभरीभू-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) पालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभद्दरकमहाराजाधिराजपर-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) ममाहेश्वरप्रवलनादुदंडदण्डरूपकंदर्पहेलाकरदीकृतसादलक्ष्ममापालश्री  
 (<sup>12</sup>) अजयपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्दरकाहवपराभूत-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) दुर्जयगजर्जनकाधिराजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपर-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) मभद्दरकाभिनवसिद्धराजसप्तमचक्रवर्त्तेश्रीमहीमदेवः स्वभुज्यमानवालौप-  
 (<sup>15</sup>) पयकांतवर्त्तनः समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तानियुक्ताधिकारिणो जनप-  
 (<sup>16</sup>) दांश्च बोधयस्वस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ श्रीमन्विक्रमादिन्यायादितसंवत्तरशतेषु द्वा-  
 (<sup>17</sup>) दशसु अष्टासीत्युत्तरेषु भाद्रपदमासीपञ्चमप्रतिपदायां सोमवारेऽत्रांकतोपि  
 (<sup>18</sup>) संवत् १२८८ वर्षे भाद्रवाशुदि १ सोमोऽस्यां संवत्तरमातपक्षवारपूर्विकायां तिथि-  
 (<sup>19</sup>) वदोह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके स्नात्वा चराचरगुहं भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य  
 (<sup>20</sup>) स[सारासारतां]विधित्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाक-  
 (<sup>21</sup>) [लिज्य]ऐहिकागुम्भिकं फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरामनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्ध-  
 (<sup>22</sup>) ये----- [सीमापर्यंत] सक्लमालाकुलकाष्टतृणोदकोपे-\*

¶ The village given is not to be traced on the Quarter-Master General's map. Hāmsalapura is the village of that name in the north-west corner of the Viramgiri Taluk. To the north lies 'Sooraj,' the Suraj of the grant. South-west I find Panchar, which I identify with Phimchadi.

¶ Dimensions 1½ inches by 14 inches. Characters Jaṇa-Devanagiri. Preservation good except in the lower parts of the plates.

\* L. 22, read "काठ".

## Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) त सहि[रुण्य]भागभोग सदनदशापराधसर्वादायसमेतो नवनिधानसहितः†  
 (<sup>2</sup>) पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवदायनगदायवर्जं तलस्त्रणपुरेसश्रीआनलेभरश्रीसलस्त्रणे-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) शरदेकयोः मठस्थानपतिवेदगर्भराशेर्मठेस्मिन् भट्टारकाणां भोजनाय स-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) वा[गारा]यै तथैतदीयसूतमोमेश्वरस्य ग्रामस्यास्य मघ्यात् भूमिहल २० विंशतिहला-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) —भूमी च शासनेनोदकपूर्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तं ॥ ग्रामस्यास्याघाटा यया ॥ पूर्वस्यां साप-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) सग्रामछत्राहकग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा ॥ दक्षिणस्यां गुंठाबाढाग्रामसीमायां सीमा । १-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) श्विमायां सगवाढाग्रामसीमायां सीमा । उत्तरस्यां उंदिराग्रामआंगणवाढाग्रामयोः सी-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) मायां सीमा ॥ एवमसीभिर्गाघाटैरुपलक्षितं ग्राममेनमवगम्य तन्निवासिजनपदैर्वधा-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) दीयमानदानीभोगप्रभृतिकं सदाशाश्रयणविधेयैर्भूत्वाऽमुष्यै समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं  
 (<sup>10</sup>) वैतल्पुण्यफलं मत्वाऽस्मद्दंशैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मद्दत्तधर्मदायोपमनुष-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) [त]स्यः । पालनीयस्य ॥ उक्तं च भगवत्त व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥  
 (<sup>12</sup>) आछेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् । १ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेष्य वसुंधरा ।  
 स वि-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) द्यायां कृमिर्भूला पितृभिः सह मज्जति । २ कष्याटवीजतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्ण-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) सर्पाः प्रजायन्ते भूमिदानापहारकाः । ३ दत्ता भूमिं माविनः पार्थिवेद्वान् भूयोभूयो वा-  
 (<sup>15</sup>) चते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं दानधर्मो नृपाणां स्वस्ते काले पालनीयो भवति । ४  
 (<sup>16</sup>) बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्यस्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ ५ लि-  
 (<sup>17</sup>) खितमिदं शासनं कायस्थान्ययप्रसूत उ० सात्तिकुमारसुत महाक्षपटलिक उ० सोम-  
 (<sup>18</sup>) सिहने । दूतकोऽव महासाधि उ० श्रीबहुदेव इति  
 श्रीभीमदेवस्य ॥

## No. 7.—Abstract.

I. *Preamble*.—(a) *Vaidārāṇi*. Agree with No. 5 of 1283 Vikrama, except that the descriptions of Jayasimha and Mūlarāja II. are literally the same as in No. 3 of 1263 Vikrama.

(b) *Bhimadeva II.*, who resides in *Apa-hillapātaka*, addresses the officials and inhabitants of *Vālaṇya Pāṭhaka* on Monday, the Pratipad of the bright half of Bhādrapada of 1288 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. *Grantees and Purpose*.—The temples of *Ānuleśvara* and *Salakheśvara* in *Salakheśapura*, (and) the superior of the monastery (there), *Vedagarbbharāṇi*, as well as his son *Someśvara*, for the main

tenance of the *Bhaṭṭārakau* and the alms-house.

III. *Object granted*.—The village of . . . and twenty ploughs of land in the village (for *Someśvara*), the village being bounded—

(a) To the east by the villages of *Sāmparā* and *Chhatāhāra* (?),

(b) To the south by the village of *Gaṇṭhāvāḍā*,

(c) To the west by the village of *Rāpā-vāḍā*.

(d) To the north by the villages of *Uṇḍirā* and *Āṅgaṇarāḍā*.

IV. *Officials*.—The writer, *Mahākshapatalika* *Thakura Somasūbha*, of *Thakura Sātikumāra*, a *Kāyastha*.

*Dūtaka*: the minister for peace and war, *Thakura Vabudeva*.

† L. 1. तः ७<sup>०</sup> मोमः ७<sup>०</sup>; ७<sup>०</sup>यः; सहिदः. L. 6. उच्यते doubtful. L. 11. read कश्चापि; तिष्ठति. L. 12. read नरके वसेत्.—इत्येव. L. 17. read त्स्यान्वयः.

No. 8.7

Plate I.

- (<sup>1</sup>) ९॥ स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्ववत्समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) भद्रारकचौलुक्मकुलकमलविकासैकमार्तदंश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधि-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) राजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रारकश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) रपरमभद्रारकश्रीवलभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजश्रीदुर्लभराजदेवपा-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) दानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रारकश्रीभीमदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) रपरमभद्रारकमहाराजाधिराजत्रैलोक्यमलश्रीकृष्णदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपर-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) मभद्रारकमहाराजाधिराजअवेतीनायविभुवनगंडर्वरकजिष्णु[सिद्धच]कृत्वाश्री-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) अयसिहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रारकउमापतिर-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) लम्भप्रसादप्राधरात्यपौठप्रतापलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरस्वभुजविक्रमरागण[वि]निर्जितहा-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) कंभरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रा-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) रकपरमाहेश्वरप्रबलबाहुदंडदंष्ट्ररूपकंदर्पहेलाकरदीकृतस[पा]दलक्ष्म्याः ।  
 (<sup>12</sup>) पालश्रीभजयपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रारकमहाराजाधिराजले-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) षष्ठमोनिषयण्डभमहीवलपपदोत्तनकालार्क माहवपराभूतदुर्गपगर्भनकाधि-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) राजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रारकाभिनव-  
 (<sup>15</sup>) सिद्धराजसप्तमचक्रवर्तिश्रीमद्रीमदेवः स्वभुजमानवर्द्धिपयकांतःपातिनः समस्तरा-  
 (<sup>16</sup>) जपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्त्रिभुक्ताधिकारिणो जनपदीश्व कोधयन्त्यस्तु वः संविदिनं  
 (<sup>17</sup>) पथा ॥ [श्रीमत्] विक्रमादित्योत्पादितसंक्रान्तराश्लेषु दादहासु पञ्चनकपुत्रेषु मा-  
 (<sup>18</sup>) र्गामासीयभुजचतुर्दश्यां गुरुतरेऽश्वकतोऽपि संवत् १२९५ श्वे मार्गे शुदि १४ शु-  
 (<sup>19</sup>) रावस्यां संवत्तरमाधपक्षवारपूर्विकायां तियावदोह श्रीमदणहिसपाटके म्ना-  
 (<sup>20</sup>) ता चराचरगुहं भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसारासारतां विधिन्य नलिनीदल-  
 (<sup>21</sup>) गतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाकलिभ्य ऐहिकामुष्मिकं च क[ल]मंगीकृ ॥  
 (<sup>22</sup>) अ पिबोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये भोजुपायामस्थाने संजातस[लक्षण]पुरं स्व-  
 (<sup>23</sup>) सीमापमैतं सवृक्षमालाकुलकाष्ठतृणोदकोपेतं सहिरण्यभागभो[मं मटं]दद-  
 (<sup>24</sup>) शापराधसर्वादापसमेतं नवनिधानसहितं पुर्णप्रदत्तदेवदापब्रह्मदायव ॥  
 (<sup>25</sup>) र्जं तथा घूसडीयामे गो[ह]णसरसभिधौ पल्लविका — — ण ईशानको-  
 (<sup>26</sup>) महाराजीश्रीमूलदेव्या [श्व]

Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) जे भूमिहलहयेन संजातवाटिका १ एवमे — — — सोलूं० राणा० । कुणप-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) सासुतराण० वीरमेन घूसडीयामे कारितश्रीवीरमेश्वरदेव तथा श्रीसूमलेय-१  
 (<sup>3</sup>) रदेवयो[र्नि]ग्रं नैवेदांगभोगपंचोपचारपूजार्थं मठाधिपतिराजकुलश्रीवदगर्भ-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) राका[ये] शासनोदकपूर्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तं ॥ पुरस्यास्थाघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्वस्यां नीलछीया-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) मसीमायां सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां घूसडीयामसीमायां सीमा ॥ पश्चिमपां कालीयाणाभा-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) मकुचाणाधामयोः सीमायां सीमा ॥ उत्तरस्यां त्रिहदिग्रामकुपलोदयामयोः सीमा-

I Dimensions 21½ inches by 14½ inches. Characters  
 Jain-Devanagari. Preservation, slightly damaged.

§ L. 11, read परममाहेश्वरः कृप. L. 16, read स्वभु-

जुमान०. L. 21, माकलव्य. L. 23, read कुमः काह.  
 L. 24, read राधं सः

¶ L. 2, read वीरमेन.

- (<sup>7</sup>) पां सीमा ॥ पल्लिकाया आघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्वस्थां द्वारवतीसत्कपल्लिका तथा राजमार्ग-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) थ ॥ दक्षिणस्थां तदागिका तथा एमसेवं च । पश्चिमायां श्रीलिम्बादिलसेवं ॥ उत्तरस्थां भो-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) जुयाग्राममार्गः ॥ वाटेकाया आघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्वदक्षिणपश्चिमउत्तरप्रभृतिषु दि-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) क्षु निक्षिप्तस्वीयस्वीयआघाटेषु सीमा ॥ एवमभीमिराघाटेरुपलक्षितं स्थानकचयमे-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) नमदगम्य तन्निवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानदानीमोगप्रभृतिकं सदाताश्रवणविधे-  
 (<sup>12</sup>) पैर्भूताऽमुष्मै मटपतये समुपनेतव्यं ॥ सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं मत्वाऽस्मदंश्चजैर-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) न्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तदेवदायोऽयमनुमत्तव्यः । पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च भग-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) वता व्यासेन ॥ षष्ठिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमता च तान्ये-  
 (<sup>15</sup>) व नरकं वसेत् । १ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरीत् वसुंधरां ॥ स विष्टायां कृमिर्भूता पितृ-  
 (<sup>16</sup>) भिः सह मज्जति । २ वंघ्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्पाः प्रजा-  
 (<sup>17</sup>) यन्ते भूमिदानापहारकाः । ३ दत्ता भूमिं भाविनः पार्थिवान् भूयोभूयो याचन्ते रा-  
 (<sup>18</sup>) मभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं दानधर्मो नृपाणां स्वेवे काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । ४ बहुभिर्बसु-  
 (<sup>19</sup>) धा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्यस्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ ५ लिखित-  
 (<sup>20</sup>) मिदं शासनं कायस्थान्वयप्रसूतं तं सातिकुमारपुत्रमहाक्षपटलिकं तं श्रीसो-  
 (<sup>21</sup>) मसिहेन । दूतकोऽक्रमहासाधि तं श्रीवयजलदेव तति ॥

श्रीमद्वीमदेवस्य ॥

No. 8.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) *Vashīdvali* agrees with No. 7 of 1288, except that *Mālarāja* II. is described as (*resembling*) the morning sun by illuminating the world, that had been overshadowed by the darkness of the *Mlechha*.

(b) *Bhīmadēva* II. addresses the officials and inhabitants of *Vardbipathaka* on Thursday, the 14th day of the bright half of *Mārga* of 1295 *Vikrama*, and announces the following grant:—

II. Object granted.—(1) . . . *para*, erected on the site of the village of *Bhojyā*.

(2) A *palladikā* in the village of *Ghūsaḍi* near *Gohaṇasara*.

(3) A garden measuring two ploughs in the north-eastern part of . . . *sāpa*.

. . . *para*, being bounded—

(a) East by the village of *Nīlachhī*,

(b) South by the village of *Ghūsaḍi*,

(c) West by the village of *Maḍuachhāḍi*.

(d) North by the villages *Trihaṣi* and *Kushaloda*.

Boundaries of the *palladikā*:—

(a) East the *palladikā* of *Dvāravatīsatka*,

(b) South by the king's highroad,

(c) West by a little tank and the king's field,

(d) North by the road to *Bhojyā*.

III. Grantee.—The temples of *Vīramāvara*, built by *Rāṇa Vīrama*, son of *Rāṇa Lūnapasā*, in *Ghūsaḍi*, and of *Sūmalāvara*, for the purpose of defraying the expenditure of the worship, the trustee being the superior of the monastery, *Rājakula Veda-garbharaṣi*.

IV. Officials.—Writer, as above in No. 7 of 1288 *Vikrama*.

*Dūtaka*: the minister for peace and war, *Thakura Vayajaladeva*.

*N.B.*—The first plate is signed in line 26 by *Sūmaladevi*, one of *Bhīmadēva*'s queens.

No. 9,†

Plate I.

(<sup>1</sup>) । ५॥ ॥ स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्ववत्समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरप-

(<sup>2</sup>) रमभट्टारकचौलुक्यकुलकमलविकासनैकमार्तदश्रीभूलराजदेवपादानुष्पातम-

(<sup>3</sup>) हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादानुष्पातमहाराजाधि-

\* L. 11, read मेतद्व°. L. 14, षष्ठि सहास्रिः तिष्ठति.  
 L. 15, read वरकं वसेत् हरेत्.

† Dimensions 12 inches by 11 inches. Characters Jain-Devanagari.



- (<sup>4</sup>) राजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीवल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजप-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) रमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीदुर्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) रपरमभट्टारकश्रीभीमदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) त्रैलोक्यमहेश्वरश्रीकर्णदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकअद-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) न्तीनायत्रिभुवनगण्डर्वैरकजिह्वासिद्धचक्रवर्तिश्रीजयसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजा-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) धिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्राप्तराज्यप्रौढप्रतापलक्ष्मी-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) स्वयंवरस्वभुजविक्रमराणागणविनिर्जितशाकंभरीभूपालवीक्रुमारपालदेवपादानु-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) ध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहामाहेश्वरप्रवलबाहुदंडदर्प-  
 (<sup>12</sup>) पकंदर्पहेलाकरदीकृततपादलक्ष्मपापालश्रीअजयपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहारा-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) जाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्लेच्छतमोनिचयच्छत्रमहीवल्लभप्रद्योतनबाला-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) केश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापति-  
 (<sup>15</sup>) वरलब्धप्रसादप्राप्तराज्यप्रौढप्रतापलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरवामकरनिविडनिवे[शित]काम्य-  
 (<sup>16</sup>) कविनिर्मुक्तनिमित्तशरत्वातव्यापादितानेकवैरिनिकरम्बकरञ्चितभुजा - - - अ-  
 (<sup>17</sup>) भिनवसिद्धराजसप्तमचक्रवर्तिश्रीमहामदेवः स्वभुज्यमानवर्द्धिपयकांतवर्तिनः ।  
 (<sup>18</sup>) समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तत्रियुक्ताधिकारिणो जनपदांश्च शोधयस्तु ३ सं-  
 (<sup>19</sup>) विदितं यथा ॥ श्रीमत्त्रिक्रमादिसौत्पादितसंवत्सरशतेषु द्वादशसु घटनक्युत्तरे-  
 (<sup>20</sup>) शु मार्गमासीयकृष्णचतुर्दश्यां रविकारेऽत्रांशुकतेऽपि ॥ विक्रम संवत् १२९६ वर्षे आ-  
 (<sup>21</sup>) र्यादि-१४-रवावहोह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके स्नात्वा चराचरगुहं भगवतं भवानीपातिम  
 (<sup>22</sup>) ध्यात्वा संसारासारतां विचिञ्च नलिनीदलमतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमकन्धय  
 (<sup>23</sup>) ऐहिकमामुष्मिकं च फलमंगीकृत्य पिबोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययज्ञोऽभिवृद्धये राजसीय ॥  
 (<sup>24</sup>) महाराजीश्रीसूमलदेव्याश्च

## Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) [जा]यामः स्वसीमापर्यंतः तद्वत्समात्माकुलकाष्ठतृणोदकोपेतः सहिरण्यभागभोगः सदा-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) द्रो दशापराध सन्तोदायसमेतो नवनिधानसहितः पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदापवर्ज्यं  
 (<sup>3</sup>) घनदीपामे सोलुंराण०श्रीलूणपसासुत०राण०वीरमेण कारितश्रीवीरमेश्वरदेवश्री-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) मूमलेश्वरदेवयोऽश्रित्यपूजानेवेदाग्रभोगायै स्थानपतिश्रीवेदगर्मराशये शास-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) नोदकोदकपूर्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तः ॥ ग्रामस्यास्याघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्वस्यां ठठवमणगीबडी-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) ग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां लघु०ऊभट्टाग्रामसीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमामां मंडन्याः सी-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) मायां सीमा । उत्तरस्यां सहजवसणदालउद्रग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा ॥ एवमसीमिराष्टादैर्-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) पलासितं ग्राममेनमवगम्य तन्निवातिजनपदैर्षयादीपमानदानीयोगप्रभृतिकं नदाशा  
 (<sup>9</sup>) श्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वाऽमुष्मै तपोधनाय समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चेत्तत् पुण्यफलं मन्वाऽस्मद्  
 (<sup>10</sup>) अजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोऽयमनुमंतव्यः । वालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं  
 (<sup>11</sup>) च भगवता न्यासेन ॥ षष्ठिवर्षतद्व्याप्तिं स्वर्गो तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च ता-  
 (<sup>12</sup>) न्येव नरकं वसेत् ॥ १ इह हि जलदलीलाचंचले जीबल्लोके तृणलवल्लुसारे सर्व-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) संसारसौख्ये । अपहरतु दुराशः शासनं देवतानां नरकगहनयन्तर्गतपातान्मुको  
 (<sup>14</sup>) यः ॥ २ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्दैर्दानानि भर्मायैयशस्कराणि । निर्माल्यवातिप्रतिमा-  
 (<sup>15</sup>) नि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ ३ बहुभिर्बहुधा भुक्ता राजभिः समरादिभिः ॥

- (<sup>16</sup>) यस्यस्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा कलं ॥ ■ वंघाटवीधतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।  
 (<sup>17</sup>) कृष्णमर्षाः प्रजायन्ते भूमिदानापहारकाः ॥ ५ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरीत वसुंधरां । स वि-  
 (<sup>18</sup>) छायां कृमिपूर्णा पितृभिः सह मन्त्रति ॥ ६ दत्ता भूमि भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयोभूयो पाच-  
 (<sup>19</sup>) ते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं दानधर्मो नृपाणां स्वस्वे काले पालनीयो भवति ॥ ७ लिखित-  
 (<sup>20</sup>) मिदं कायस्थान्नपत्रमूतदंड ० सातिकुमारसुत ० महासपदालिक ० ठ ० श्रीसोमसिंहेन ॥  
 दूतकोऽन महासाधिविग्रहिक ० ठ ० श्रीवज्रलदेव इति  
 श्रीमद्वीरदेवस्य ।

## No. 9.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) *Vasīśaṅkī* agrees with the preceding No. 8 of S. 1295 V., except that the 9th king *Ajayapāla* receives the additional epithet *mahāmāheśvara*, or 'the ardent devotee of Śiva.'

(b) *Bhīmadeva* II, who resides in *Aṇḥillapātaka*, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the *Vardhipāṭaka* on Sunday, the 14th of the dark half of 1296 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. Object granted.—The village of *Rājyaśyāni*,\* bounded—

(a) East by the villages of *Thethavarana* and *Rivadi*,

(b) South by *Little Ubhadda*,

(c) West by *Mandali*,

(d) North by the villages of *Sahajavasaṇa* and *Dālaudḍa*.

III. Grantees.—The temple of *Vīrameśvara* and *Sūmaleśvara*, built by *Rāṇa Vīrama*, son of the Solunkī *Rāṇa Luṇapasa* in *Ghāsaṇi* to defray the expense of the worship, the trustees being the superior of the monastery, *Rājakula Vedagarbharaśi*.

IV. Officials.—The writer is the same as in Nos. 7 and 8.

*Dātaka*: the same as in No. 8.

N.B.—The first plate is signed *Mahārājñī-śrīśūmaladevyāśāha*, 'and (a grant) of queen *Sūmaladevi*.'

No. 10.†

Plate I.

- (<sup>1</sup>) श्री स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्ववत्समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रारकचौलुक्मकु-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) लकमलविकासनैकमार्सदश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीचामुंदराज-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) देवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवलभगजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपर-  
 (<sup>4</sup>) मेश्वरश्रीदुर्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमद्वीरदेवपादानुध्यातमहा-  
 (<sup>5</sup>) राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीलोच्यमलश्रीकर्णदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभ-  
 (<sup>6</sup>) द्रारकअवन्तीनायत्रिभुवनगंडवर्बरकजिष्णुसिद्धचक्रवर्तिश्रीजयसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजा-  
 (<sup>7</sup>) धिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रारकस्वभुजविक्रमरणगणविनीजितशकंधरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपाल-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) देवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रारकमहामाहेश्वरप्रवलबाहुदंडदर्परूप-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) कंदर्पहेलाकरदीकृतसपादलक्ष्मणपालश्रीभजपपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपर-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) मेश्वरआहवराभूतदुर्जयगर्जनकाधिराजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजप-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) रमेश्वरपरमभद्रारकअभिनवसिंदराजसममचक्रवर्तिश्रीमद्वीरदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधि-  
 (<sup>12</sup>) राजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रारकसौर्योदार्यगांधीयादिगुणालंकृतश्रीत्रिभुवनपालदेवः स्वभुवमा-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) नवंप्रपयकदंडाहीपयकयोरन्तर्जनैः समस्तराजपुरुषान् नारदगोत्ररंस्तत्रियुक्ताधिकारिणो  
 (<sup>14</sup>) जनपदांश्च बोधयस्सु वः संबिदितं यया ॥ श्रीमद्वीरदेवपादानुध्यातसंवत्सरसत्तेषु श्रादक्षसु नव-

\* L. 16, read विष्णो. L. 17, read वरेण. L. 18, read शायी.

\* The village is called *Bakhānā*, tālukā *Vīramgaṇa*, on the Revenue Survey map, where *Thethavarana* appears as *Ubethana*, *Rivadi* as *Rivdi*, *Legha* *Ubhadda* as *Ubhaddi*

*Nāka*, and *Dālaudḍa* as *Dāloj*. *Sahajavasaṇa* is not to be traced.

† Dimensions 11 inches by 12½ inches. Characters *Jaina-Devanagari*. Preservation good.

‡ L. 12, read श्रीवै.

- (<sup>15</sup>) नवयुत्तरेषु चैत्रमासीयपुष्यपक्षे सोमवारेऽथोऽकृतोऽपि संवत् १२९९ वर्षे चैत्रशुदि ९ सोमेऽ-  
 (<sup>16</sup>) स्थां संवत्सरमासपक्षवारपूर्विकायां सां० लौ० कागुणमासीयवमाश्यायां संजातसूर्यग्रहणपूर्णि०  
 (<sup>17</sup>) संकल्पितात् तियावदेह श्रीमदणहिलपादके स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवान्नीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसा-  
 (<sup>18</sup>) रासारतां विचित्र नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं पाणित्रव्यमाकलय्य ऐहिकामूर्तिमकं फलमंगी-  
 (<sup>19</sup>) कृत्वा पित्रोरान्मनश्च पुण्यदशोभिवृद्धये भांधरग्रामराजपुरिग्रामौ स्वर्त्तमा[प्यन्तौसवृक्ष]  
 (<sup>20</sup>) मालाकुलकाष्टतृणदकोपेतौ सहिरण्यभागभोगसदंभौ दशापराधौ [सर्वदापराधौ]

Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) मेतौ नवनिधानसहितौ पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायवज्रं राणां श्रीलुणपसा — — — माऊल-  
 (<sup>2</sup>) तलपदे स्वीयमातृराज्ञीश्रीसलक्षणदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ कारितसङ्गागरे कार्पटिकानां भोजनार्थं शास- १।  
 मोदकपूर्व-  
 (<sup>3</sup>) मस्माभिः प्रदत्तौ ॥ भांधरग्रामस्याघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्वस्थां कुरलीग्रामदासयजग्रामयोः सीमायां  
 सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां  
 (<sup>4</sup>) कुरलीग्रामत्रिमग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमयां अरठउरग्रामउंसाग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा ।  
 उत्तरस्यां  
 (<sup>5</sup>) उंसाग्रामदासयजग्रामकाम्बलीग्रामाणां सीमायां सीमा ॥ राजपुरिग्रामग्याघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्वस्था  
 कुलाव [सण]  
 (<sup>6</sup>) ग्रामदांगरौग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । आग्नेयकोणे चंदावसणग्रामचंदावसणग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा ।  
 (<sup>7</sup>) दक्षिणस्यां आहीराणाग्रामसीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमयां सिरसाविनंदावसणग्रामयोः सीमायां  
 सीमा । वायव्य-  
 (<sup>8</sup>) कोणे उंटक्यासिरसाविग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । उत्तरस्यां नंदावसणग्रामसीमायां सीमा । ईशानको-  
 (<sup>9</sup>) णे कुईयलग्रामसीमायां सीमा ॥ एतन्ममीभिराद्यदैरुपलक्षितौ ग्रामावेताववगम्य तन्निवांसिजन-  
 (<sup>10</sup>) पदैर्ययादीपमानदानीभोगप्रभृतिर्क सदाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वाऽमुष्मै सत्रागाराय समु[प]नैतव्यं ॥  
 साया-  
 (<sup>11</sup>) न्यं चैतन्पुण्यफलं मत्वास्मदंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मदप्रदत्तधर्मदायोऽथमनुमंतव्यः । पालनीय-  
 (<sup>12</sup>) श्व । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन ॥ पट्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आलेप्ता चानुमंता  
 च तान्पेव नरकं व-  
 (<sup>13</sup>) सेत् ॥ १ याता याति महीभुजः क्षितिमिमो यास्यति भुक्त्वाऽखिलां नो याता न च-  
 याति यास्यति न वा केनाऽ-  
 (<sup>14</sup>) पि सादं धरा । यत्किंचिद्भुवि तदिनाशि सकलं कीर्तिः परं स्रष्टाभिनी मन्त्रैव वसुधाधिपाः पर-  
 कृता लोप्या न  
 (<sup>15</sup>) सत्कीर्त्तयः ॥ २ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्यस्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य  
 तदा फलं ॥ ३ ॥  
 (<sup>16</sup>) लिखितमिदं शासनं कायस्थान्वयप्रसूतदंढं सातिकुमारमुत आसपटलिक ठ ० सोमसिंहेन  
 ॥ ७५ ॥  
 (<sup>17</sup>) दूतकोऽत्र ठ ० श्रीवज्रलदेव इति शासनमिदं मांडव्यां श्रीमूलेश्वरदेवम[भ्यर्च्य]  
 (<sup>18</sup>) स्थानपतिश्रीवेदगर्भरागेः समर्पितमिति ततोऽनेन तथैतदीयसंतानपरंपरयापि आचंदाई अन-  
 (<sup>19</sup>) योर्यामयोरपदं सङ्गागरेऽस्मिन् उपयुक्तं कार्यं ॥ कन्याणमस्तु साधूनां ॥ ७५ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७५ ॥  
 अनयोर्प्रा-

- (<sup>30</sup>) मयोः सीमायां तांनुलिकदण्डिज्यारकपथिकप्रभृतीनां मध्यात् यः कोपि चैरिगृह्यते तस्य प्र-  
 (<sup>31</sup>) तिकार अनयोर्धर्मयोः सत्कर्मोत्कारपाथात् प्रसीति-  
 (<sup>32</sup>) लेभ्या || उदलगभागा नहि ||

## श्रीविभुवनपालदेवस्य

## No. 10.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a). *Vaṇśāvali* agrees for the first eleven kings, from Mūlarāja I. to Bhimadeva II., with the preceding grant No. 9, of S. 1296 Vikrama; the additional king is

12. Tribhuvanapāla-deva.

(b) Tribhuvanapāla, who resides at Apahillapātaka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Viśhaya and Dap-dāhi Pathakas on Monday, the sixth day of the bright half of Chaitra of 1299 Vikrama, and announces the following grant, which he had vowed on the new moon of Phālguna (of the same year), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.

II. Objects granted.—1. The village of Bhāmāhara,† bounded—

(a) East by the villages of Kurālī and Dāsaraja.

(b) South by the villages of Kurālī and Tribha.

(c) West by the villages of Arathaura and Unjhā.

(d) North by the villages of Unjhā, Dāsaraja and Kāmbull.

(2) The village of Rājapuri, bounded—

(a) East by Ulāva(sapa) and Dāngaraṇḍā.

(b) South-east by the villages of Chandāvāsapa and Indrāvādā.

(c) South by the village of Āhīrāṇā.

(d) West by the villages of Sirasāvi and Nandāvasapa.

(e) North-west by the villages of Untādyā and Sirasāvi.

(f) North by the village of Nandāvasapa.

(g) North-east by the village of Kulāya.

III. Purpose of Grant.—To feed the religious mendicants (*kārpāṭika*) at the almshouse built by Rājā Luṅgapaśāḍi in the Talapada of Māḍla, for the spiritual benefit of his mother, queen Salakhāṇadevi.

IV. Officials.—The writer and *dātaka* are the same as in No. 9, Bhimadeva's grant of 1296.

V. Postscript.—A postscript states that this *śāḍana* has been made over to Sthānapati, the illustrious Vedagarbharaḍi (the superior of the Śaiva monastery at Māṇḍali), and that he and his successors have been made trustees. A further postscript adds the proviso that the possessors of the two villages are responsible for robberies committed within their boundaries.

## No. 11.‡

## Plate II.

- (\*) ||प०|| स्वस्ति श्रीमद्विक्रमकालतीतसप्तदशशतिकाधिकत्रयोदशशतिकासंवत्सरे लौकिकज्येष्ठमासस्य ९  
 (†) कृष्णपक्षचतुर्थ्यां तिथौ गुरावद्येह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके समस्तराजावलीविराजितपरमेश्वरपरम-  
 (‡) भट्टारक उमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्रौढप्रतापचौलुक्यकुलकमलिनीकलिकाविकाशमानन्दसिंघण-  
 (⁠) सैन्यसमुद्रसंशोषणवद्वानलमालवाधीशमानमर्दनमेदपाटकदेशकलुषराज्यवलीकंदोच्छे[द]-  
 (⁠) नकुहालकव्यकर्णोदराजजलधितनयास्वयंवरपुरुषोत्तमभुजबलभीम अभिनवसिंदराज अप-  
 (⁠) रार्जुनेत्यादिसकलविरदावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्वीरसलदेवकन्याणविजयिराज्ये  
 (⁠) तदनुशासनानुवर्तिनि महामात्यश्रीनागदे श्रीश्रीकरणादिसमस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परिपंथयतीत्येवं  
 (⁠) काले प्रवर्तमाने अश्वैव परमप्रभोः श्रीमहाराजस्य प्रसादपत्तलायां वद्विपथके भुज्यमानमंडल्यां  
 (⁠) जयश्रीनिर्भरालिंगितशरीरः महामंडलेश्वराराणकश्रीसामंतसिंहदेवः नगरपौरान् अन्यानि स-  
 (⁠) त्रै[नि]धिकृत्य सर्वेषां विदितं पञ्चशासनं व्रथच्छति यथा || यन्मया महादानेदकप्रशालितवामे-  
 सरकरत-

\* L. 31, read 'विक्रमसंवत्'; भोक्तृपार्श्वे.

† The Quarter-Master General's map gives of all the villages mentioned only Unjhā, south of Sidhpur and Uttor, which appears to be Arathaura.

‡ Measurements of plates 11 inches by 13½ inches. Characters Jaina-Devanagari.

§ L. 1, read ज्येष्ठमासस्य. L. 2, read विक्रम. L. 9, read समस्तसिंह. L. 10, read पञ्चच्छति.



- (<sup>11</sup>) लेन परमधार्मिकेन भूना तीर्थपुण्योदकैः जाला मुक्कवाससी परिधाय चराचराविभूवनमुखं भग-  
इन्तं  
(<sup>12</sup>) भगानीपति समभ्यर्च्य संसारासारतां विधित्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं जीवितव्यं यौवन-  
भीक्ष-<sup>१</sup>  
(<sup>13</sup>) यं चावगम्य ऐहिकं पारत्रिकं च फलमंगीकृत्य पितृमहराणकश्रीलूणपसाजदेवश्रेयोर्य आशापल्यां  
(<sup>14</sup>) पूर्वसंकल्पितसन्ने अपूर्वं अष्टौ ब्राह्मणान् भोजयितुं तथा तत्रत्यप्रपाभरापनार्थं च तथा मंडल्यां  
स्वपि-  
(<sup>15</sup>) तुः राणकश्रीसंभामसिंहदेवश्रेयसे अपूर्वहादशसंस्पर्कान् ब्राह्मणान् राज्ञापानव्यंजनतांबूला-  
(<sup>16</sup>) दिसर्षोपस्करसहितभोजनं भोजयितुं तथा कन्यागतापरपक्षे चतुर्दशब्रह्मपुरीयकब्राह्मणानां पंचद-  
(<sup>17</sup>) शदिनानां श्राद्धे सदक्षिणा निर्वापाः तथा सदैवामावास्यायाममावास्यायां अभीयामपि ब्राह्मणानां  
अनुप्र-  
(<sup>18</sup>) पाश्चा सदक्षिणा पंच निर्वापाः तथा पारायणोपविष्टकपिलावर्तब्राह्मणानां निर्वापा तथा प्रपाभ-  
रापनार्थं  
(<sup>19</sup>) तथा बलालनारायणरूपनारायणदेवयोर्नित्यं पंचोपचारपूजनैवेद्यायं तथा विधिवपंचोपस्करपू-

## Plate II.

- (<sup>1</sup>) जनैवेद्यायं तथा पतितधुचितधर्मस्थानानामद्वरणार्थं वैशाखीपूर्वणि अस्मिन्नेव पयके संतिष्ठमान-<sup>१</sup>  
(<sup>2</sup>) मेहूणाभिधानग्रामे कस्य तथा मंडल्यां भूमिहल ६ तथा हाट १२ तथा रिणसीहवसणग्रामेधैपलम्-  
(<sup>3</sup>) नभूमिहल ६ तथा लुंडावसणेत्यवाटिका १ तथा रूपपुरेत्यवाटिका १ तथा आशापल्यां मुक्क-  
मंडपिका-  
(<sup>4</sup>) यां दिनं प्रति इ १ तृमैकः करदपलटिका १ एतेषां समस्तानामुत्सर्गं कृत्वा श्रीमूलेश्वरदेवीय-  
मठपालिम-  
(<sup>5</sup>) हामुनींद्रराजकुलश्रीविश्वामित्रस्य निर्वाहणार्थं शासनं समपितं । मेहूणाग्रामस्याघाटा यया ।  
पूर्वस्यां दि-  
(<sup>6</sup>) शि चूमरिग्राममुहासडाग्रामरउनीग्रामचक्षणं सीमायां सीमा । दक्षणस्यां दिशि प्रांदिहोग्रामना-  
लोडाग्राम-  
(<sup>7</sup>) पोः सीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमस्यां दिशि दूधुस्त्राग्रामसीमायां सीमा । उत्तरस्यां दिशि नायकाग्रा-  
मसीमायां सीमा  
(<sup>8</sup>) एवमादिचतुराघाटोपलक्षितस्वसीमापर्यंत सवृक्षमालाकुल नवनिधानसहित सहिरण्यभागभोगदा-  
(<sup>9</sup>) नीसहितः सदंडदशाधराधसहित सकाष्टतृणोदकोपेतः सर्वादायसमतः देवदायवद्वेदायवाञ्छितः  
(<sup>10</sup>) ग्रामोऽयं तथा मंडल्याः भूमी तथा काटिके तथा हट्टानि आशापल्याः पलाटिकाप्रभृति एतत्सर्वं  
आर्चंशक पाव-  
(<sup>11</sup>) त् राजकुलश्रीविश्वामित्रराशिना तथैतर्दायचेलकपरंपरया निर्वाहनीयं । अस्मन्प्रदत्तमिति परि-  
क्षाय स-  
(<sup>12</sup>) र्जसामान्यं चैतत् मन्वफलं मत्वा अस्मद्दंशजैः अन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरनुमतव्यं पालनीयं च ।  
यया दाता श्वे-

\* L. 12, read 'मैध'. L. 18, read सदक्षिणाः निर्वापाः.

\* L. 1, read जेवेद्यायः भुजित or perhaps दक्षितः. मुक्क-  
पार्थः वैशाखः संतिष्ठ. L. 3, perhaps ग्रामेधै. L. 4,  
read इमैकः i.e. एक दात. L. 3, read विश्वामित्रस्य, यय-

पितं. L. 6, read ययायाः दक्षिणस्याः. L. 8, read 'पर्यन्तः'.  
कुलः 'सहितः'. L. 9, read सवितः. काटः समतः. L.  
10, read 'चण्डक'. L. 11, read परीक्ष्य.

(<sup>13</sup>) योभाक् तथा पालकश्चापि । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-  
दिभिः । यस्य-

(<sup>14</sup>) स्य यदा भूमी तद्वत्तस्य तदा फलं । २ षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥ अश्चेत्ता  
चानुमता च तान्येव न-

(<sup>15</sup>) रक्तं वसेत् ॥ २ वंज्यादवीश्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरासिनः कृष्णसम्पा प्रजायन्ते दनदाया-  
पहारकाः ॥ ३ त-

(<sup>16</sup>) हागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतम् च । भवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुद्ध्यति ॥ ४ ॥

(<sup>17</sup>) दूतकोऽत्र महासंधिविपश्चिकि ठ० श्रीश्रीधरः ॥ लिखितमिदं महाक्षपदलिकमहं श्रीगोविंदेन  
श्रीः

### अपरार्जुनमहाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीमद्दीनसलदेवस्य

No. 11.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—In the 1317th year of the Vikrama era, on the 4th day of the dark half of the month of Jyeshtha, on a Thursday, while the supreme ruler, supreme lord, the illustrious Visaladeva, the great king of kings,—who is made illustrious by the whole line of kings (his ancestors),—who obtained grace in consequence of a boon given by the husband of Umi,—who is endowed with exceeding valour, who is (as it were) a sun (able) to open the buds of the lotus-field of the Chaulukya,—who is a volcanic fire to dry up the ocean of the army of Singhana,—who crushed the lord of Malava, who resembled a batchet on account of his cutting the roots of the creeper-like turbulent government of the Madapataka country,—who resembled Parushottama since he was chosen as husband by the daughter of the king of Karpata (just as Parushottama was elected by Lakshmi the daughter of the ocean),—who is adorned by numerous honorific titles, such as 'a (second) Rishma by the strength of his arm, the new Siddharaja, and a second Arjuna,'—ruled auspiciously and victoriously at Śrīmat Apahillapataka, and while his obedient prime minister, the illustrious Nagaśa, held all the great offices, viz. that of secretary and the rest, the great provincial chief Rāṇā Śāmantasimha, who rules in Maṇḍali, situated in Vardhipathaka, the favoured district of the above-mentioned supreme lord, gives the following grant:—

II. Grantees and Purpose.—For the spiritual

† L. 14, read षष्टि व? अश्चेत्ता. L. 15, read नरके; विप्रा, सपि.

‡ Paripanthayoti, loc. cit. pres. part. is used in all the Western inscriptions of the 12th and 13th century in the sense of 'holding.'

§ Ap. 10, 'new,' means that the Brahmins had not been

welfare of the donor's grandfather, Rāṇā Lūpa-pasāja, to feed in Āśāpalli, at a formerly instituted *sattr*, eight new Brahmins, § and to keep the drinking-fountain there filled (Pl. I. 1. 14).

2. For the spiritual welfare of the donor's father, Rāṇā Saṃgrāmasimha, to provide a complete dinner of royal food and drink, with condiments, betel, &c., at Maṇḍali to eight new Brahmins; to provide for fourteen Brahmins of Brahmapura, at the Panchadaśadina Śrāddha, during the dark half of the month when the sun stands in the constellation of Virgo, || alms and *śakshinā*; and also to provide for the same Brahmins on every new moon alms and *śakshinā*, and also alms for those Brahmins of the Kapilāvarta, ¶ who have sat down to recite the whole Veda, and to keep the drinking-fountain filled (Pl. I. II. 15-18).

3. To provide daily food-offerings and the expenses of the service in the temples of Bal-lālanārāyaṇa and Rūpanārāyaṇa, and to repair dilapidated temples. (Pl. I. 1. 19, Pl. II. 1. 1.)

III. Objects granted.—(1) In the village of Mehāṇā six ploughs of land, twelve shops in Maṇḍali, and 6 ploughs of land in the village of Rīpasīhavasaṇa.

(b) A garden in Luṇḍāvasaṇa.

(c) A garden in Rūpapura.

(d) A *pallaḍikā* with a daily tax of one *dām*.\*

All this was made over for management to the superior of Śrīmalesvaraśaṅkara's monastery (¶ Maṇḍali), the great lord of ascetics, Rājakula Viśvāmītra. (Pl. II. II. 2-5.)

fed before and were not to be fed again, a new batch taking their place.

† i. e. the Mahālayaśraddha during Bīkṣupada Bedi.

‡ The coast of the Bharuch district.

§ I am unable to explain the word *pallaḍikā*. The text has १ विमैकः which, I think, can only stand for १०० एक, 'one *dām*.'

Boundaries :—  
 (1) Of Mehūnā—  
 (a) East the villages of Channari, Subhānādā, and Raunl.  
 (b) South the villages of Shāndikā and Nālodā,

(c) West the village of Dādāhukhā,

(d) North the village of Nāyaki.

IV. *Officers*.—Dūtaka: the minister of peace and war (of the Rājā) Thakar Śrīdhara; the writer of the grant is Mahākahapatalika Mahā Govinda.

# PEDIGREE OF THE CHAULUKYAS OF ANHILVAD.

## A.—Main line.

I. Mularāja I., son of king Rāji  
 S. 998—1053 or 941-42—965-97 A.D. [S. 1048]

II. Chāmundarāja, S. 1053—1066: A.D. 997-98—1009-10

III. Vallabharāja,  
 S. 1066,  
 A.D. 1007-99

IV. Durlobharāja  
 S. 1066—1078  
 A.D. 1010—1021-22

Nāgadeva

V. Bhimadeva I. [S. 1086 and (10)93]  
 S. 1078—1120  
 A.D. 1021-22—1063-64

VI. Karva I.  
 S. 1120—1150  
 A.D. 1063-64—1093-94

Haripāla

VII. Jayasinha, Śūdhharāja  
 S. 1150—1199  
 A.D. 1093-94—1143-44

Tribhuvanaśāla

VIII. Kumārāśāla  
 S. 1190—1230 [S. 1207, 1213]  
 A.D. 1143-44—1173-74

Mahipāla

IX. Ajayapāla  
 S. 1230—1233  
 A.D. 1173-74—1176-77

## B.—Vydyārapallī or Vidyāśāla branch.

Dhavalā, married to Kumārāśāla's  
 mother's sister

Arporāja

Lavanaprasāda, chief of Dholkā

Viradhavalā, Rājā of Dholkā  
 Independent since S. 1276—1295 (?)  
 A.D. 1219-20—1238-39 (?)

XIII. Visaladeva [S. 1317]  
 Rājā from 1298-30  
 S. 1300—1318 king of Anhilvād  
 A.D. 1243-44—1261-62

XIV. Arjunadeva  
 S. 1318—1331 [S. 1318, 1328]  
 A.D. 1261-62—1274-76

XV. Śaṅgadeva  
 S. 1331—1363 [S. 1340]  
 A.D. 1274-75—1296

XVI. Karnadeva II.  
 S. 1363—1380  
 A.D. 1296—1304.

X. Mularāja II.  
 S. 1233—1236  
 A.D. 1176-77—1179

XI. Bhimadeva II.  
 S. 1235—1298  
 A.D. 1179—1241-2  
 [S. 1263, 65, 66,  
 83, 87, 88, 95, 96]

XII. Tribhuvanaśāla  
 [S. 1299]  
 S. 1298—1309  
 A.D. 1241-43—1243-44

NOTE.—The dates have been taken for the reigns of the kings of the main line from the *Prabandhachintamani*, and agree with those of Mr. Forbes, given in the *Ras Mālā*, except in the cases of Bhīmadēva I., Karpadēva I., and Bhīmadēva II. They agree with those of the *Vichitrakṛantī* for the reigns of Durlabharāja and of his successors, not for the earlier ones, which have been thrown into utter confusion by a transposition of Chāmuṇḍarāja among the Chāpottakāras. The origin of this error probably was a clerical mistake by which Chāmuṇḍarāja's name had been left out, and afterwards been marked on the margin with an erroneous mark of reference in the text. Later copyists and correctors then entered Chāmuṇḍarāja in the wrong place, and altered the dates as to agree. The Government copy of the *Vichitrakṛantī* says, fol. 6b, l. 12, to fol. 7a, l. 7:—*śaṭamaṣṭame. 821 varṣe viśākhā sudi 2-ome somachudavasiuotpannaḥ śrīva-narāḍjūḥ śrī aṣahilapuram aśhāpayal tatra cha 60 varṣhāni rājyam abhikṛta; tatputreṇa yogarājena nava varṣha 9 rājyam kṛit(a)m; tataḥ sammat 891 (!) varṣhopaviśākhāśrīratnādityena varṣha 3 rāj-*

*yam kṛitam || tato vairasimhasya rājyam varṣha 11 tataḥ sam. 903 upa' tānta kṣanarājasya rājyam cha 13 944 varṣhopaviśākhā suta cūṣumārā va 28 tataḥ sam. 981 || varṣhop' suta ghāṅghāḍāya rājyam cha || 29 || 998 varṣhopavita nūptardjyam cha || 9 itkhaṇ savaṇ 1018 itkhaṇ chṛṇṇādvandish-ṣabhiḥ 126 varṣha. rājyam kṛitam || tad am sam. 1018 varṣhe chaulukyavāṇṇopaviśākhāya dāshitra śrīnāḍardjyam 35 tataḥ || sam. 1052 varṣhopaviśākhā suta vallabharājardjyam. v. 14 tataḥ sam. 1066 varṣhe bhṛṅgī durlabharājardjyam varṣha 12, etc. The *Vichitrakṛantī* gives the following exact dates for (1) Jayasimha, death S. 1199. Kārtika sudi 3; (2) Kumārāpāla, abhiśekha Mārgaśīra sudi 4, S. 1199, death Pausa sudi 12, S. 1229; (3) Ajayapāla, death Phālguna sudi 12, S. 1239; (4) Mūlarāja II., death Chaitra sudi 4, S. 1234.—The dates for the kings of the Vāgholī branch have been taken from the *Vichitrakṛantī*. The connection of their first ancestor, Dhavala, with the main line is not clear. But he also must have been a Chaulukya, as his descendants always bear this family name in the inscriptions.*

#### MISCELLANEA.

##### BARISAL GUNS, &c.

In a manual of *The District of Bakerganj* by Mr. Beveridge, the country round the mouth of the Ganges, and its peculiarities, are described. In one passage he refers to a phenomenon in one of the islands out in the Bay of Bengal.

"I questioned Khela Mag about the curious phenomenon known by the name of the Barisāl guns. He said that he heard them often in the beginning of the rains. He described the sound as being exactly like that of the discharge of a cannon, and said it appeared to have no connection with the tide, and that the noise was quite different from that of the 'Bora,' or of the coming in of the breakers. The noises appeared to come from the north, south, and south-west. The statement that they sometimes come from the north is important, for hitherto we have supposed that no one ever got to the south of them. It is because that they are always heard from the south that the natives poetically represent them as caused by the shutting and opening of Bāvana's gate in Ceylon." Mr. Beveridge adds (p. 168), "The conclusion, therefore, which I come to, is that the sounds are atmospheric, and in some way connected with electricity."

At p. 154 of vol. V. of the *Indian Antiquary*, Mr. Horne, in his account of Himalayan villages, mentions the extraordinary and imposing sounds heard in the early morning amongst the mighty peaks,—not ascribable, he thinks, to avalanches, and which the natives cannot account for.

The town of Koimbatūr, in Madras, is backed on the west by a semicircle of lofty mountains, cleft in the centre of the arc by a lower pass, down the high slope above which, on the south, a white streak of water is seen descending. This is the source of the Śirivātī, an affluent of the Bhavānī river, which skirts and drains the southern watershed of the Nīlgirī. The Śirivātī waterfall issues from a remarkable pool or rock-basin, quite 4000 feet high on the mountain side, and called by the jungle people *Muttukulam*, 'Pearl-foot.' The people have a great awe of this pool, and can hardly be persuaded to approach it, declaring that extraordinary and tremendous noises are at times heard to issue from it, and roll crashing amongst the mountains. It is declared to be bottomless, and certainly the longest bamboo obtainable could find no bottom.

In a book of South American travel published a few years ago, there was an account of a tremendous and terrifying noise proceeding for three days from the interior of the vast Guiana forest-wilderness: there was no earthquake or volcanic phenomena to account for it, and the Indians could suggest no cause or explanation.

Whether Mr. Beveridge's suggestion of atmospheric causes and electricity will account for these mighty and mysterious voices from ocean, mountains, and forest is a question for natural philosophers to determine.



## ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from page 42.)

## XV.—Gold treasure-trove in Madras.

IN vol. II. of Col. Yule's edition of the *Travels of Marco Polo*, pp. 305-311, there is an account of the once famous port of Kail, in Tinnivelly, near the extreme southern cape of the Peninsula. In Marco Polo's time it belonged to Asiar, the eldest of five brother-kings who ruled the regions of the south. "At this city," says Marco, "touch all ships that come from the west—from Hormos, Aden, and Arabia." Its site is ascertained to have been on the Tāmraparai river, at a spot now one and a half miles from its mouth,—of old probably nearer the sea, on a backwater, whence its name (*kāyāl* in Tamil = a backwater); and ruins of old fortifications, temples, wells, tanks, everywhere for three or four miles along the coast, attest its ancient wealth and importance, while the whole plain for a mile and a half inland is covered with mounds, tiles, and broken pottery, amongst which pieces of china-ware are not uncommon. Diggings in these mounds would probably discover much of antiquarian interest. Except the above-mentioned vestiges, the great and populous city has disappeared from the face of the earth, its name surviving only in tradition, and its site till of late uncertain. Tutakorin, a few miles further up, is now the rising and frequented port.

Between two and three years ago a remarkable discovery of gold coin was made in the tract once occupied by the ancient port. Some coolies, whilst digging a water-channel at some distance inland, dug up a large globular metal vessel, the lips of the mouth of which had been turned down and beaten together so as to close the opening completely. The vessel contained gold coins to the amount, it is believed, of *some thousands*—principally, it would seem, Muhammadan; but the treasure was instantly divided amongst the finders, and almost the whole of it melted down! The energetic Collector of the province, Mr. R. K. Puckle, from whom I received the account, as soon as the news of the find oozed out and reached him, used all means of encouragement and persuasion to induce the people to bring him any of the coins, offering a reward for them beside their intrinsic value as gold; but this only increased

the fear of the ignorant finders, and of the whole great treasure only about thirty pieces were rescued, in a manner showing how insuperable popular suspicions are in such an affair. On approaching a village where it was thought there might be some of the coins, a little girl was seen running away from it carrying a small earthen *chāṭṭi*, and happening to fall in her haste the *chāṭṭi* broke and thirty coins rolled out, which appear to have been all that escaped the melting-pot. It would be unsafe to estimate from this scanty remnant the general character of the whole great hoard, which there is reason to believe did amount to thousands, all gold, but the few that escaped were of Muhammadan coinage, except one piece of Johanna of Naples (A.D. 1343-82); from this it may be concluded that Spanish, Portuguese, and Venetian broad pieces, such as were wont to be used in the old traffic with the East, were not wanting in the hoard. Could but the circumstances be told in which this remarkable golden treasure was amassed, concealed, and lost, what a strange story might be revealed!

Of other golden finds in Madras territories, a large quantity of Roman gold coins was found in 1787 near Nelliūr, under the remains of a small Hindu temple; there were many coins of Trajan, and several as fresh and beautiful as if just from the mint. (See *As. Res.* vol. II. p. 332.) Five pieces of the Emperors were dug up at Kāruṛ, in Koimbatūr, in 1806; and in the same district I have twice known small *chāṭṭi* containing several hundreds of the minute spangle-like Hindu coins, popularly called 'Shānār cash,' with which all Southern India seems sown (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 191), to have been turned up in ploughing. I remember, too, when the right of excavating and searching for coin in the extensive old mud fort at Dhārāpuram, in Koimbatūr, was rented out and farmed—an item in the district accounts—gold coins were said to be found there frequently. A potful of Roman aurei is also reported to have been found near Solapur in 1840: only a few were preserved. In Asia, as in Europe, the amount of treasure-trove preserved has ever been lamentably small in proportion to the amount discovered.

The hoard in Tinnivelli was discovered in December 1872; its probable value is estimated at a lakh of rupees. The labourers divided the spoil, but the Tahsildār succeeded in recovering Rs. 8,000 worth of coin and ingots; the rest was quickly melted down, and all traces of it lost. Of the coins 31 were obtained for Government, and are now in the Madras Museum. The inscriptions on the whole of the coins are in Arabic or Kufic, with one exception,—a coin of Peter of Aragon, (not Johanna of Castile), the legend on which is in Latin in old Gothic characters, and reads thus:—

"*Somma potestas est in Deo.*"

P. Dei gra. Aragon. sigil. re." surrounding a shield.

"*Ps. Coat. Dei gra. Aragon. sigil. reg. :*"  
In the field an eagle.

The P. referred to is Pedro III., king of Aragon, who began to reign A.D. 1276.

He concluded a treaty with a Sultan of the Mamluk Bahrite dynasty, and hence probably

the coin found its way to Egypt, and so to India.

The coins bearing Arabic characters belong to four dynasties,—the Khalifa, Atabega, Ayubite, and Mamluk Bahrite. The coins in Kufic characters have not been deciphered.

The greatest gold-find recorded in Madras happened in 1851, when a vast treasure was discovered on a hill near Kottayam, ten miles east of Kannanur: the native discoverers for a long time maintained the strictest secrecy: the purity of the gold attracted the jewellers and wealthy men, and nearly all were melted down for ornaments. No less than five cooly-loads of gold coins are said to have been taken from this spot. Eighty or ninety coins came into the possession of the Raja of Travancore, and a larger number was obtained by General Cullen, the Resident. Not one reached the Madras Museum. The coins were of the following reigns:—Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Caligula, Drusus.\*

### MATHURĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY P. S. GOWDE, M.A., B.O.S.

The Pāli inscriptions, of which rubbings and transcripts are herewith sent, have been collected within the last few years from different spots in and about the city of Mathurā. The stones upon which they are engraved are as yet in my own possession, but will eventually be transferred to a local museum, which is now in course of erection. The building was commenced more than twenty years ago by Mr. Mark Thornhill, the then Collector of the district, who intended it as a rest-house for natives of rank on their occasional visits to the station. After some Rs. 50,000, raised by local subscription, had been expended, the work was interrupted by the Mutiny, and never resumed till 1874, when Sir John Strachey, the most liberal supporter of art and science that the North-West has ever had at its head, warmly encouraged the idea of its conversion into a museum, and subsequently sanctioned a grant-in-aid of Rs. 3,500 from provincial funds. The central court was last year raised by the addition of an attic, and covered

in with a stone vault. In this (so far as constructional peculiarities are concerned) I have reproduced the roof of the now ruined temple of Haridra at Govardhan, an interesting specimen of the eclectic style that prevailed in the reign of the emperor Akbar, and which so recently as 1872 was in almost perfect preservation. The cost of these additions was Rs. 5,388. A portion is now being added at an estimated outlay of Rs. 8,494; and when the openings that were broken through the walls by Mr. Thornhill's whimsical successor, with the express object of disfiguring his predecessor's design, have been closed in with tracery, the whole will present a most beautiful and elaborate specimen of the architecture of Mathurā in the nineteenth century.†

Though the cost of the building has been so considerable, it is only of small dimensions, the whole surface of the stone being covered with geometric and flowered patterns of the most artistic character. It is therefore intended to

\* From Catalogue of Coins in the Government Museum, Madras.

† I have been able to carry out so many architectural works since I have been at Mathurā that probably in after years native tradition will associate with my name every-

thing that was built about the period. I wish, therefore, to place on record that I am not responsible for the design of the portion. It is in itself very beautiful work, but it is quite out of place in the open air, on the side of a dusty road.



called *Tripitaka*), which are mentioned by both the Chinese pilgrims as being at Mathurā.

No. 3 is from the base of a pillar found at the same place as No. 1. It is cut in bold clear letters which are for the most part decipherable, as follows:—

*Ayam kumbhaka dānam dhikṣuṣam Suri-  
yaya Buddha-rakṣitaya cha prahitakānam.  
Anautyaṃ (?) deyam dharuṇa pa . . . nam.  
Sarvata prahitakānam aya dakṣitaya dharaṇa.*

The purport of which would be: "This pillar is the gift of the mendicants Surya and Buddha-rakṣita, *prahitakas*. A religious donation in perpetuity. May it be in every way a blessing to the *prahitakas*!"

I observe that Prof. Kern, in his "Notes on the Jannar Inscriptions" (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 40), questions the probability of a *dhikṣu* being ever a donor, since (as he says) monks have nothing to give away, all to receive. But in this place the reading is unmistakably clear, nor is the fact really at all inconsistent with Hindu usage. In the Mathurā district I can point to two large masonry tanks, costing each some thousands of rupees, which have been constructed by mendicant *bairāgis* out of alms that they had in a long course of years begged for the purpose. The word *prahitaka*, if I am right in so reading it, is of doubtful signification. It might mean either 'messenger' or 'committee-man,' a commissioner or a commissaire.

No. 4 is from the mound called the Kan-kālī tīlā. It is cut on the upper part of a broken slab which has an ornamental border round the edge, but otherwise presents a plain surface. The obverse of the stone is more elaborately carved, and resembles the spandril of a doorway, with a vine-leaf scroll, and in the jamb the model of a triumphal column supporting the figure of an elephant on a bell capital that is surmounted by winged lions. The upper portions of two such pillars as that here represented are in existence, the one at Sankisa, the other in my own collection with the date *Huvishka Sak.* 39 on the abacus: it has been figured in vol. II. of Gen. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*. The first letter in the inscription at the back of this curious slab belongs to a word that has been destroyed; it is followed by the name of the donor in the genitive case, *Mugali-pata*. This would seem to be a distinctively Buddhist appellation, and

therefore worthy of remark, since most of the sculptures found in this tīlā are of Jain type.

No. 5 is from the base of a small headless seated nude figure of white stone, and, to judge from the style of the sculpture and the ill-formed letters, is of no very great antiquity. Under it is a row of six standing figures, three on either side of a central *chakra*. Nothing is recorded in the inscription beyond the date; but this is given both in words and figures, as follows:—

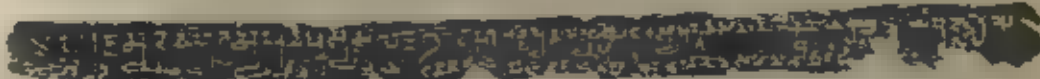
*Samvatsare sapta panyāse 57 Hemanta tritiye  
divare trayadase. Aya purayam:*

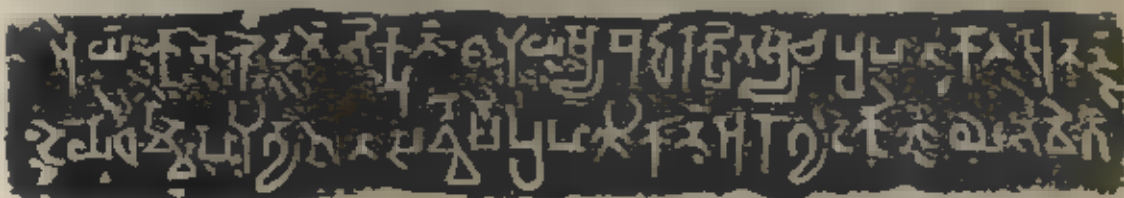
that is to say, "In the year fifty-seven (57), on the thirteenth day of the third winter month." It had been built up into a mud wall in the Manoharpur quarter of the city, and my attention was first called to it by General Cunningham. It is curious in two ways: *first*, because it definitely fixes, beyond any possibility of doubt, the value of the symbol representing 50; *secondly*, if the date is really the year 57 of the same era as that employed in the inscriptions of Kanishka and Huvishka, it is the earliest unmistakably Jain figure yet found in this neighbourhood. I cannot, however, believe but that it is comparatively modern, and if so it affords a strong confirmation of a theory originally broached, I believe, by Mr. Thomas. He suggests that the Indo-Skythians using the era of the Seleucids, which commenced in the 1st of October 312 B.C., gave only the year of the century, omitting the century itself, in the same way as we write '77 for 1877. The theory is corroborated by the fact that only one of the Mathurā inscriptions as yet found gives a date higher than a hundred, viz. 135; and this particular inscription probably belongs to an entirely different series: for in it the division of the year is not into the three seasons of Grishma, Varshā, and Hemanta, but according to the Hindu calendar still in use, the month quoted being Paushya. It is, however, very doubtful whether the era of the Seleucids is the one intended; it might with equal or even greater probability be the Kāśmīrian era employed by Kalhana in the last three books of his *Rājatarangīnī*, and still in use among the Brāhmins of that country. It is otherwise called the era of the Saptarishis, and dates from the so-called procession of Ursa Major, Chaitra Sudi 1 of



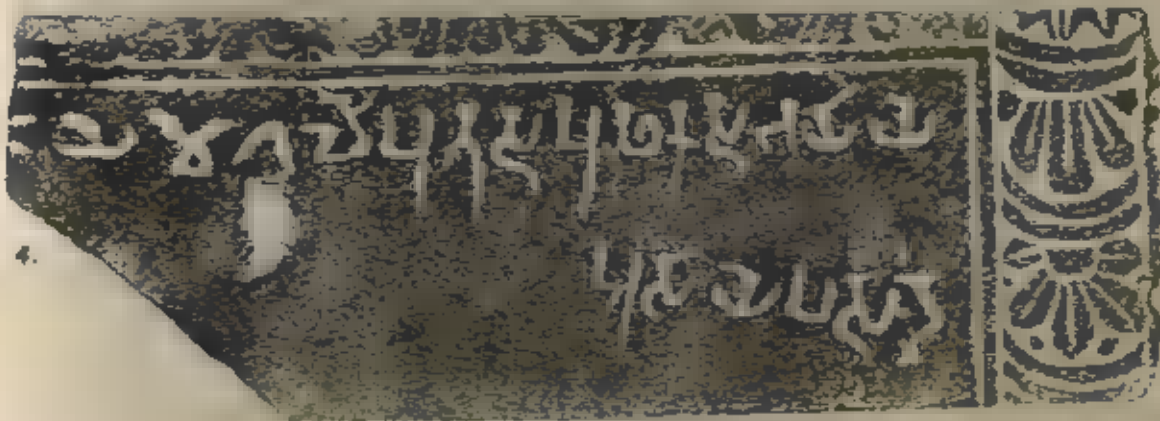
1. 

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

2. 

3. 

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

4. 

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

5. 

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

6

ἡ ἑκτατοῦτος

$\eta \zeta \tau \nu \mu \omega \pi \rho \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota$

7.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

8

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*[Faint, illegible handwriting]*

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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the 26th year of the Kati-yuga, 3076 a.c.\* It is known to be a fact, and is not a mere hypothesis, that when this era is used the hundreds are generally omitted. The chronological difficulties involved in these inscriptions seem, therefore, almost to defy solution: the order in which the kings, whose names are mentioned, succeeded one another is uncertain: the era may commence either in October 312 a.c. or in March 3076 a.c.; and the century of the era is never expressed. It has occurred to me that the phrase *ayya purrayam*, which is of such very frequent occurrence, and has never been satisfactorily explained, may possibly refer to this suppression of the first figures of the date.

No. 6 is from a broken Buddhist rail found at the same place as No. 2. The front is carved with a single female figure, unusually well executed, and at the back were three bas-reliefs, the lowest of which has been lost. The inscription is a single line between the upper and middle groups, and, as it ends with the word *dānam*, apparently records only the donor's name, though what the name is I cannot exactly determine.

No. 7 is from the base of a seated Buddha of very early character, with drapery falling over the body in a multiplicity of small folds. I recovered it from the bed of the Jamunā, where it was being used by the dhobis as a washing-stone. The letters are so worn that the only words I am able to decipher are *Daya-dāyama* and *Buddha* in the first line, and at the end of the second *varre* and again *Buddha*.

No. 8 is from the base of a small seated figure with a group below it as in No. 5. It was found at the Kankali tūā. Bābu Rājendralāla Mitra reads it thus:—

*Siddhārthakasya datta-bhikkhavya vibhārya,*  
and translates, "Of the monastery of Datta-bhikkhu, who had accomplished the object of existence." I should prefer to render, "May it prosper! The gift of Jivika, a mendicant; for the monastery."

No. 9 is from the base of a very large seated figure carved in red sandstone, of which nothing but the feet remain. It begins *Vārsha-māse* 2 āṣvini, "On the sixth day of the second month of the rains." The remainder is too much defaced for me to make out.

No. 10 is from below a small seated nude figure, carved in white stone, a material which ordinarily indicates a more modern date. The inscription is in three portions, and gives the Śaivrat year in Nāgarī figures as 1134. It was found at the Kankali tūā, which would thus seem to have been popularly frequented as a religious site for a period extending continuously over more than a thousand years. Either the Jains succeeded the Buddhists, in the same way as Protestants have taken the place of Catholics in our English cathedrals, or the two rival sects may have existed together, like Greek and Latin Christians in the holy places at Jerusalem.

No. 11, under the feet of a large seated Buddha in red sandstone, reads thus:—  
*Mahārājasya Deraṇṇatraya Harihārtanya rājya*  
*sam 50 He. 3 di. 2*

It is valuable as an undoubted early example of the same symbol for 50, as is seen in No. 5.

All these readings are tentative and imperfect. Even so they supply matter for interesting speculation. But if, as I hope, they are supplemented and corrected, much more will, no doubt, be elicited from them.

Mithurā, February 2, 1877.

## THE STORY OF KHAMBA AND THOIRI: A MANIPURI TALE.

TRANSLATED BY G. H. RAMANT, OFFG. POLITICAL AGENT, MANIPUR.

In the country of Manipur there is a village called Mayāng Imphāl, where there was a king called Yai Thongnāl. He had three sons, the eldest called Hauram Halba, the second Hauram Ningai, and the youngest Hauram Tol. When their father died the three brothers quarrelled as to which should be king; but the youngest gained the throne, and the second brother,

Hauram Ningai, fled to a village called Moirang, where the king, Sangiel Lālthāba, succoured him, and he married a wife there and begot Pachelba, who begot Parelba, who slew five tigers in Tarbung.

Sangiel Lālthāba, the king of Moirang, begot Kekhoi Lālthāba, who had two sons, Jāra-kong Yāmba and Chingkhutol Haiba; the

oldest, Jārathong Yāmba, afterwards became king, and the second, Chingkhutol Haiba, was Jubrāja.

King Jārathong Yāmba, deeming that Parelba had become famous by having killed the tigers, gave him his own wife, Gūngko Reima Yarelom Pokpi, and he married her and begot a daughter called Khamnu and a son called Khamba. As the king of Moirang had a great liking for Parelba, he gave him the lands of Nongtholba, Lanoirakpa, and Khada Halba, and also the salt well at Tarbung and the Nāgā villages of Laisang and Khāram lairel; he also received a tribute of pepper from the Nāgās. Parelba had formed a friendship with Thonglel Athoba, Nonghāl Chouba Asingba, and Kabai Sāling Maiba Khāringrang Chumba. When Khamba was born his three friends told him that it would be well to go to the king and ask him to give the child a name. The king told them to wait a little, and after some consideration came back and said, "As I have made you wait, let us call your son Khamba." The father was pleased with it, and gave a *chei*, i.e. two *toldr*, of gold.

Now the king Jārathong Yāmba and the Jubrāja Chingkhutol Haiba had no children, although the king had fifteen wives and the Jubrāja eleven, so they went and worshipped the god Thāngjing, but still the king had no child. However, Langmaling Thojamu Sanguanil Khurambi, the first wife of the Jubrāja, bore a daughter. The king was very much pleased, and said, "As I have no child, this daughter of my brother's will be celebrated above all others: let us therefore call her *Thoiibi* (i.e. 'famous')."

One day after this, as Parelba was returning from the palace he fell ill, and called his two friends Thonglel and Chouba, and said to them, "My friends, I am very ill and about to die, therefore I wish to speak to you. My friend Chouba, you have a son, Phairichāmba Selanghatal, and I have a daughter, Khamnu; do you therefore make her your daughter and marry her to your son." So saying he called the child and gave her away; she was then five years old. Then he said to Thonglel, "You,

my friend, although you have nine wives, have no child; therefore take my children, Khamnu and Khamba, for your own, and also take all my clothes, turban, *dao*, spear, hunting dress, war dress, necklaces and ornaments, and if you hear of any one ill-treating my children protect them like a father; and do you, my friend Chouba, acting like a mother, protect their land and wood, and guard them should any one make them slaves or seize their cattle; and do you, Thonglel, be a father to them." With these words Parelba died.

After this Khamba gradually began to sit and walk, and when Khamnu was old enough to nurse her little brother her mother died, and Thonglel and Chouba came and burnt her body, and Thonglel said to Khamnu and Khamba, "My children, come to my house and I will be your father; you have none else left to care for you." But Khamnu refused to leave her father's house, and Thonglel then told her that her father on his deathbed had entrusted all his property to him; and, as it would be spoiled if it remained there, he took it all away with him. When he reached home he said to his wife, Thongsaelbi, "In case I die, fall ill, or forget it, you remember that this property all belongs to my friend Parelba and his wife." But afterwards, through the miraculous power of a god, he forgot all about it, and so did the children. In the meantime Khamnu used to support her little brother by begging.

One day, by the mercy of God, Khamnu went to beg at the house of Niogolākpa of Moirang, and it happened that Thoiibi had come there to play *kāng*,† and was eating with the other ladies of the royal family. When Khamnu came up, the servant at the door would not let her enter, saying that the ladies were at dinner; but just at that moment Thoiibi came out to bathe, and seeing Khamnu asked who she was. Khamnu replied that she had come to beg, and that her name was Khamnu, and she was the daughter of a Komal.‡ Thoiibi felt pity for her, and asked her where she lived, and why she came to beg, and whether she had no father, mother, or brother. Khamnu said she had no father or mother, but supported one

\* The Manipuri word *khambo* means 'to restrain, to make to stop.'

† This is a game something like skittles on a small scale. The *kāng* is the seed of a large kind of creeper called *glio* in Bengal; it is propelled by the finger at a number of pins set

in a row. It is principally played by the Manipuri women.

‡ The Marapols are said to be derived from four tribes—Moirang, Luang, Komal, and Meithun; they have now all assumed the name Meithun, which tribe seems to have conquered the rest.



young brother, and she lived in the quarter of Chingai. Thoibi pitying her, replied, "Let you and me be friends and eat together;" and she took her among the other royal ladies and made her eat, and gave her rice and vegetables for her brother, and had it well cooked, and told her to take home with her all the rice, fish, and salt that was left; and it was as much as she could carry. Thoibi then asked her brother's name, and Khamnu told her it was Khamba. Thoibi then said, "Sister, all the royal ladies are going tomorrow to fish in the *logtak* (a lake in the south of Manipur): come with me and steer my boat; but it is not proper that you should come among so many people with such ragged clothes: stop a little." And she sent her servant Senu into the house and brought a *dhuti*, *chadar*, and *pagri* for Khamba, and a *phanch* and *chadar* for Khamnu, and gave her some *sel*, as well.

Khamnu returned home and gave the rice and clothes to her brother. Khamba, finding the food very good, asked her where she had got it, and she told him how she had formed a friendship with Thoibi, who had given her the food and clothes, and invited her to steer her boat next day when she went a-fishing; and she told Khamba to stay at home and guard the house. Early next morning the ladies of the royal family, with Thoibi and Khamnu, went down to the *logtak*, and cast their nets and caught many fish.

Towards evening Khamba, thinking that he might meet Thoibi, determined to go to the lake, so he took a boat and fortunately came to the very place where his sister and Thoibi were. Directly he and Thoibi met they fell in love with each other, and she asked Khamnu if she knew who he was. The girl replied that he was her own brother, and turned to him and asked him why he had come. He said she had been a long time returning, so he had come to meet her. His sister said she would follow, and he returned home. Thoibi, Khamnu, and the rest followed, and Thoibi gave Khamnu a great

quantity of fish for herself and her brother to eat.

Now Thoibi had been very much pleased with Khamba, and could not forget him, so she told Khamnu she would pay her a visit at her own house, and then went away, and they all went each to his own house. In the evening Thoibi took her servant Senu with her to carry some food, and went to Khamba's house. Khamnu saw her coming and saluted her, and Thoibi asked her how she and her brother managed to live. She replied that through their poverty they were forced to live by begging. Thoibi replied, "Your house does not look like the house of poor people, but seems to belong to some great officer: tell me the truth." Khamnu said, "My father was an officer under the king of Kama,—so I have heard my father and mother say." Thoibi was secretly rejoiced to hear that, and said, "It is very late, we cannot go alone; tell your brother to see us home." So Khamba went with them and on the way he and Thoibi agreed that they would be betrothed, and took an oath to be faithful to each other, and Khamba came back after seeing Thoibi home.

Some time after this the two divisions of the village of Moirang played a match at hockey<sup>†</sup>; Kongyamba was captain of the lower division, and Khamba of the upper division. Previous to this, Khamba had not been renowned among the people, but God made him victorious at hockey, and he defeated Kongyamba, and all the people of the upper division were glad; and after this his father's friend Nongbi Chouba introduced him to all as the son of Putha.

In a short time afterwards all the people assembled and obtained leave from the king to hold a festival\* in honour of the god Thang-jing, and Kongyamba was appointed to collect flowers to decorate the lower division of the village, and Khamba to do the same for the upper division, and Nongbi Chouba then introduced him to the king. Early next morning Kongyamba and Khamba went to pick flowers, as the festival was to be held on the following

† The dress of a Manipur woman consists of a skirt called *phanket*, worn straight across the breast under the *amphie*, a jacket called *phunt*, and a *chadar*; the two latter are often dispensed with.

‡ A small brown cow used in Manipur: about 450 rupees to the rupee.

\* Hockey is the great national game of the Manipuris, whether on foot or horseback; it is played by 20 players from the Raja downwards. Khen-gun to be a good hockey-

player is a sure way of rising to notice in the state.

\* This festival is called *Latharumba*, and is still commonly held. It is a remnant of paganism which has not disappeared to the Hinduism now prevailing in the country. The god to whom it is in honour the festival is held is played in the night, and all the men and women, both married and unmarried, dance round a great bonfire with flowers, *moos* are sung, and the whole of the night is spent. There appears to be very little idea of religious worship in it.

day. Kongyamba told Khamba to go up the mountain, and he would remain where he was; and Kongyamba picked *haukeroi*† flowers, but Khamba climbed a tree and gathered *mallai*‡ flowers, and when they had done so they both returned home. And Thonglel, his father's friend, called Khamba and gave him all his father's clothes and ornaments, and also taught him to dance. When the king and all the people were assembled for the festival, Kongyamba presented flowers to the deity and the king, and distributed the rest among the people, and Khamba did the same; and the king, seeing that the flowers he had brought were out of season, gave Khamba a reward. After that the boys and girls danced, and the king made Khamba and Thoibi dance together, and all the people talked of their beauty. When the festival was over, the king and others made obeisance to the deity, which was taken away, and they all returned home.

After some time it happened that wrestling and running matches were held, and Kongyamba was chosen captain of the lower village, and Khamba of the upper village; there were fifteen competitors on either side, and the starting point was at Kwakta. Khamba won the race. Khamba and Kongyamba then wrestled together, and Khamba was victorious. In jumping, tossing the *sabor*, and putting the stone he was also successful; and the king, saying he was the best man, gave him a present of clothes.

Some days after this the time came for the *maibi*§ to sit at the shrine of the god to consult the oracle. Now Kongyamba determined to kill Khamba, so he disguised himself as the *maibi* and sat before the god, and told the king, "The god declares in a dream that if you can catch the bull which feeds at Ikop and offer it to him, your life will be long and your people happy." So the king assembled all his officers and people, and said, "If the bull which feeds at Ikop can be caught and offered to the god, my life will be long; is there any among you who can catch it?" As no one answered, Khamba came forward and saluted the king, and said he would undertake the task. The king was delighted to hear it, and said, "If you succeed, I will give you my niece Thoibi in marriage;

but the bull feeds on the lands of the king of Kumal; we must send word to him." So he sent an officer named Thangarakpa, who told the king of Kumal about it, and he agreed to let them catch the bull, and proposed that his friend the king of Moirang and he should go together to see the sight.

So Thangarakpa returned, and the king ordered proclamation to be made, and the next day the king of Moirang and his people, and the king of Kumal and his people, all assembled, and the two kings sat on platforms to see the sight. Khamba came forward and saluted them, and said he was ready, and he and the bull had a great straggie. At last he threw the bull down, and bound him with a rope and brought him to the two kings. The king of Moirang was much pleased, and gave him a present of clothes and a gold necklace and bracelets. The king of Kumal asked whose son he was, and the other king replied, "He is of your family, for he is the son of Porelba." The king of Kumal said, "Then he is my cousin, for Porelba was my father's older brother: treat him kindly." The other king said, "I have given him my niece Thoibi in marriage." And the king of Kumal replied, "Then you and I have become relations. Let us go now." So they both of them went away home, and the bull was offered to the god of Moirang.

In the course of time it was determined to hold a shooting match, and every one put on his best clothes. Kongyamba was ordered to pick up the arrows shot by the king, and Khamba those of the Juhraja. Now Thoibi had made a very handsome jacket, and when she heard that Khamba was to collect the arrows shot by her father she called her servant Senu and told her to give it to Khamba, and tell him to wear it next day at the festival. After she had done so, her father the Juhraja asked her where the jacket was, as he wished to wear it, but she said she had sold it and could not give it him.

So the king and the people of Moirang went to the place where the archery match was held, and the king shot first, and Kongyamba picked up his arrow and gave it back to him. Then the Juhraja shot, and Khamba picked up his

† A kind of red cockscomb flower.

‡ *Afelia*, a kind of yellow and brown orchid; it flowers in October. It is one of the most handsome of the orchid tribe.

§ The *maibi*: are a kind of priests, or rather priestesses;

for they are generally, though not always, women. They preside at the different festivals, act as fortune-tellers, and pretend to some skill in medicine. They appear to have no connection with Hinduism, but belong to the old superstition.

arrow, but as he was giving it back the Jubrāja saw that he was wearing his daughter's jacket, and grew angry and said he would not give his daughter to him, but to Kongyamba. So he called Kongyamba and said to him, "I will give you my daughter Thoibi, and you may bring the fruits for the marriage in seventeen days to me." When Khamba's father's friends Thonglöl and Chooba heard this, they came with Khamba and saluted the Jubrāja and said, "Do not, because you are angry, dismiss Khamba." But the Jubrāja answered, "The daughter I have reared I have given away, there is nothing left." The king was inwardly displeased to hear it, and retired to his palace, while the Jubrāja and all the people returned home.

The Jubrāja called Thoibi and told her that he had given her to Kongyamba; but she secretly determined that she would not consent, and went to her mother, the first queen, and said, "My father has given me to Kongyamba, and told me to marry him, against my will." The queen replied, "The king gave you to Khamba for having caught the bull; tell him to come and marry you." So she sent word to Khamba by her servant Senu. Early next morning Khamba took some fruit from his father's friend Kabui Senang Maiba, and carried it home with him. And the same morning Kongyamba brought his fruit for the marriage, but as Thoibi did not love him she pretended to be ill, and he returned home. After this, by the queen's advice, Khamba brought his fruit, but Thoibi did not go with him, as the Jubrāja was angry and would not eat of the fruit that he had brought, so she put it aside carefully to give to her father when he was in a good humour. Meanwhile the Jubrāja went to hunt wild beasts at Tarbut, but was not successful, and as he was returning the god Thangjing inspired him with a great desire to eat some of Thoibi's fruit, and when he reached home he asked her for some. She prepared the fruit which Khamba had brought, and gave it to him. He said, "My daughter, this fruit is very good, where did you get it?" She replied, "It is the fruit which Khamba brought, and which you refused to eat." At that he grew very angry, and said, "What! have you given me the fruit which I refused to eat before?"

It is customary in Manipur for the bridegroom, before the marriage, to bring a present of fruit and vegetables to the bride's house, which is taken by her relations. It

The Jubrāja thought in his heart that Khamba had made his daughter mad: so he determined to have him beaten, and sent a servant to call Kongyamba secretly. Kongyamba came and saluted him, and the Jubrāja took him aside and said, "Call Khamba to Khauri bazar and assemble your friends and relations to beat him, for he has bewitched my daughter, whom I gave to you." Kongyamba was very glad, and went away and assembled all his friends and relations, and called Khamba, and took them all to Khauri bazar.

The Jubrāja took secretly one of the king's elephants called Guāngkhāmkpa Saranglalia, and went to the same place and said to Khamba, "You have spoken softly to my daughter and made her mad: now if you will at once promise to give her up I will not beat you, but if you refuse, your grave shall be in this bazar." Khamba replied, "Jubrāja, even though you do not love me, yet when I caught the bull you and the king gave your daughter to me in the presence of all the people; and moreover she and I are betrothed, and have taken an oath to be faithful to each other, so I cannot give her up." The Jubrāja hearing this became very angry, and said he would kill him. Khamba said, "I will abide by the constancy of your daughter, and will never turn my face away from her."

The Jubrāja then told Kongyamba to assemble his men to beat Khamba, and he and all his men came with a rush and attacked Khamba, and the latter girt up his clothes and attacked them in turn without turning his face away: but they were so many that they overcame him and beat him severely, and the dust rose in such clouds that their bodies could not be seen. There were thirty of them, so that he could not resist them. The Jubrāja became still more angry, and said, "If he acts like this in my presence I will kill him at once; bring the elephant." So the elephant was brought, and he ordered them to tie Khamba to its foot, and have him dragged up and down the bazar. So the men all seized Khamba, and were tying him to the elephant's foot.

Now, while this was going on, Thoibi was asleep, but the god came to her in a dream

appears to be considered equivalent to a formal offer of marriage. It is called *Haeying puā*.



and told her that Khambka was being killed in the bāzār. She opened her eyes and wondered what it was, and then she called her servant Senn, and took a knife in her hand and went out. When the Jubrāja and the men who were tying Khambka to the elephant's foot saw her they all ran away.

Thoibi went up to the elephant and said to him, "Elephant, if you kill my lover, trample me underfoot and kill me too," and she took an oath to die under the elephant's foot. The elephant, seeing she was a good woman and had taken an oath, lowered his trunk to the ground and trumpeted: and she, seeing Khambka, asked the elephant to unloose the rope by which he was tied, and he did so, and she said to Khambka, "My dear, have you suffered all this for my sake?" and they both wept.

Meanwhile Khambka's sister Khambu, and Phairoichāmba, and his father's friends Thonglei and Chouba, hearing the news, ran up from all sides. When they saw Khambka, Thonglei and Chouba both grew very angry, and said, "Bring Phairoichāmba with you and come to the palace." So they all went and found the Jubrāja sitting there. Thonglei said with anger, "Who has beaten my son?" Laimmba, with many followers, wearing his sword, spear, and shield, and all his war dress and ornaments, burst in; and the people, when they saw the numbers with him, and his angry looks, were all afraid. Thoibi told the king everything that had happened, and the king was much displeased when he heard that Khambka had been beaten, and went to his throne-room to give judgment in the matter. He decided that the Jubrāja was in fault, and forbade him to enter the palace again, and ordered all the men who had beaten Khambka to be themselves beaten. But when Kongyāmba was about to be beaten, Khambka saved him by saying that he was not in fault,—all the blame was with the Jubrāja. So Khambka and all the people returned home, and the king ordered them to take care that his servant Khambka did not die, and told the royal doctor to attend him, and Thonglei and Chouba to see that he had proper food while he was ill.

\* In Manipur a man's wife and children are his slaves, and he can sell them whenever he pleases, and this is often done. Only the other day I heard a Manipuri threaten to sell one of his sons as a slave because he preferred play to learning to read.

One day after this her father the Jubrāja said to Thoibi, "For five days I have been trying to persuade you to marry Kongyāmba; why do you still persist in refusing him?" Thoibi replied, "Both you and my uncle the king promised me to Khambka when he caught the bull, and I have taken an oath to be his slave: I will not live with Kongyāmba." At this answer the Jubrāja grew angry, and said, "If you do not obey me, your father, I will sell you as a slave to my friend Tamurakpa at Kubbo,\* and I will take the full price for you and spend it in feasting on fish." Thoibi answered, "Whatever my father says is right."

Early next morning the Jubrāja, saying he would make a slave of Thoibi, called five of his servants and gave them orders concerning her. And she, seeing that her father intended to carry out his purpose, sent her servant Senn to Khambka secretly to tell him about it,—how her father had made a slave of her, and five men were appointed to conduct her to Tamurakpa. So Khambka went and waited quietly in the road, with a bamboo stick in his hand, and when he saw Thoibi he said sadly, "I have nothing else to give you; take this stick and think of it as me." So he gave her the stick, and she went on her way, while he went sorrowfully home.

When Thoibi sat down to rest by the roadside, she broke the stick into two pieces at the point and called God to witness that if she were true and faithful the bamboo should sprout, and she planted it there and it sprouted. After going a little further on the way she saw a large stone, and she said, "If I am chaste and have truly chosen Khambka, may this stone become soft;" and she put her foot on it, and the footprint was left. When she arrived at the house of Tamurakpa, the five servants told her that she was not really sold, but that her father had sent her there to frighten her, and they asked Tamurakpa to treat her kindly, and went away. Tamurakpa called his daughter Chāngning Khombi, and told Thoibi to make friends with her and live there happily.

After three months' time the Jubrāja felt pity for his daughter, and called his five slaves and

\* The valley of Kubbo has now been ceded to Barmah; it formerly belonged to Manipur.

† The clump of bamboo which grew from the stick, and the stone with Thoibi's footprint, are still shown, as is Khambka's coat, which is kept at Meirong, the scene of the story. It is said to be of gigantic size.



told them to fetch her back, and next morning he sent for Kongyamba and said to him, "To-day my daughter Thoibi will return from Tamna:§ do you wait for her in the road and try and persuade her to go to your house. If she refuses and escapes from you, say no more to me about her, for I will not give her again." Kongyamba saluted gladly and went away, and his father and mother and all his relations waited in his house, expecting Thoibi to come. Meanwhile he mounted his horse and took two servants with him, and waited in the road for Thoibi to come. Now Senn, the servant of Thoibi's mother, heard the news and told Khamba secretly, and he told his sister Khamna, but was undecided whether he should go to meet her or not. Meanwhile Tamrakpa told Thoibi that her father had sent for her, and she must go home, and he gave her some silk and other presents.

Now Thoibi, thinking Khamba would have heard the news, had made him a jacket and a full suit of clothes. Before she started she put on her ornaments and best clothes, and made obeisance to the household god of Tamrakpa, and prayed that she might be united to her lover; then she saluted Tamrakpa and his wife, and he blessed her and told her that her wish should be accomplished. And her friend Obangning Khombi gave her a present, and hoped she might succeed in her wish. So she set out with her father's five slaves, and met Kongyamba in the road; and, as she did not love him, she was sorry for it, but he was very glad, and tried to persuade her to go with him by saying that her father had given her to him. Thoibi pretended to be glad outwardly, and sat down near him, but she put the stick which Khamba had given her between them, and thought of it as if it were Khamba himself, and determined to run away to him. At last she hit on a plan, and said she felt feverish. Kongyamba asked how she could be cured, and she said that if she could mount a horse and ride it till she perspired she would be well. So Kongyamba had his horse brought, and Thoibi put the saddle on her head, and saluted it, and saluted all the gods, and prayed that they would bring her

to Khamba's house. She then mounted the horse and galloped him up and down, but when she was at some little distance she galloped away, and by the help of the gods, who loved her because she had saluted them, she arrived safely at Khamba's house. He and his sister Khamna received her joyfully, and he let Kongyamba's horse loose.

Meanwhile Kongyamba, tracking the footprints of the horse, came to the front door and saw Thoibi in the verandah, and thinking that there would certainly be a quarrel he went away quietly, and told his father and mother how Khamba had taken Thoibi away and got the better of him. He said he would go next day to the king and demand justice. Meanwhile his family remained in the house.

Thoibi's servants brought all the things which Tamrakpa had given her to Khamba's house, and they all remained there that day, and word was sent to the Jabraja that Thoibi was there.

Next day, early in the morning, all the officers of Moirang assembled before the king to decide the dispute between Khamba and Kongyamba; but while it was being heard the news came that a man had been killed by a tiger at Khontak. Then the king said to Khamba and Kongyamba, "This news has come while we are hearing your dispute, so whichever of you can kill the tiger shall have my niece, and let God be the witness." They both agreed, and all the people were witnesses thereto. So the people surrounded the tiger,|| and built a fence round the place where he was, and early the next morning the king and all the people went to see the sight. As Khamba was starting, Thoibi said to him, "If I am faithful and pure, you will certainly kill the tiger," and she saluted her god and remained at home. Khamba and Kongyamba, each of them taking his weapons—spear and *dao*—and two servants, went to the place where the tiger was.

They saluted the king, and he gave *pa* to each of them, and told them to be careful not to be killed, and said if one was wounded the other was to protect him. The two friends then saluted the king and all the people, and went

§ A town in the Kabbu valley.

|| Tigers are caught in Manipur by surrounding the jungle in which they are lying by a net, outside of which a bamboo palisade is built, the whole place being closely

surrounded by men armed with long, heavy spears; the tigers now-a-days are generally shot, but in former days it was customary to spear them.

into the enclosure; and the king and the people, holding their tiger-spears, waited to see the sight. As the two entered the tiger-net the people raised a shout. Khamba entered on the north side, and Kongyamba on the south. Kongyamba saw the tiger first and struck at it with his spear, but the tiger turned it aside with its paw and leaped up to seize him, and he, thinking the tiger would certainly bite him, caught it by the loin, and they both struggled together, but the tiger succeeded in biting Kongyamba on the back of the neck. Khamba then came up, and the tiger seeing him went away, and he took Kongyamba and gave him to his father to be taken care of. The king then ordered Khamba to go in again, and he went to the place where the tiger was, but when it saw him it ran away, and he chased it to strike it with his spear. The tiger ran round and round the enclosure, and the people shouted at the sight. Now, since Thoibi was faithful, through the might of the god to whom she had prayed, the tiger was afraid of Khamba, and could not turn its head towards him, and in its efforts to escape it caught hold of the platform where the king was, and a great number of people were assembled. Khamba came up and put his foot on the beast's tail, and when it turned to bite him he struck it in the open mouth with his spear and killed it. The people were all rejoiced, and presented the tiger to the king. Khamba's father's friends Thonglei and Chouba came to the spot, and the king was much pleased, and gave Thoibi to Khamba, and also gave him all the offices which his father held, together with a handsome present, and he and his people all went home. Kongyamba was taken home, where he died. The Jabraja was very glad, and Thoibi rejoiced when she heard the news, and Khamba went home a great man. Thoibi told Khamba he must be very tired, and gave him rice and vegetables of all sorts to eat, which she had cooked carefully, and as she was much pleased she attended on him with great devotion.

Early the next morning the Jabraja took Thoibi home, and the king in his delight had a fine house built for Khamba, and looked for a lucky day for the marriage, and prepared everything that was required—slaves, horses, and cattle. On the appointed day the king and all the principal officers of Moirang went to the house of the Jabraja to be present at the wedding, and Khamba with his father's friends Thonglei and Chouba, and his brother-in-law Pharoichamba, all of them wearing their ornaments, gold bracelets and necklaces, came there too. And Thoibi came wearing a red *phanak* embroidered with flowers, and her dancing dress which was covered with bosses of gold and silver, jewels, and glass, so that it shone brightly; she wore gold bracelets and a gold necklace, and her chain of gold and coral fell down to her waist. The necklaces on her bosom lighted up the place; round her throat was fastened a beautiful jacket, and she wore a transparent scarf all bright with bosses of gold. Her appearance was like running water, and the hair on her head was like fresh flowers. When Thoibi came forth to her wedding, her arms were like lotuses, her legs were as beautiful as the inside of the stalk of a plantain tree and were like an elephant's tusks, her foot was arched as if she wore a clug, her colour was like turmeric, and her complexion like a *champak* flower;—she came forth like the full moon. All the people who had come to the marriage, when they saw Thoibi and Khamba, said they were beautiful like children of the gods, and were never tired of looking at them. When the marriage was over, the king and the Jabraja conducted them to their own house, with all the presents they had collected, and they saluted the king and the Jabraja, who blessed them and returned to the palace.

After this Khamba gave his sister Khamnu in marriage, and conducted her to her husband's house, and gave her many slaves; and Thoibi gave her servant Sam in marriage, and gave her slaves; and Thoibi and Khamba lived happily together in Moirang.

#### CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

##### SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

In looking again over some of Mr. Fleet's valuable Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, my attention has been recalled to a note, appended

to the introductory number of the series at vol. IV. p. 176, in which, on the faith of a report furnished by the late Mr. J. A. C. Howells to the Madras Government, he gives some account of my collection

of old inscriptions, abounding in mistakes. Although hardly worth noticing, I consider that all inaccuracy should be avoided, as far as possible, even in trivial matters, and therefore beg to offer the following corrections.

I made two collections of inscriptions,—the first between 1830 and 1832 in the Dekhan, the second between 1848 and 1854 in the Northern Sirkars. Each collection, when arranged and the most valuable ones selected, filled two folio volumes. Three copies were made of each: of the first or Dekhan set, one was presented to the Literary Society of Bombay, a second to the Literary Society of Madras, and the third to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. Judging from inquiries recently made, the first appears to have been lost.\* The third is still preserved in Albemarle Street. The Telugu series was likewise transcribed three times, and copies presented to the Madras Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the India Office Library. A copy of the Dekhan series, which I had retained for my own use, has since been presented to the library of the Edinburgh University, and is now on loan with Mr. Elliot, who makes such good use of it.

My first essays in palmography were begun in 1828, with the aid of Mundargi Rang Râo, a young Brâhman attached to my office by the late St. John Thackeray when I was appointed Second Assistant to the Principal Collector and Political Agent of the Southern Marâthâ Country, in 1822. He was the son of Bhima Râo, a *munsiff* of that District of Dumbul who was hanged over his own gateway by the Honourable Colonel Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) in 1800, for firing on the British troops, at the same time that Râghobadôr and Bâli were sacked and given to the sword for the resistance offered to the march of the force sent to quell the insurrection of Dhondâ Wâdhg. After the death of the Bâli, Bhima Râo, a man of enterprize and ability, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the country, collected troops in the Peshwâ's name, and rose to considerable eminence. His career, however, was cut short by Bâpû Gokhle, who was appointed Subhadr of the Karnâtika by Bâji Râo, and by whom he was seized and put to death about 1810-11, leaving an infant son, Rang Râo, on whom Gokhle conferred the village of Mundargi with three others in jilgîr.

Mr. Thackeray, being desirous of enlisting men of rank into the public service, invited Rang Râo to join his *kachori*, and, when I joined the district, attached him to me as office *munsiff*. He was about my own age, a fine, high-spirited, intelligent

young man. We became great friends. He was well mounted and fond of sport. We shot and hunted together, and he entered into all my pursuits. When I first turned my attention to the inscribed stones so frequent in the Southern Marâthâ Country, we tried hard to make out their contents, but at first without much success. He then remembered that a *goudahâl* in one of his *judai* villages had the reputation of being a very learned man. He was summoned, and we found him to be an invaluable assistant. By our united efforts we gradually mastered the archaic characters. I began to collect copies of *Idanams* by means first of one, afterwards of two copyists in my own service, carefully trained to the work of transcription. The Yâdû inscription let in a flood of light. We arranged our materials. Each inscription, of any value, by degrees fell into its place, and the result was embodied in the paper sent to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1834, but which having been printed after my return to India, the following year, the proofs did not receive my corrections, and it thus contains several orthographical errors, especially of proper names.†

At Madras I held the subsidiary appointment of Canarese Translator to Government, which was almost a sinecure. The office establishment consisted of a *munsiff* and an English writer. The former, Adakt Subhâ Râo, I soon found to be an invaluable assistant in my antiquarian pursuits. He was an accomplished Sanskrit, Canarese, and Telugu scholar, with a fair knowledge of Tamil. He had also a turn for archaeological research, which only needed stimulus, and he soon entered zealously into my views. I engaged a Brâhman named Râghappa as an itinerating copyist in my private service, with occasional assistance from one of Colonel Mackenzie's old collectors, named Baktavachaliya. The reduction of my materials and all my translations was made with the aid of Subhâ Râo. Three folio volumes of these translations, with much other valuable MS. matter, drawings, &c., perished in a vessel laden with sugar, in which much of my baggage, books, &c. was despatched from Madras. The ship experienced a hurricane off the Isle of France, and shipped much salt water, melting the sugar, and getting at the tin-lined cases penetrated to their contents and entirely destroyed them.

Subhâ Râo died shortly before I was appointed to Council, and Râghappa some time afterwards.

The names mentioned by Mr. Boswell had nothing whatever to do with my antiquarian labours. They were public servants in the Commissioner's

\* The Madras set is now in the hands of Mr. Oppert, the Secretary Madras Literary Society, but its existence was unknown when the Madras Government authorized Mr.

Boswell to collect all the rough copies of my transcripts he could discover!

† Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 349.—Ed



office. Kādambari Jagannāthan was the office *munsif* or secretary. He is since dead. Varilāla Subhā Rāo was an English copyist, a very intelligent man, and now Tahasildār of the Yernagalam tālukā, in the Godāvari district. Chipari Jayarāmān was a mere copyist whom I engaged to transcribe and make fair copies for the three sets of my collection, prepared for distribution. Who Nāgappa Sāstri may have been I cannot imagine, and suspect the name is meant for Rāghappa.

My own copies of the Telugu collection for the India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society, with the original copper-plates and collections of facsimiles, fortunately came home safe.

The conclusion of my connection with my first assistant in archaeological investigation was sad and tragical. Rājga Rāo died whilst I was at home on furlough. His son Bhima Rāo, a very fine, gentlemanlike lad, came to see me at Madras in 1843-44, and remained with me a twelvemonth. I have never seen a more promising youth—clever, well-disposed, and with the most kindly disposition. I tried, without success, to get him employed in Mairor or in some non-regulation district. The stringency of our rules affords small opening for native gentlemen in the public service. He returned to Mundargi disappointed. Afterwards, when the people of the Dekkan were disarmed, the measure was carried out with some harshness in his villages. He was vexed and chafed, and when the Mutiny broke out he joined his neighbour, the Nigund chief, was driven into the fortress of Kopāldurg, and fell in the assault.

WALTER ELLIOT.

Wolfelee, Hawick, N. B., 26th April 1877.

#### VEDIC SANSKRIT.

Prof. Delbrück of Jena, who assisted Prof. Grassmann in his translation of the *Rig-Veda*, has published an essay on "Tenses in Old Sanskrit" (*Altindische Tempuslehre*). It contains a translation of many intricate passages from the *Rig-Veda* and some of the *Bṛāhmaṇas*, and marks a definite advance in our knowledge of Vedic Syntax. The essay forms the second number of a series published by Delbrück and Windisch under the title *Syntaktische Forschungen*.—*The Academy*.

"TĀZA BA TĀZA NAU BA NAU."

Sing me a lay, sweet bard, I sue; once and again,  
anew, anew!

Seek for me winn's heart-opening dew; once and  
again, anew, anew!

I A recent communication from him informs me that he is Acting District Officer of the district, and that Jayarāmān is employed as a peon in the Bapatla tālukā on Rs. 7 a month.

\* From Bicknell's *Selections from the Poems of Sāli*.

Close to some sweet and doll-like fair, sit thou  
apart with cheerful air;

Steal from that cheek the kiss that's due; once  
and again, anew, anew!

Sāli, who steps with silvery limb, now has re-  
crossed my threshold's rim;

He shall my cup with wine imbue; once and  
again, anew, anew!

How shall life's fruit by thee be won, if thou the  
wine-filled goblet shun?

Quaff: and in thought thy loved one view; once  
and again, anew, anew!

Ravishing-hearts, the friend I choose, eager to  
please me well doth use

Gaude and adornments, scent and hue; once and  
again, anew, anew!

Breeze of the morn that soon shall fleet

Hence to that Pari's blissful street,

Tell thou the tale of Hāli true;

Once and again, anew, anew!

#### CHAMPA.

CHAMPA is a name which has been for a very long time applied to a portion of that region to which we give the name of Cochin-China, though the extent covered by the name has varied. It is from the Malays that western navigators adopted most of the geographical nomenclature of the Eastern Seas. And Crawford implies that the Malays gave the name of Champa to the whole of the most salient part of the Cambodian Peninsula, including a part of the coast of the Gulf of Siam, as well as part of the China Sea.† It is possible that this usually accurate writer has here made a slip. But in any case the most ancient use of the name would seem to extend it to the Gulf of Siam. For there is strong reason to believe that both the Zabi of Ptolemy, and the Qanf or Tsanf of the early Arab mariners, both of which are demonstrably to be placed westward of Cape Cambodia, are only representative of the same name, Champa. It is a persistent tradition in modern Cambodia that the Cham or Tsiam race, the proper people of Champa, did occupy the Cambodian soil before the arrival of the Khmers, who have held it, probably, at least since the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era; and M. Garnier, who gave great attention to these questions, has deduced from such data as exist, in the Chinese annals and elsewhere, that the ancient kingdom which the Chinese describe, under the name of Funan, as extending over all the peninsula east of the Gulf of Siam, was a kingdom of the Cham race.

This well-known Persian song, however, is set by Hāli of Shiraz, though it is almost always included in his *Diwan*. *Conf. Academy*, Sept. 30, 1876, p. 832.

† *Descriptive Dictionary, "Indian Archipelago,"* sub voce Champa.



But in the mediæval narratives of Western authors (e. g. Marco Polo, Friar Odoric, John Marignoli, Rashid-ud-din) the name Champa applies to that region which is now sometimes called Cochin-China Proper, as distinguished from Tongking, viz. the protuberant S.E. coast of the peninsula in question, extending northward to 18° or 17° of latitude, the position of which on the route to China caused its shores to be well known to those voyaging to that country. This, or nearly this, was the kingdom called in the oldest Chinese annals *Lin-i*, and afterwards, till its extinction, *Chen-ching*. We hear of *Chen-ching* or *Champas* being often at war with its neighbours, *Tongking* on the one side, and *China* or *Camboja* on the other, and as for a time, at the end of the twelfth century, completely conquered by the latter. But it had recovered independence a century later, for Kublai Khân (1280-1295) had dealings in war and diplomacy with its king. According to Japanese annals, about the middle of the fifteenth century the queen of the principal sovereign of Java was a princess of Champa.

The precise historical relation of this ancient kingdom to the modern kingdom which we call Cochin-China is a little difficult to disentangle. But this southern kingdom of *Chen-ching* or *Champa* was conquered in 1471 by the king of *Tongking* or *Anam*, and has never since revived. For though there was for a long time subsequent to the date named, and down to 1802, a separation of *Tongking* and Southern *Cochin-China* into two distinct kingdoms, the latter was not a revival of *Champa*, both being ruled by dynasties of *Anamite* origin. And after the conquest the name of *Champa* seems to have become restricted to the districts adjoining the south-eastern curve or the coast, and eventually to that district immediately eastward of the *Cambojan* delta, a somewhat barren tract with fine natural harbours, now called by the *Cochin-Chinese* *Binh-Thuan*.

This continued to be occupied by the people called *Chams* or *Taiams*, whose dominion we thus presume (as far as we can see light in these obscure histories) to have first extended over the whole peninsula (as *Funan*); then to have been limited to its eastern and south-eastern shores (*Chen-ching*); and lastly to have been restricted to a small tract of those shores (modern *Champa* or *Binh-Thuan*).

Here a principality of *Champa* long continued to subsist, the residence of the prince being at a place called *Phanri*, about 10 miles from the sea, and apparently near, if not identical with, the present *Binh-Thuan*. The *Champas*, his subjects, were, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

well known over the Archipelago as rovers and seafaring people. This principality was often overrun by the *Cochin-Chinese*, but maintained itself in some shape of recalcitrant subjection to the latter till about 1820, when the *Anamite* king conquered it effectually, expelling the *Champa* prince and most of the people of the same race.

**Name.**—The name *Champa* is Indian, like the adjoining *Camboja* and countless other names in Indo-China, and was probably borrowed from that of an ancient Hindu state and city which stood upon the *Ganges*, near modern *Bhâgalsâr*. *Hiuen-Tsang*, the famous Chinese ecclesiastical traveller of the seventh century, makes mention both of the original *Gangatic* state (which he visited) and of the Indo-Chinese kingdom (which he knew only by hearsay), calling the latter *Mahâ* (or "Great") *Champa*,—an indication, perhaps, of its ample dominion, either then subsisting or traditional, an amplitude of dominion which nearly all states of Indo-China have enjoyed in turn. Hindu titles are also distinctly traceable in the corruptions of the old Chinese notices of the names of kings, and even in one mentioned by *Marco Polo*.

**Ethnology and Religion.**—The people are known in *Camboja* as *Taiams*, to the *Anamites* as *Loi Thuan*, and *Thienng*. We do not know whether the former name has been taken from *Champa*, or the adoption of the Indian name *Champa* been suggested by the name of the people. They have been in great part driven into the mountains, or into the *Cambojan* and *Siamese* territory, where a number of them are settled near the *Great Lake*. There were also old settlements of them on the *Cambojan* coast, between latitude 11° and 12°. The people are said to exhibit, even in language, strong *Malay* affinities, and they have long professed *Muhammadanism*. The books of their former religion, they say, came from *Ceylon*, but they were converted to *Islam* by no less a person than 'Ali himself. The statement is *italicis* interesting. For the *Tongking* people received their *Buddhism*, such as it is, from *China*; and this tradition marks *Champa* as the extreme flood-mark of that great tide of *Buddhist* missions and revival which went forth from *Ceylon* to the Indo-Chinese regions in an early century of our era, and which is generally connected with the name of *Buddha-ghosha*.

**Antiquities.**—There have been many reports of the existence of monuments of Indian or *Buddhist* character in the *Champa* country; and *Mr. Crawford* saw an image of the Hindu god *Ganesa* which was brought from that country to *Singapore* by a *M. Diard* in 1821. But there is, we believe,

nothing yet precisely known as to the monuments, and indeed the late M. Garnier doubted their existence. There are also said to be many Muslimán structures, such as minarets and tombs, with Arabic inscriptions.

The district of Champa, or Binh-Thuan, is one of those especially productive of eagle-wood or aloes-wood; and the *Tsang*, or aloes-wood of Champa, was one of the kinds in high repute with the old Arabs. The native name is *Kisam*. Ebony is also abundant.

*Medieval Notices.*—Both these products are mentioned by Marco Polo, who visited Champa as a commissioner from Kublai Khán about 1285. It was also visited forty years later by the Franciscan Odoric of Pordenone. Both travellers notice as prominent facts the immense family of the king, and the great number of domestic elephants that were kept. Both circumstances are still characteristic of most of the Indo-Chinese states. (Garnier, *Voyage d'Exploration*; Crawford, *Mission to Siam*, &c., and other works; Bastian, *Reise*, I. and IV.; Mouhot's *Travels*; De Maille, *H. Gen. de la Chine*, tom. XII.; Bishop Louis in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vols. VII. and VIII.; *Tableau de la Cochín-Chine*, &c. &c.) H. Y.\*

#### BIJAPUR.

The admirers of Saracenic architecture will be glad to hear that the glories of Bijapur are probably not doomed to extinction. A project for making the city the head-quarters of the present Kaladgi collectorate is in favour with the authorities, and will, it may be hoped, be carried out within a few years. Many of the old civil buildings, ruined more by Maráthá savagery than by time, will be repaired and re-inhabited; and the preservation of the great monuments will pass from the hands of the municipality into those of a competent scientific officer.

The local officers are all enthusiastic for the preservation of their splendid buildings; and if any one should object to the re-occupation of the Adil Sháhí palaces, it may well be answered that no government can afford to keep up as a mere curiosity the remains of so large a city. The *Arkila*, or citadel, is already being cleared out; and the excavations have already revealed a number of beautiful Hindu or Jain pillars with inscriptions, which are being carefully protected, and when read will probably contribute a good deal to the history of the pre-Mohammadan period in Karnataka. At present, however, plague, pestilence, and famine render the city of Bijapur no place for

amateurs or idlers, and leave very little time for research at the disposal of the handful of local officers who dwell among the tombs, like Scriptural locusts, and find it quite enough for them to attend to the living.

W. F. S.

#### KURUBHARS AND DOLMENS.

In the Kaladgi district the Shepherd caste are called Kurubhars. They bury their dead, and the other day I came across the tomb of one only four years old. It was a complete miniature dolmen about eighteen inches every way, composed of four stones, one at each side, one at the rear, and a capstone. The interior was occupied by two round stones about the size of a man's fist, painted red, the deceased reposing in his mother-earth below. No ancient dolmens are known in this (northern) part of the district, though they are, I believe, not uncommon in the talukás on the Krishna river.

What is the meaning and derivation of Kurubhar, and is it the same word as Kurumbá, the name of a Nilgiri hill-tribe?† The latter, I believe, is a race of dwarfs; the Shepherds here are a fine breed of men; yet the difference can hardly be greater than that which exists among the Dhills.

In his *Halo Stone Monuments* (p. 476) Mr. Forquessou hazards a conjecture that the Kurumbás of the southern hills are the remnant of a great and widely spread race, who may have erected dolmens; and the fact now noted seems to point in the same direction.

W. F. S.

#### NOTES ON THE MUHARRAM FESTIVAL.

In connection with my Notes in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI. page 79, a friend sends me the following:—

"I think that you may be interested to hear that all the practices you mention are followed here (Kolhapur). That peculiar one of piercing the ears in front of the *shahi* is in vogue here. It is also common for Maráthás, even of the highest families, such as the Chief of Mudhol, to bind a thread of coloured worsted round their arms and call themselves Fakirs for that day. They also declare that people jump into the burning pit and come out unscathed, but this I have not seen and will not swear to. You don't mention the institution of the Nálí Sáheb, a horse-shoe or crescent on the top of a polo; have you not noticed it? Here the Nálí Sáheb is paraded about with music and

\* Written by Oct. Yule for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, but omitted from it, and printed in the *Geog. Magazine*, March 1877, vol. LV. pp. 61-2.

† *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. pp. 52, 106, 276; vol. III. pp. 26-8.

‡ The Nálí is the shoe and representative of Hussia's charger, Zu'l Janah.—W. F. S.

dancing, till somebody goes into convulsions, and then they say that Nāl Sāheb has entered into his body."

W. F. S.

#### IS THE SULTAN THE KHALIF?

Mr. Neil B. F. Baillie writes—"The Prophet himself expressly declared that none could be the Imām, or head of his religion, but an Arab of the tribe of Koroish. On the faith of that declaration his first successor was appointed, in preference to a candidate set up by the people of Madinah. Nay, all his other generally acknowledged successors, down to the taking of Bagdad by the Tatars, and even those who were only partially acknowledged, such as the Khalifs of Spain, and those of the Fatimite and second Abbasside Dynasties, were all of the same tribe of Koroish. Further, if any one in the early ages of Mohammedanism had maintained 'that a man might be promoted to the dignity of Imām though he was not of the tribe of Koroish, he would have been denounced as a heretic, and a Karezil, or rebel to the whole Mussalman community. The Turks are of Tatar origin, and their sovereigns does not, I believe, pretend to be an Arab of any tribe, much less of the tribe of Koroish. How, then, can any true Muhammadan acknowledge him to be the head of his religion, and the successor of the Prophet, and at the same time profess to be a follower of that Prophet to whom he thus in a manner gives the lie?"

#### CHAMARS AND PANKAS.

It was among the Chamars of the Central Provinces, "the very first Aryan immigrants," a sturdy race of cultivators who are described as the busy bees of the community, that Ghāsi Dās, a fair unlettered seer of visions, arose as a reformer. From the forest hamlet of Gherod, where the Junk falls into the Mahānadi, he disappeared for six months, but only to be seen descending from its rocky eminence, at the appointed time, with a message to his multitude of expectant followers. "Worship the one God—Satnām, the True One—whose high-priest I am, and live as brothers," was his creed, and when he died—in 1860, at the good old age of eighty—his son succeeded him. In ten years that son became a victim to his zeal in promulgating the doctrine of the equality of Brāhman and Chamar, but his fate only increased the Satnāmīs the more against Hindus, as in the parallel case of the Sikhs and Mussalmāns. The grandchild of the founder of this faith is now high-priest; but the work of initiation, by placing a necklace of beads on the children when they are named, is done by the boy's uncle. The Satnāmīs have

neither temple nor rites, scriptures nor forms of devotion. To name the Satnām and invoke his blessing, to visit the high-priest once a year and offer a gift, and to keep far from them graven images—these constitute their faith. Socially they differ little from the Hindus, who slander them, and differ among themselves only as to the lawfulness of tobacco. They are divided into smokers and non-smokers. Some years ago the settlement officer of Bilsāpur reported of them that "there is no class more loyal and satisfied with our rule than this community, and if it should happen that like the Kolhs, they are favourably impressed with missionary teaching, a time may come when they will be a source of strength to our government." A small Christian mission has been established among them.

The Pankās are less known. Weavers, cultivators, and village watchmen, industrious and quiet because not claiming equality with the Hindus, who half acknowledge their sect, the Pankās worship Kabīr, or the one God, who has often appeared incarnate on earth, and last of all in 1060 A.D., near Banāras, as a crying child struggling amid the leaves of the lotus in a tank. Before the weaver's wife who rescued it, the babe developed into a man, revealed himself as God, and accompanied her home. There he wrought miracles, and in the period of his incarnation, from 1060 to 1472, he became, what he is still, the weavers' God all over India, under the name of Kabīr Pant. There are to be in all forty-four such incarnations, ending with the reappearance of Kabīr himself on earth. The present apostle is only the eleventh in the list—Farghātānām Sāheb. He succeeded in 1856, and is supported by an order of priests, who, in white-pinked cloth cap, loose white tunic and loin-cloth, follow him in long procession two or four abreast, as he proceeds on his collecting tours. His head-quarters is Kāwardā, in Bilsāpur. Like all offshoots from Hinduism, Kabīr Pantism denounces caste, and finds in this its popularity. The Pankās' change to this faith is preserved in this favourite doggerel—

Pāni se Pankā bhai

Budan hua sharīr

Age jan men Pankā

Pieho Dās Kabīr.

From water sprang the Pankā.

His face so bright and clear;

At life's early dawn a Pankā

Now worships Dās Kabīr.

Kabīrpanthīs and Satnāmīs resemble each other in many respects. They avoid meat and liquor, they marry usually at the age of puberty, they ordinarily celebrate their ceremonies through the agency of elders of their own caste, and they bury



their dead. As with the Sikhs, the comparatively pure and noble teaching of the founders of these sects soon degenerates, the converts from the higher Hindu castes insisting on certain distinctions. The salt, never very pure, soon loses its savour. Of the best as of the worst, of the

Brahmins of the Sikhs, the Satnāmi and the Kabir-Panti, it is true that neither the varying intonations of all, nor the rapt ecstasy of one, can supply the place of that Name which is above every name, of the Logos in all the fulness of the meaning of that word.—*Friend of India*, 30th April 1874.

### BOOK NOTICES.

KILIDĀRA's "ÇAKUNTALĪ," edited by R. FISCHEL. 8vo. Kiel, 1877. (London: Trübner & Co.)

This new edition of a work already so well known makes an epoch in the study of Sanskrit dramatic poetry, and thus the learned and most industrious Kiel professor's labours especially deserve mention here, as being of more than usual interest so far as India is concerned.

The *Çakuntalī* has always been much read in India, and, owing chiefly to Sir W. Jones's florid version, it has become the generally received type of a Sanskrit play, except among scholars,\* and is also commonly in use as a text-book. Considering its popularity, it is perhaps a matter for surprise that more has not been done to ascertain, if possible, the relative value of the several recensions current: for, like most Sanskrit books, the text exists in several recensions. Sir W. Jones, as was natural, took the Bengālī recension; but the recension current in the rest of North India, and which is generally known as the 'Nāgarī recension,' early supplanted the former in general esteem. Since then, a third recension, current in South India, has become known.† Prof. Fischel's chief object is to give a critical edition of the Bengālī text, and hence to show that it is not a corrupt text, as is generally supposed, but that it is the best of all.

As regards the merits of Prof. Fischel's book as a critical edition there cannot be two opinions; it is in every way a masterpiece, done with great accuracy and regardlessness of labour. As such, its use should at once be made compulsory by candidates for the University and Government examinations. The old way of Sanskrit study is now impossible, and, if the study of that language and literature is to be an efficient instrument of culture in the Indian educational scheme for the future, students must be made to follow improved methods. Much has been done in this way by the Calcutta University, and still more at Bombay; in the Madras Presidency it is difficult to regard what is done by students—and that is very little—

otherwise than as a pure waste of time. From this point of view Prof. Fischel's edition deserves as warm a recognition from those occupied in teaching as it is sure to meet with from scholars. Educationalists, by encouraging such editions as this, could soon meet the arguments—at present nearly unanswerable—of those who would exclude Oriental languages from the colleges and schools of India; they would thus also, in all probability, excite among their pupils a more intelligent interest in Sanskrit than is now displayed.

Prof. Fischel's second object is to show that the Bengālī text of the *Çakuntalī* is the best one, and his edition is thus the necessary conclusion of his former treatises, *De Kalidasa Çakuntalī recensionibus* and *Die Recensionen der Çakuntalī*. It is by no means so easy to pronounce an opinion on this part of his work as it is to recognize the great merits of his edition; the problem to be solved is one of exceptional complication and difficulty even in Sanskrit literature. The general acceptance of the 'Nāgarī recension' was perhaps hasty, and Prof. Fischel has, by a minute consideration of the texts, elicited some new and important facts which entitle the Bengālī recension to more consideration than it has hitherto met with. He has also compared the Nāgarī and South-Indian recensions of the *Vikramorcasīyam*, and thus come to the same conclusion. It is thus obvious that his inferences deserve the most serious consideration. The results of his researches are that the Prākṛit of the Dravidian (or South-Indian) and Nāgarī recensions is not Sanskrit, but a wild mixture of various dialects; also that "it is in South India that Sanskrit dramas have been adulterated and abridged."

The first point must, as determined by so competent a scholar,‡ be accepted as an undoubted fact. Before admitting the second, I think it may reasonably be asked, On what principles, and to meet what views, were the adulterations and abridgements made in South India? So far as I have been able to consider the matter, I cannot find

\* A better selection might have been made, for the story is poor, and the more sober estimate of the literary value of this play is not likely to differ much from what J. Mill wrote in 1817 (*Hist. of India*, bk. II. ch. 2).

† Prof. Fischel described this in 1873 in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*. When I drew his attention to this recension

(*Indra Grammaticae*, pp. 80, 81) I was not aware of this fact: I can only apologise for my ignorance.

‡ It is hardly necessary to remind readers of Prof. Fischel's splendid edition of Hemachandra's *Prākṛit Grammar*.



any. Prākṛit has been studied with great success in the Dakṣiṇ and South India; Hemachandra and Trivikrama represent in this way the countries where the Nāgarī and South-Indian recensions have been current; why then should paṇḍits in those parts of India have adulterated the Prākṛit passages in Kālidāsa's text? Again, the botany of Kālidāsa is strange to South India, where only a few of the many plants to which he alludes are known, but I cannot find even a single instance where the South-Indian text has been altered in this respect to suit that part of India. It also appears to me very unlikely that South-Indian paṇḍits ever wilfully falsified texts. It is now more than sixteen years since I first arrived in South India, and during this time I have been personally acquainted with most of the chief paṇḍits of the old school—now, alas! to be numbered on the fingers. None of the many I have known were capable of doing anything of the kind. During this period thousands of South Indian MSS. have passed through my hands, but I have never observed in them anything that would lead one to suspect that systematic and intentional falsifications had been carried on in South India. I must, without any prejudice, assert these facts, for I fear that Prof. Fischer's words may (unintentionally) wrong the paṇḍits of South India. It is remarkable also that the South-Indian commentators notice several differences in the texts; this would not indicate any prejudices on their part; clerical errors, however, cannot have given rise to the great differences in the three recensions.

Anyhow, whatever may be the conclusion on which scholars will eventually agree as regards the respective merits of the several recensions of the *Śāṅkaraśāstra*, it is impossible not to be grateful for the new and important facts brought to notice in so complete a way by Prof. Fischer, and not to anxiously expect his promised critical edition of the South-Indian text. Meanwhile, whatever may be urged against his inferences, it is difficult to resist so careful a judgment on the evidence.

So perfect is the work that scarcely is anything left to object to, but, surely, '*Nīlāśāstra*' (p. x.) should be '*Grīvāśāstra*,' the very common South-Indian name.

A. BURNELL, Ph.D.

Coomoor, Nilgiri Hills, 6th May 1877.

ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY. (A Fragment.) By the late Rev. JOHN WILSON, D.D. Bombay, Government Central Press, 1876.

So distinguished was the position which "the old man eloquent" whose last (and posthumous)

contribution to Oriental research now lies before us occupied among the scholars and inquirers of Western India, that it will be by many thought presumption to criticize his work. Considerable steps, however, have been made in his favourite studies since he ceased to learn; and for the very reason that his authority is too often accepted without inquiry it is the more necessary that his "last words" should here be carefully reviewed. The present work is understood to contain so much of his promised contributions to the *Bombay Gazetteer* as could be collected by a nameless official editor. The title is hardly correct; for of 61 pages altogether only 24 are devoted to tribes that could by any stretch of language be called aboriginal. The doctor enumerates only eleven of these; viz. :—

(1) The Bhils (Sanskrit Bhīla), whose name he derives from the Drāviḍian word *billa* = a bow, and connects with the name P'hyllis, ascribed by Ptolemy to an Indian tribe.

(2) The Nāyakaṣas (Naikras), who might indeed have been classed as a mere division of the Bhils.

(3) The Gonds, a term, as he thinks, corrupted from *Goviṇḍa* = a cowherd. This is exceedingly probable; the contraction is sometimes seen at the present day, as in the name of a tank near Dhulā, called Gōndār, for Govindrāo. They are to be found, says the doctor, in the Bombay Presidency only in small numbers, in some of the forests and hills of the Narmadā. This is hardly correct; as we have seen them as far west as Chhāliagūn, on the G. I. P. Railway, and heard of them at Malegaon, in modern Nāsik.

(4) The Kulis, or Kulis as the doctor delights to call them. Their name he makes out to be from *kula* = a clan. It may be so; but it is certain that they always call themselves Kulis, and that the doctor is in error when he says that "Kulābā receives its name from them, meaning the abode of Kulis." There are two places called (pace Dr. Wilson) Kulābā, both sandy islets, the one of which has become an integral part of Bombay by the process of reclamation; while the other is occupied by the sea-fort of a branch of the pirate dynasty of Angria, and now gives its name to a British collectorate. In each case the name is that of a *grāma devata* of the fisherman,\* who are, indeed Kulis by caste. The reader who wishes to know more of this interesting race will find much valuable information in the doctor's article; more, perhaps, in Mr. Nairne's *Historical Sketch of the Kulis*, and the writings of Dr. DeGunha.

\* Perhaps another form of Kulāma &c.—Ed.

(5) The Dhudias, a small community in the south of Surat.

(6) The Chaudaris, settled immediately north of these. Both may be considered offshoots of the Koli race; as may also

(7) The Wāralis, whom the doctor considers "the most interesting and remarkable" of this family, and whom he has to a great extent made his own literary property by the sketch of them now before us, which, though first written and published many years ago, still remains the standard authority on their "beastly customs, and total absence of manners;" though they have certainly become much more settled and civilized in the interval.

(8) The Katodis or Katkaris = catechu-makers, certainly the most monkeyfied tribe of Western India, and better described, perhaps, in Mr. Hearn's excellent *Statistical Account of Kolaba*.

(9) Dubalas = weaklings, an aboriginal tribe of Surat and the North Konkan, reduced formerly to serfage, from which a few are now emerging.

(10) The Thākurs, whose origin the doctor traces to certain barons (*Thākurs*) of Gujarāt who took the jungle with their followers, chiefly Kolis and Wāralis, from the earlier Muhammadan invasion. His account of this race, however, is short and not very accurate, as they are both more numerous and more respectable than he seems to have thought. He notices, however, the antipathy between them and the Brāhmins, which still in part survives, and is hardly consistent with his account of their origin.

The 11th tribe are the Rāmāsīs, called in Sholāpūr Berods, and further towards their ancestral Dravīḍian seats Bodars. A certain amount of interest attaches to the history of their single dynasty, called by Grant Duff the Naiks of Wankera, and later known as the Rājās of Sholāpūr; and an excellent account of it, by the late Colonel Meadows Taylor, is among the appendices to the fine volume of *Photographs of the Antiquities of Dharwar and Mysore*, published by the old "Western India Architectural Committee."

The doctor, having thus disposed of the "Junglies," mentions next the "depressed aboriginal tribes" of Mhārs, Dhoḍas, and Māngs. The first two are identical, and they are generally lumped together as "Parrāris."

It is obvious that this list, though valuable, is by no means exhaustive; but the doctor, or his editor, here leaves the aboriginals properly so called, and enters upon the subject of wandering tribes and classes. These he divides into religious devotees and pilgrims, and a second class, or more classes, which we shall now never

find out his opinion of; for the extravagant doctrines and rites of the eccentric sects of India occupy all the rest of the notes which were made available after the writer's death. The subject was so much more congenial to the missionary and scholar that it occupies nearly two-thirds of the book, and this portion is certainly, on the whole, as superior in quality as in quantity. It is, however, occasionally marred by most atrocious editing, as in a paragraph about the Nihilist Shunyāvādīs, which is absolutely unintelligible. If the doctor really wrote it, he must have been prostrated by illness at the time; but the confusion seems rather the result of a printer's devilry, or of the careless collation of confused notes. The proofs, too, do not appear to have been corrected by a competent person.

The doctor classes the devotees under twenty-one heads, each with many subdivisions. Some, as the Sikhs, Jains, Vallabhāchāryas, and Svāmi Nārāyaṇas, have made a noise in the world, and been fully described elsewhere. The Rāmānujas, most numerous in the south, may perhaps be considered as the Vaiṣṇava counterpart of the well-known Śaiva Liṅgayats. The Rāmānandīs or Bairagīs, also Vaiṣṇava, are often confounded by Europeans with the Śaiva Gosains, and have a quaint habit of condescending to a *scholar's* ignorance by answering to his questions that they are *Śūdras*. The Dayābandas (Lanthīs, or followers of the celebrated author of the *Dayābandī*), the Chaucer of the Marāṭhī tongue, do not, says the doctor, really constitute an organized body at all. But space fails me to examine in detail the mass of information, the collection of which was doubtless far more a labour of love to the lamented author than the reviewing of it can be to a lay commentator.

W. F. S.

THE HISTORY OF INDIA, as told by its own Historians.—The Muhammadan Period. The posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., edited and continued by Professor JOHN DOWSON, M.B.A.S. Vol. VII. (London: Trübner & Co. 1877.)

This seventh volume of materials for the history of India under the Muhammadans consists of twenty-three extracts and notices of varying lengths from the native histories relating to the reigns of Shāh-Jahān, Aurangzeb, Bahādur Shāh, Jahāndār Shāh, Farrukh Siyār, Rafī'ud-Daula, and Rafī'ud-Darajāt, and of the earlier part of the reign of Muhammad Shāh,—that is from A.D. 1627 to about 1732. Some of the twenty-three sections, it should be remarked, are merely bibliographical notices of books: thus the first is a notice of the *Padshāh Nāma* of Muḥammad Amin Karwīnī, which has been the model for most of

the *Shāh-Jahān-nāma*, 'Abdu-l Hamid Lāhori follows its arrangement and supplies the same matter, though without acknowledgment, in his *Bādshāh-Nāma*, from which Professor Dowson gives 67 pages of extracts. This latter work is the great authority for the first twenty years of the reign of Shāh Jahān, and has been published in the original Persian in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. For the remainder of the reign 46 pages of extracts are given from a MS. translation of nearly the whole of 'Ināyat Khān's *Shāh-Jahān-Nāma* made by the late Major Fuller for Sir H. M. Elliot. The *Bādshāh-nāma* of Muhammad Wāris, the pupil of 'Abdu-l Hamid, &c the completion of his master's work, containing the history of the last ten years of Shāh Jahān's reign; but, as this period has been pretty fully treated of in the extracts from 'Ināyat Khān's work, only a short extract relating to the twenty-second year is given. A few pages of extracts follow bearing on the 31st and 32nd years of the reign, from the *Amal-i Sālih* of Muhammad Sālih Kambū. The *Sādā-Jahān-nāma* of Muhammad Sālik Khān is merely noticed, as it seems to have been followed by Khāfi Khān in his history. From the *Majlis-i sādā* of Muhammad Sharif Hanafi four short extracts are given, translated by a munshi for Sir H. M. Elliot from the only MS. he knew of—a copy in one of the Royal Libraries at Lucknow. The *Tārīkh-i Mufazzal* of Mufazzal Khān, a general history from the creation down to A. D. 1686, is represented in a similarly brief way. Of the *Mirāt-i 'Ālam* and *Mirāt-i Jahān Nāma* of Bakhtawar Khān,—apparently essentially one and the same work, being a universal history, a table of contents is given and a few extracts by Sir H. M. Elliot. He dismisses the worthless *Zinān-i Tawārīkh* of 'Asiāulāh with a notice and outline of the contents; from the *Lubb-i Tawārīkh-i Hind* of Rāi Bhātā Mal, he gives the contents and three pages of extracts. The *'Ālamgīr-Nāma* of Mirzā Muhammad Kāzim, containing a history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb, "was dedicated to him in the 32nd year of his reign; but on its being presented," though the author had been specially instructed to prepare it, "the Emperor forbade its continuation, and, like another Alexander, *edicto vetuit ut quis se pingueret*, but not for the same reason. The Mughal Emperor professed, as the cause of his prohibition, that the cultivation of inward piety was preferable to the ostentatious display of his achievements." The book is written in a style of courtly panegyric, and from it Sir H. M. Elliot and the editor supply only a few extracts. The

history of the conquest of Asām, translated from this work by Mr. H. Vansittart, appeared in the *Asiatic Miscellany*, vol. I. and *Asiatic Researches*, vol. II. (pp. 171-185), and the original has been printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. It has also been abridged in the *Ma-dār-i 'Ālamgīr* of Muhammad Sāki Musta'idd Khān, which, however, continues the history down to the death of 'Ālamgīr in A.D. 1707. This latter work was edited and translated into English by H. Vansittart in 1795, and another version of the last forty years was made for Sir H. Elliot by Lieut. Perkins, 71st N.I., and from that translation 14 pages of extracts are here supplied. The Persian original has also been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. The next five sections are only short notices of books:—The *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīr* or *Wāq'āt-i 'Ālamgīr* of Muhammad Ma'sūm, an account of the "events of two or three years;" the *Tārīkh-i Mulk-i Asām*, or account of the expedition to Asām in the 4th year of Aurangzeb, by Maulānā Ahmad Shahbūd dīn Tāldāsh; the *Wāk'ā* of Mirzā Muhammad Ni'amat Khān, devoted to the siege of Golkonda; the *Jang-nāma* of the same author; and *Ruk'āt-i 'Ālamgīr* or *Letters of Aurangzeb*.\*

We now come to perhaps the most important section of the book,—322 pages of extracts from *Muntakhab-i Lubāb* of Muhammad Hāshim, frequently called *Tārīkh-i Khāfi Khān*, "a highly esteemed history, commencing with the invasion of Bābar A.D. 1519, and concluding with the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shāh," but "chiefly valuable for containing an entire account of the reign of Aurangzeb, of which, in consequence of that Emperor's well-known prohibition, it is very difficult to obtain a full and connected history." Khāfi Khān, however, had privately compiled a minute register of all the events of the reign, which he published some years after the monarch's death; and Professor Dowson has done great and good service by translating so largely as he has done from this excellent history,† covering as it does the most stirring period in Marāthā history, of Sivaji, Sambhā, and Rājā Rām.

The extracts (28 pp.) from the *Tārīkh-i Inādar Khān* (1706-1712 A.D.) and two letters of Aurangzeb's are taken from Capt. J. Scott's *History of the Decans*. From *Tārīkh-i Bahādur Shāh*, the account of Bahādur Shāh's reign (A.D. 1707-1712) was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Lieut. Anderson, 25th N. I., but only four short extracts were thought worth printing. *Tārīkh-i Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh* by Dānishmand Khān, otherwise called Mirzā Muhammad Ni'amat Khān, extends

\* See Elphinstone's *History*, p. 673.

† Conf. Elphinstone's *History*, Book X. chap. i. and Great Dur's *Mebratās*, vol. I. p. 113; *four. E. Ar. Soc.*

N. S., vol. III. p. 471. The text is published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.



only to the month of Rajab in the 2nd year of Bahādur's reign, and is consequently dismissed without an extract. *Jérat-Nāma* of Muhammad Kāsim is a history of the period from the death of Aurangzeb to that of Kātib-ul-Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, of which the editor gives the contents and two pages of extracts.

This volume contains much interesting matter for the century of which it treats, and the editor informs us that "ample and very diversified matter remains for the concluding volume." That volume too, we are happy to learn, will contain a complete

Index to the whole work,—a feature which will greatly enhance the value of it: we wish it could also contain a complete chronological table, or that the chronology could be incorporated in some way in the Index, for we often come upon statements of events (e.g. p. 561) taking place on a certain day of a month, but without the year mentioned; and though the year is generally not far to seek, yet there are cases in which the reader does not feel certain that he may not be wrong in his conclusion, and others in which it is very difficult to arrive at the year at all.

### THE INDIA OF MEGASTHENES.

(Continued from p. 135.)

TRANSLATED BY J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., GOVT. COLLEGE, PATNA.  
BOOK III.

#### FRAGM. XXXII.

Arr. Ind. XI. 1.—XII. 9. Cf. Egit. 40-53, and Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. xii. 2, 3.

*Of the Seven Castes among the Indians.*

XI. But further: in India the whole people is divided into about seven castes. Among these are the sophists, who are not so numerous as the others, but hold the supreme place of dignity and honour,—for they are under no necessity of doing any bodily labour at all, or of contributing from the produce of their labour anything to the common stock, nor indeed is any duty absolutely binding on them except to perform the sacrifices offered to the gods on behalf of the state. If any one, again, has a private sacrifice to offer, one of these sophists shows him the proper mode, as if he could not otherwise make an acceptable offering to the gods. To this class the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a sophist is allowed to practise that art. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall the state;

but the private fortunes of individuals they do not care to predict,—either because divination does not concern itself with trifling matters, or because to take any trouble about such is deemed unbecoming. But if any one fails thrice to predict truly, he incurs, it is said, no further penalty than being obliged to be silent for the future, and there is no power on earth able to compel that man to speak who has once been condemned to silence. These sophists go naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat is too powerful, in meadows and low grounds under large trees, the shadow whereof, Neanobos says, extends to five plethra in circuit, adding that even ten thousand men could be covered by the shadow of a single tree. They live upon the fruits which each season produces, and on the bark of trees,—the bark being no less sweet and nutritious than the fruit of the date-palm.

After these, the second caste consists of the tillers of the soil, who form the most

#### FRAGM. XXXIII.

Strab. XV. 1. 30-41, 45-49,—pp. 703-4, 707.

*Of the Seven Castes among the Indians.*

(39) According to him (Megasthenes) the population of India is divided into seven parts. The philosophers are first in rank, but form the smallest class in point of number. Their services are employed privately by persons who wish to offer sacrifices or perform other sacred rites, and also publicly by the kings at what is called the Great Synod, wherein at the beginning of the new year all the philosophers are gathered together

before the king at the gates, when any philosopher who may have committed any useful suggestion to writing, or observed any means for improving the crops and the cattle, or for promoting the public interests, declares it publicly. If any one is detected giving false information thrice, the law condemns him to be silent for the rest of his life, but he who gives sound advice is exempted from paying any taxes or contributions.

(40) The second caste consists of the husbandmen, who form the bulk of the population, and are in disposition most mild and gentle. They are



numerous class of the population. They are neither furnished with arms, nor have any military duties to perform, but they cultivate the soil and pay tribute to the kings and the independent cities. In times of civil war the soldiers are not allowed to molest the husbandmen or ravage their lands: hence, while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work,—perhaps ploughing, or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest.

The third caste among the Indians consists of the herdsmen, both shepherds and neat-herds; and these neither dwell in cities nor in villages, but they are nomadic and live on the hills. They too are subject to tribute, and this they pay in cattle. They scour the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts.

XII. The fourth caste consists of handicraftsmen and retail-dealers. They have to perform gratuitously certain public services, and to pay tribute from the products of their labour. An exception, however, is made in favour of those who fabricate the weapons of war,—and not only so, but they even draw

pay from the state. In this class are included shipbuilders, and the sailors employed in the navigation of the rivers.

The fifth caste among the Indians consists of the warriors, who are second in point of numbers to the husbandmen, but lead a life of supreme freedom and enjoyment. They have only military duties to perform. Others make their arms, and others supply them with horses, and they have others to attend on them in the camp, who take care of their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare their chariots, and act as their charioteers. As long as they are required to fight they fight, and when peace returns they abandon themselves to enjoyment,—the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that they can with ease maintain themselves, and others besides.

The sixth class consists of those called *suptendents*.<sup>\*</sup> They spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king where the people have a king, and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed, and it is against use and wont for these to give in a false report;—but indeed no Indian is accused of lying.

exempted from military service, and cultivate their lands undisturbed by fear. They never go to town, either to take part in its tumults, or for any other purpose. It therefore not unfrequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, men may be seen drawn up in array of battle, and fighting at risk of their lives, while other men close at hand are ploughing and digging in perfect security, having these soldiers to protect them. The whole of the land is the property of the king, and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce.

(41) \*The third caste consists of herdsmen and hunters, who also are allowed to hunt, and to keep cattle, and to sell draught animals or let them out on hire. In return for clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls which devour the seeds sown in the fields, they receive an allowance of grain from the king. They lead a wandering life and live under tents.

*Fragm. XXXVI. follows here.*

[So much, then, on the subject of wild animals. We shall now return to Megasthenes, and resume from where we digressed.]

(46) \*The fourth class, after herdsmen and hunters,

consists of those who work at trades, of those who vend wares, and of those who are employed in bodily labour. Some of these pay tribute, and render to the state certain prescribed services. But the armour-makers and shipbuilders receive wages and their victuals from the king, for whom alone they work. The general is command of the army supplies the soldiers with weapons, and the admiral of the fleet lets out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandize.

(47) The fifth class consists of fighting men, who, when not engaged in active service, pass their time in idleness and drinking. They are maintained at the king's expense, and hence they are always ready, when occasion calls, to take the field, for they carry nothing of their own with them but their own bodies.

(48) The sixth class consists of the over-seers, to whom is assigned the duty of watching all that goes on, and making reports secretly to the king. Some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtesans of the city, and the latter the courtesans of the camp. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.

The seventh caste consists of the councillors of state, who advise the king, or the magistrates of self-governed cities, in the management of public affairs. In point of number this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice, and hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy-governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and commissioners who superintend agriculture.†

The custom of the country prohibits inter-marriage between the castes:—for instance, the husbandman cannot take a wife from the artisan caste, nor the artisan a wife from the husbandman caste. Custom also prohibits anyone from exercising two trades, or from changing from one caste to another. One cannot, for instance, become a husbandman if he is a herdsman, or become a herdsman if he is an artisan. It is only permitted that the sophist be from any caste: for the life of the sophist is not an easy one, but the hardest of all.

#### FRAGM. XXXIV.

Strab. XV. l. 50-52,—pp. 707-709.

*Of the administration of public affairs.*

*Of the use of Horses and Elephants.*

(Fragm. XXXIII. has preceded this.)

(50) Of the great officers of state, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers. Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. \*The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the

carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. \*They construct roads, and at every ten stadia† set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances. \*Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or, in the event of their dying forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them. \*The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government. \*The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. \*The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. \*The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold. Fraud with regard to this tax is punished with death.

\*Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharge. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments, and also of matters affecting the general interest, as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices,

The seventh class consists of the councillors and assessors of the king. To them belong the highest posts of government, the tribunals of justice, and the general administration of public affairs. \*No one is allowed to marry out of his

own caste, or to exchange one profession or trade for another, or to follow more than one business. An exception is made in favour of the philosopher, who for his virtue is allowed this privilege.

† The Greek writers by confounding some distinctions occasioned by civil employment with those arising from that division have increased the number (of classes) from five (including the handicrafts-man or mixed class) to seven. This number is produced by their supposing the king's councillors and assessors to form a distinct class from the Herdsmen, by splitting the class of Valaya into two, consisting of shepherds and husbandmen; by introducing a caste of spies; and by omitting the servile class alto-

gether. With these exceptions the classes are in the main described by Meno, which is the groundwork of that still surviving.—*Elephantine's History of India*, p. 296.

† From this it would appear that ten stadia were equal to some Indian measure of distance, which must have been the *le'ua* or *lova*. If the stadium be taken at 262½ yards, this would give 2625 yards for the *lova*, agreeing with the shorter *lova* of 2,600 *lathas*, in use in the Panjab, and still lately, if not still, in parts of Bengal.—*Ed.*

the care of markets, harbours, and temples. "Next to the city magistrates there is a third governing body, which directs military affairs. This also consists of six divisions, with five members to each. One division is appointed to coöperate with the admiral of the fleet, another with the superintendent of the hallock-trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply servants who beat the drum, and others who carry gongs; grooms also for the horses, and mechanists and their assistants. To the sound of the gong they send out foragers to bring in grass, and by a system of rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with despatch and safety. "The third division has charge of the foot-soldiers, the fourth of the horses, the fifth of the war-chariots, and the sixth of the elephants. "There are royal stables for the horses and elephants, and also a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and his horse and his elephant to the stables. "They use the elephants without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen," but the horses are led along by a halter, that their legs may not be galled and inflamed, nor their spirits damped by drawing chariots. "In addition to the charioteer, there are two fighting men who sit up in the chariot beside him. The war-elephant carries four men—three who shoot arrows, and the driver. § (Fragm. XXVII. follows.)

## FRAGM. XXXV.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XIII. 10.*Of the use of Horses and Elephants.*Cf. *Fragm.* XXXIV. 13-15.

When it is said that an Indian by springing forward in front of a horse can check his speed

## FRAGM. XXXVII.

Ar. *Inl.* ch. 13-14.

(Fragm. XXXII. comes before this.)

*Of Elephants.*

XIII. The Indians hunt all wild animals in the same way as the Greeks, except the elephant, which is hunted in a mode altogether peculiar, since these animals are not like any other animals. "The mode may be thus described:—The hunters having selected a level tract of arid ground, dig a

and hold him back, this is not true of all Indians, but only of such as have been trained from boyhood to manage horses; for it is a practice with them to control their horses with bit and bridle, and to make them move at a measured pace and in a straight course. They neither, however, gall their tongues by the use of spiked maxillas, nor torture the roof of their mouth. The professional trainers break them in by forcing them to gallop round and round in a ring, especially when they see them refractory. Such as undertake this work require to have a strong hand as well as a thorough knowledge of horses. The greatest proficient test their skill by driving a chariot round and round in a ring; and in truth it would be no trifling feat to control with ease a team of four high-mettled steeds when whirling round in a circle. The chariot carries two men who sit beside the charioteer. The war-elephant either in what is called the tower, or, actually on his back, carries three fighting men, of whom two shoot from the side, while one shoots from behind. There is also a fourth man, who carries in his hand the goad wherewith he guides the animal, much in the same way as the pilot and captain of the ship direct its course with the helm.

## FRAGM. XXXVI.

Strab. XV. 1. 41-43.—pp. 704-706.

*Of Elephants.*Conf. *Eph.* 54-56.

(Fragm. XXXIII. 0 has preceded this.)

A private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.

\*The manner of hunting the elephant is this. Round a bare patch of ground is dug a deep trench about five or six stadia in extent, and over this is thrown a very narrow bridge which

trench all round it, enclosing as much space as would suffice to encamp a large army. They make the trench with a breadth of five fathoms and a depth of four. But the earth which they throw out in the process of digging they heap up in mounds on both edges of the trench, and use it as a wall. Then they make huts for themselves by excavating the wall on the outer edge of the trench, and in these they leave loopholes, both to admit light, and to enable them to see when their

§ "The fourfold division of the army (horses, foot, chariots, and elephants) was the same as that of *Mens*; but Strabo

makes a sextuple division, by adding the commissariat and naval department."



gives access to the enclosure. <sup>3</sup> Into this enclosure are introduced three or four of the best-trained female elephants. The men themselves lie in ambush in concealed huts. <sup>4</sup> The wild elephants do not approach this trap in the day-time, but they enter it at night, going in one by one. <sup>5</sup> When all have passed the entrance, the men secretly close it up; then, introducing the strongest of the tame fighting elephants, they fight it out with the wild ones, whom at the same time they onfebble with hunger. <sup>6</sup> When the latter are now overcome with fatigue, the boldest of the drivers dismount unobserved, and each man creeps under his own elephant, and from this position creeps under the belly of the wild elephant and ties his feet together. <sup>7</sup> When this is done they incite the tame ones to beat those whose feet are tied till they fall to the ground. They then bind

prey approaches and enters the enclosure. <sup>8</sup> They next station some three or four of their best-trained she-elephants within the trap, to which they leave only a single passage by means of a bridge thrown across the trench, the framework of which they cover over with earth and a great quantity of straw, to conceal the bridge as much as possible from the wild animals, which might also suspect treachery. The hunters then go out of the way, retiring to the cells which they had made in the earthen wall. <sup>9</sup> Now the wild elephants do not go near inhabited places in the day-time, but during the night they wander about everywhere, and feed in herds, following as leader the one who is biggest and boldest, just as cows follow the bull. At noon, then, as they approach the enclosure, and hear the cry and catch scent of the females, they rush at full speed in the direction of the fenced ground, and being arrested by the trench move round its edge until they fall in with the bridge, along which they force their way into the enclosure. <sup>10</sup> The hunters meanwhile, perceiving the entrance of the wild elephants, hasten, some of them, to take away the bridge, while others, running off to the nearest villages, announce that the elephants are within the trap. The villagers, on hearing the news, mount their most spirited and best-trained elephants, and as soon as mounted ride off to the trap; but though they ride up to it they do not immediately engage in a conflict with the wild elephants, but wait till these are sorely plucked by hunger and thirst. When they think their strength has been enough weakened, they set up the bridge anew, and ride into the trap,

the wild ones and the tame ones together neck to neck with thongs of raw ox-hide. <sup>11</sup> To prevent them shaking themselves in order to throw off those who attempt to mount them, they make cuts all round their neck and then put thongs of leather into the incisions, so that the pain obliges them to submit to their fetters and to remain quiet. From the number caught they reject such as are too old or too young to be serviceable, and the rest they lead away to the stables. Here they tie their feet one to another, and fasten their necks to a firmly fixed pillar, and tame them by hunger. <sup>12</sup> After this they restore their strength with green reeds and grass. They next teach them to be obedient, which they effect by soothing them, some by coaxing words, and others by songs and the music of the drum. <sup>13</sup> Few of them are found difficult to tame, for they are naturally so mild

when first a fierce assault is made by the tame elephants upon those caught in the trap, and then, as might be expected, the wild elephants, through loss of spirit and faintness from hunger, are overpowered. <sup>14</sup> On this the hunters, dismounting from their elephants, bind with fetters the feet of the wild ones, now by this time quite exhausted. <sup>15</sup> Then they instigate the tame ones to beat them with repeated blows, until their sufferings wear them out, and they fall to the ground. <sup>16</sup> The hunters meanwhile, standing near them, slip nooses over their necks and mount them while yet lying on the ground; and, to prevent them shaking off their riders, or doing mischief otherwise, make with a sharp knife an incision all round their neck, and fasten the noose round in the incision. By means of the wound thus made they keep their head and neck quite steady; for if they become restive and turn round, the wound is galled by the action of the rope. They shun, therefore, all violent movements, and, knowing that they have been vanquished, suffer themselves to be led in fetters by the tame ones.

XIV. <sup>1</sup> But such as are too young, or through the weakness of their constitution not worth keeping, their captors allow to escape to their old haunts; while those which are retained they lead to the villages, where they give them at first green stalks of corn and grass to eat. <sup>2</sup> The creatures, however, having lost all spirit, have no wish to eat; but the Indians, standing round them in a circle, soothe and cheer them by chanting songs to the accompaniment of the music of drums and cymbals, <sup>3</sup> for the elephant is of all brutes the most intelligent. Some of them, for instance, have taken up their riders when



and gentle in their disposition that they approximate to rational creatures. Some of them take up their drivers when fallen in battle, and carry them off in safety from the field. Others, when their masters have sought refuge between their forelegs, have fought in their defence and saved their lives. If in a fit of anger they kill either the man who feeds or the man who trains them, they pine so much for their loss that they refuse to take food, and sometimes die of hunger.

<sup>13</sup> They copulate like horses, and the female casts her calf chiefly in spring. It is the season for the male, when he is in heat and becomes ferocious. At this time he discharges a fatty substance through an orifice near the temples. It is also the season for the females, when the corresponding passage opens. <sup>14</sup> They go with young for a period which varies from sixteen to eighteen months. The dam suckles her calf for six years. <sup>15</sup> Most of them live as long as men who attain extreme longevity, and some live over two hundred years. They are liable to many distempers, and are not easily cured. <sup>16</sup> The

man in battle and carried them away for burial; others have covered them, when lying on the ground, with a shield; and others have borne the brunt of battle in their defence when fallen. There was one even that died of remorse and despair because it had killed its rider in a fit of rage. <sup>17</sup> [I have myself actually seen an elephant playing on cymbals, while other elephants were dancing to his strains: a cymbal had been attached to each foreleg of the performer, and a third to what is called his trunk, and while he beat in turn the cymbal on his trunk he beat in proper time those on his two legs. The dancing elephants all the while kept dancing in a circle, and as they raised and curved their forelegs in turn they too moved in proper time, following as the musician led.]

<sup>18</sup> The elephant, like the bull and the horse, engenders in spring, when the females emit breath through the spiracles beside their temples, which open at that season. <sup>19</sup> The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and never exceeds eighteen. The birth is single, as in the case of the mare, and is suckled till it reaches its eighth year. <sup>20</sup> The elephants that live longest attain an age of two hundred years, but many of them die prematurely of disease. If they die of sheer old age, however, the term of life is what has been

remedy for diseases of the eye is to wash it with cows' milk. For most of their other diseases draughts of black wine are administered to them. For the cure of their wounds they are made to swallow butter, for this draws out iron. Their sores are fomented with swine's flesh.

# FROM XXXVIII.

*Atlas, Hist. Anim. XIII. 7.*

## Of the diseases of Elephants.

(*Cl. Fragm. XXXVI. 15 and XXXVII. 15.*)

The Indians cure the wounds of the elephants which they catch, in the manner following:— They treat them in the way in which, as good old Homer tells us, Patroklos treated the wound of Eurypylos,—they foment them with lukewarm water. After this they rub them over with butter, and if they are deep they lay the inflammation by applying and inserting pieces of pork, hot but still retaining the blood. They cure ophthalmia with cows' milk, which is first used as a fomentation for the eye, and is then injected into it. The animals open their eyelids, and finding they can see better are delighted, and are sensible of the benefit like human beings. In proportion as

stated. <sup>21</sup> Diseases of their eyes are cured by pouring cows' milk into them, and other distempers by administering draughts of black wine; while their wounds are cured by the application of roasted pork. Such are the remedies used by the Indians.

(*FRAGM. XXXVII. B.*)

*Atlas, Hist. Anim. XII. 44.*

## Of Elephants.

(*Cl. Fragm. XXXVI. 9-10 and XXXVII. 9-10 incl. c. XIV.*)

In India an elephant if caught when full-grown is reluctant to tam, and leaping for freedom thirsts for blood. Should it be bound in chains, this exasperates it still more, and it will not submit to a master. The Indians, however, tame it with food, and seek to pacify it with various things for which it has a liking, their aim being to fill its stomach and to soothe its temper. But it is still angry with them, and takes no notice of them. To what device do they then resort? They sing to it their native melodies, and soothe it with the music of an instrument in common use which has four strings and is called a *shindapasa*. The creature now pricks up its ears, yields to the soothing strain, and its anger subsides. Then, though there is an occasional outbreak of its suppressed passion, it gradually turns its eye to its food. It is then freed from its bonds, but does not seek to escape, being enthralled with the music. It even takes food eagerly, and, like a luxurious guest invited to the festive board, has no wish to go, from its love of the music.

<sup>11</sup> See *Hind.* bk. XI. 84b.

<sup>12</sup> "The modern mode of catching and training elephants, with all its ingenious contrivances may be learned from

Arrian almost as exactly as from the account of the modern practice in the '*Asiatic Researches*.' (vol. III. p. 239.)—*Elphinstone's History of India*, p. 243.

their blindness diminishes their delight overflows, and this is a token that the disease has been cured. The remedy for other distempers to which they are liable is black wine; and if this potion fails to work a cure nothing else can save them.

FRAGM. XXXIX.

Strab. XV. l. 41,—p. 700.

*Of Gold-digging Ants.\**

Megasthenes gives the following account of these ants. Among the Dardai, a great tribe of Indians, who inhabit the mountains on the eastern border,† there is an elevated plateau about 3,000 stadia in circuit. Beneath the surface there are mines of gold, and here accordingly are found the ants which dig for that metal. They are not inferior in size to wild foxes. They run with amazing speed, and live by the produce of the chase. The time when they dig is winter.‡ They throw up heaps of earth, § molen do, at the mouth of the mines. The gold-dust has to be subjected to a little boiling. The people of the neighbourhood, coming secretly with beasts of burden, carry this off. If they came openly the ants would attack them, and pursue them if they fled, and would destroy both them and their cattle. So, to effect the robbery without being observed, they lay down in several different places pieces of the flesh of wild beasts, and when the ants are by this device dispersed they carry off the gold-dust. This they sell to any trader they meet with|| while it is still in the state of ore, for the art of fusing metals is unknown to them.

FRAGM. XI.

Arr. Ind. XV. 67.

*Of Gold-digging Ants.*

But Megasthenes says that the tradition about the ants is strictly true,—that they are gold-diggers not for the sake of the gold itself,

but because by instinct they burrow holes in the earth to lie in, just as the tiny ants of our own country dig little holes for themselves, only those in India being larger than foxes make their burrows proportionately larger. But the ground is impregnated with gold, and the Indians thence obtain their gold. [Now Megasthenes writes what he had heard from hearsay, and as I have no exacter information to give I willingly dismiss the subject of the ant.]¶

[FRAGM. XI. B.]

Dio Chrysost. Or. 35,—p. 438, Morell.

*Of Ants which dig for gold.*

(Cf. FRAGM. XXXIV. and XL.)

They got the gold from ants. These creatures are larger than foxes, but are in other respects like the ants of our own country. They dig holes in the earth like other ants. The heap which they throw up consists of gold the purest and brightest in all the world. The mounds are piled up close to each other in regular order like hillocks of gold dust, and all the plain is made effulgent. It is difficult, therefore, to look towards the sun, and many who have attempted to do this have thereby destroyed their eyesight. The people who are next neighbours to the ants, with a view to plunder these heaps, cross the interminable desert, which is of no great extent. They are mounted on wagons to which they have yoked their swiftest horses, and arrive at noon, a time when the ants have gone underground. They at once seize the booty, and make off at full speed. The ants, on learning what has been done, pursue the fugitives, and overtaking them fight with them till they conquer or die, for of all animals they are the most courageous. It hence appears that they understand the worth of gold, and that they will sacrifice their lives rather than part with it.

FRAGM. XLI.

Strab. XV. l. 53-60,—pp. 711-714.

*Of the Indian Philosophers.*

(FRAGM. XXIX. has preceded this.)

(58) Speaking of the philosophers, he (Megasthenes) says that each of them as live on the mountains are worshippers of Dionysos, showing as proud that he had come among them the wild vine, which grows in their country only, and the ivy, and the laurel, and the myrtle,

which in summer amounts to three hundred, more to nearly as hundred in winter. They prefer the winter, as the frozen soil then stands well, and is not likely to trouble them much by falling in.—Id.

‡ The text is *τοῖς χειμῶνι*. If the different reading *τοῖς καλοκαίρῳ* be adopted, the rendering is, "They dispose of it to merchants at any price."

¶ Cf. Herod. III. 102-106; Arrian, Anab. V. 4.7; Strabo, Hist. Asiae. III. 4; Clem. Alex. Procl. II. p. 267; Tacit. Gal. XII. 530-540; Plin. Hist. Nat. XI. 66, XXXIII. 21; Propert. III. 13.5, Pomp. Mel. VII. 2; Isidor. Orig. XII. 5; Albert Mag. De Animal. T. VI. p. 676, ex emendatione Alexandri episcopi; Anonym. De Monstris et Mirabilibus, 259, ed. Bergeron Xivrey; Philostratus, Vit. Apollon. VI. 1; and Heliodorus, Eth. X. 24, p. 448; also Gildemeister, Script. Arab. de reb. Ind. p. 230-231, and 120; Hassequius, Legationis Turcorum Epist. IV. p. 144, or Theorem XXIV. 7, p. 809.—Schwanbeck, p. 72.

\* See Ind. Ant. vol. IV. pp. 325 seqq., where cogent arguments are adduced to prove that the 'gold-digging ants' were originally scorpions, as the ancients supposed, not ants, nor, as so many eminent men of learning have supposed, large animals mistaken for ants on account of their appearance and subterranean habits, but Tibetan murets, whose mode of life and dress was in the remotest antiquity exactly what they are at the present day.

† These are the Dardae of Pliny, the Daradrai of Ptolemy, and the Daradæ of Sanskrit literature. "The Dardae are not an extinct race. According to the accounts of modern travellers, they consist of several wild and predatory tribes dwelling among the mountains on the north-west frontier of Káshmir and by the banks of the Indus." Ind. Ant. loc. cit.

‡ The table-land of Chojatal, see Jour. R. Geog. Soc. vol. XXXIX. pp. 146 seqq.—Ed.

§ "The miners of Thak-Jalag, in spite of the cold, prefer working in winter; and the number of their tents,

and the box-tree, and other overgreens, none of which are found beyond the Euphrates, except a few in parks, which it requires great care to preserve. They observe also certain customs which are Bacchanalian. Thus they dress in maslin, wear the turban, use perfumes, array themselves in garments dyed of bright colours; and their kings, when they appear in public, are preceded by the music of drums and gongs. But the philosophers who live on the plains worship Hérakles. (These accounts are fabulous, and are impugned by many writers, especially what is said about the vine and wine. For the greater part of Armenia, and the whole of Mesopotamia and Media, onwards to Persia and Karmania, lie beyond the Euphrates, and throughout a great part of each of these countries good vines grow, and good wine is produced.)

(59) Megasthenes makes a different division of the philosophers, saying that they are of two kinds—one of which he calls the Brachmanes, and the other the Sarmanes.\* The Brachmanes are best esteemed, for they are more consistent in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb they are under the guardian care of learned men, who go to the mother and, under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels. The women who listen most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their children. After their birth the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor. The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or (deer) skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures, and spend

their time in listening to serious discourse, and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. The hearer is not allowed to speak, or even to cough, and much less to spit, and if he offends in any of these ways he is cast out from their society that very day, as being a man who is wanting in self-restraint. After living in this manner for seven-and-thirty years, each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security.† They then array themselves in fine maslin and wear a few trinkets of gold on their fingers and in their ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals employed in labour. They abstain from hot and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to have numerous children, for by having many wives greater advantages are enjoyed, and, since they have no slaves, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants.

The Brachmanes do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives, lest they should divulge any of the forbidden mysteries to the profane if they became depraved, or lest they should desert them if they became good philosophers: for no one who despises pleasure and pain, as well as life and death, wishes to be in subjection to another, but this is characteristic both of a good man and of a good woman.

Death is with them a very frequent subject of discourse. They regard this life as, so to speak, the time when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into a real and happy life for the votaries of philosophy. On this account they undergo much discipline as a preparation for death. They consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, to suppose otherwise being a dream-like illusion, else how could some be afflicted with sorrow, and others with pleasure, by the very same things, and how could the

\* "Since the word *Sappāras* (the form used by Clemeas of Alexandria) corresponds to the letter with the Sanskrit word *śroṇaṇa* (i.e. an ascetic), it is evident that the forms *Sappāras* and *Sappāras*, which are found in all the MSS. of Strabo, are incorrect. The mistake need not surprise us, since the *IA* when closely written together differ little in form from the syllable *IA*. In the same way Clemeas's *ΑΑΔΒΙΟΙ* must be changed into Strabo's *ΥΑΔΒΙΟΙ*, corresponding with the Sanskrit *Vanaprastha*—"the man of the first three castes who, after the term of his householdership has expired, has entered the third *dharma* or order, and has proceeded (*pṛavṛtha*) to a life in the woods (*Vāna*)."—Schwanbeck, p. 46; H. H. Wilson, (Hoss. "It is a capital question," he adds, "who the Sarmanes

were, some considering them to be Buddhists, and others denying them to be such. Weighty arguments are adduced on both sides, but the opinion of those seems to approach nearer the truth who contend that they were Buddhists."

† "A mistake of the Greek writers originates in their ignorance of the fourfold division of a Brahman's life. Thus they speak of men who had been for sixty years engaged in marrying and returning to remain life (alluding probably to a student who, having completed the practice of the first period, becomes a householder)." Epiphanius's *History of India*, p. 235, where it is also remarked that the writers erroneously prolong the period during which students listen to their instructors in silence and respect, making it extend in all cases to thirty-seven, which is the greatest age to which Manu (chap. III. sec. 1) permits it in any case to be protracted.



same things affect the same individuals at different times with these opposite emotions?

Their ideas about physical phenomena, the same author tells us, are very crude, for they are better in their actions than in their reasonings, inasmuch as their belief is in great measure based upon fables; yet on many points their opinions coincide with those of the Greeks, for like them they say that the world had a beginning, and is liable to destruction, and is in shape spherical, and that the Deity who made it, and who governs it, is diffused through all its parts. They hold that various first principles operate in the universe, and that water was the principle employed in the making of the world. In addition to the four elements there is a fifth agency, from which the heaven and the stars were produced.† The earth is placed in the

centre of the universe. Concerning generation, and the nature of the soul, and many other subjects, they express views like those maintained by the Greeks. They wrap up their doctrines about immortality and future judgment, and kindred topics, in allegories, after the manner of Plato. Such are his statements regarding the Brachmanes.

(60) Of the Sarmanees§ he tells us that those who are held in most honour are called the Hylobioi.|| They live in the woods, where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wear garments made from the bark of trees. They abstain from sexual intercourse and from wine. They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity. Next in

#### FRAGM. XLII.

Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 303 D (ed. Colon. 1698).

That the Jewish race is by far the oldest of all these, and that their philosophy, which has been committed to writing, preceded the philosophy of the Greeks, Philo the Pythagorean shows by many arguments, as does also Aristobolus the Peripatetic, and many others whose names I need not waste time in enumerating. Megasthenes, the author of a work on India, who lived with Seleukos Nikator, writes most clearly on this point, and his words are these:—"All that has been said regarding nature by the ancients is asserted also by philosophers out of Greece, on the one part in India by the Brachmanes, and on the other in Syria by the people called the Jews."

#### FRAGM. XLII. B.

Kusch, *Prep. Ev.* IX. 6.—pp. 410 C, D (ed. Colon. 1698).

As Clem. Alex.

Again, in addition to this, further on he writes thus:—

"Megasthenes, the writer who lived with Seleukos Nikator, writes most clearly on this point and to this effect:—"All that has been said," &c.

#### FRAGM. XLII. C.

Cyrill. *Contra Julian.* IV. (Opp. ed. Paris, 1689, T. VI. p. 134 A). *Ex Clem. Alex.* ¶

Aristobolus the Peripatetic somewhere writes

† *Ἄδης*, 'the ether or sky.'

§ Schwanbeck argues from the distinct separation here made between the Brachmanes and the Sarmanees, as well as from the name *Sarmanees* being especially applied to Buddhist teachers, that the latter are here meant. They are called *Σαρμανεῖς* by Bardesanes (sp. Porphyrr, *Abstin.* IV. 17) and Alex. Polyhistor. (sp. Cyrill. *contra Julian.* IV. p. 133 E. ed. Paris, 1689). Conf. also Hieronym. *ad Jovinianum*. II. (ed. Paris, 1706, T. II. pt. II. p. 295). And this is just the Pali name *Sammāna*, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *śramaṇa*. Böhlen in *Die Buddhismi origine et statu definitivis* sustains this view, but Lassen (*Rhein. Mus. für Phil.*

to this effect:—"All that has been said," &c.

#### FRAGM. XLIII.

Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 303, A, B. (ed. Colon. 1698).

*Of the Philosophers of India.*

[Philosophy, then, with all its blessed advantages to man, flourished long ages ago among the barbarians, diffusing its light among the Gentiles, and eventually penetrated into Greece. Its hierophants were the prophets among the Egyptians, the Chaldeans among the Assyrians, the Druids among the Gauls, the Sarmanees who were the philosophers of the Bactrians and the Kelta, the Magi among the Persians, who, as you know, announced beforehand the birth of the Saviour, being led by a star till they arrived in the land of Judaea, and among the Indians the Gymnosophists, and other philosophers of barbarous nations.]

There are two sects of these Indian philosophers—one called the Sarmānai and the other the Brachmānai. Connected with the Sarmānai are the philosophers called the Hylobioi,\* who neither live in cities nor even in houses. They clothe themselves with the bark of trees, and subsist upon acorns, and drink water by lifting it to their mouth with their hands. They neither marry nor beget children (like those ascetics of our own day called the Enkratistai. Among the Indians are these philosophers also who follow the precepts of Bouddha,† whom they honour as a god on account of his extraordinary sanctity.)

l. 471 ff.) contends that the description agrees better with the Brāhman secession. See Schwanbeck, p. 456, and *Lesson Ind. Alterth.* (2nd ed.) II. 706, or (1st ed.) II. 700.—Ed.

¶ See ante page 243.

\* "In this passage, though Cyril follows Clemens, he wrongly attributes the narrative of Megasthenes to Aristobolus the Peripatetic, whom Clemens only praises."—Schwanbeck, p. 46.

† The reading of the MSS is Allobioi.

† V. I. Ruyss.—The passage admits of a different rendering: "They (the Hylobioi) are those among the Indians who follow the precepts of Bouddha." Colebrooke in his *Ob-*



honour to the Hylobioi are the physicians, since they are engaged in the study of the nature of man. They are simple in their habits, but do not live in the fields. Their food consists of rice and barley-meat, which they can always get for the mere asking, or receive from those who entertain them as guests in their houses. By their knowledge of pharmacy they can make marriages fruitful, and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters. All others they consider to be in a great measure pernicious in their nature. § This class and the other class practise fortitude, both by undergoing active toil, and by the endurance of pain, so that they remain for a whole day motionless in one fixed attitude. ||

Besides these there are diviners and sorcerers, and adepts in the rites and customs relating to the dead, who go about begging both in villages and towns.

Even such of them as are of superior culture and refinement inculcate such superstitions regarding Hades as they consider favourable to piety and holiness of life. Women pursue philosophy with some of them, but abstain from sexual intercourse.

#### FRAGM. XLII., XLIII.

See ante, p. 244.

#### FRAGM. XLIV.

Strab. XV. l. 63, — p. 718.

#### Of Kalanos and Mandanis.

Megasthenes, however, says that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers, but

that such as commit the act are regarded as foolhardy, those naturally of a severe temper stabbing themselves or chalking themselves down a precipice, those averse to pain drowning themselves, those capable of enduring pain strangling themselves, and those of ardent temperaments throwing themselves into the fire. Kalanos was a man of this stamp. He was ruled by his passions, and became a slave to the table of Alexander. ¶ He is on this account condemned by his countrymen, but Mandanis is applauded because when messengers from Alexander invited him to go to the son of Zeus, with the promise of gifts if he complied, and threats of punishment if he refused, he did not go. Alexander, he said, was not the son of Zeus, for he was not so much a master of the larger half of the world. As for himself, he wanted none of the gifts of a man whose desires nothing could satiate; and as for his threats he feared them not: for if he lived, India would supply him with food enough, and if he died, he would be delivered from the body of flesh now afflicted with age, and would be translated to a better and a purer life. Alexander expressed admiration of the man, and let him have his own way.

#### FRAGM. XLV.

Arr. VII. ii. 3-9.

#### Of Kalanos and Mandanis.

This shows that Alexander was by no means beyond understanding what is "the better," but in fact he was completely overmastered by the passion for glory. When he arrived at Taxila and saw the Indian gymnosophists, he felt a

servations on the Sect of the Jains, has quoted this passage from Clemens to contravert the opinion that the religion and institutions of the orthodox Hindus are more modern than the doctrines of Jina and of Buddha. "Here," he says, "to my apprehension, the followers of Buddha are clearly distinguished from the Brahmanes and Sramanes. The latter, called thence by Strabo, and Samanenses by Porphyry, are the ascetics of a different religion, and may have belonged to the sect of Jina, or to another. The Brahmanes are apparently those who are described by Philostratus and Herodotus as worshipping the sun; and by Strabo and by Arrian as performing sacrifices for the common benefit of the nation, as well as for individuals. They are expressly discriminated from the sect of Buddha by one ancient author, and from the Brahmanes or Samanenses (ascetics of various tribes) by others. They are described by more than one authority as worshipping the sun, as performing sacrifices, and as denying the eternity of the world, and maintaining other tenets incompatible with the supposition that the sects of Buddha or Jina could be meant. Their manners and doctrine, as described by these authors, are quite conformable with the notions and practice of the orthodox Hindus. It may therefore be confidently inferred that the followers of the Vedas con-

tributed in India when it was visited by the Greeks under Alexander, and continued to flourish from the time of Megasthenes, who described them in the fourth century before Christ, to that of Porphyry, who speaks of them, on later authority, in the third century after Christ."

§ "The habits of the physicians," Elphinstone remarks, "seem to correspond with those of Brahmanes of the fourth stage."

¶ "It is indeed," says the same authority, "a remarkable circumstance that the religion of Buddha should never have been expressly noticed by the Greek authors, though it had existed for two centuries before Alexander. The only explanation is that the appearance and manners of its followers were not so peculiar as to enable a foreigner to distinguish them from the mass of the people."

¶ Kalanos followed the Macedonian army from Taxila, and when afterwards taken ill burnt himself on a funeral pyre in the presence of the whole Macedonian army, without evincing any symptom of pain. His real name, according to Ptolemy, was Sphines, and he received the name Kalanos among the Greeks because in saluting persons he used the form *kali* instead of the Greek *χαίρε*. What Ptolemy here calls *kali* is probably the Sanskrit form *kalidya*, which is commonly used in addressing a person, and signifies 'good, just, or distinguished.'—Smith's Classical Dictionary.

[J. Samana is the Pali form of the older Sramana.]



the Egyptian† and Tearkôn the Ethiopian advanced as far as Europe. And Nabukodrosor,§ who is more renowned among the Chaldeans than even Hérakles among the Greeks, carried his arms to the Pillars,|| which Tearkôn also reached, while Sesôstris penetrated from Ibérin even into Thrace and Pontos. Besides these there was Idanthuros the Skuthian, who overran Asia as far as Egypt.¶ But not one of these great conquerors approached India, and Semiramis, who meditated its conquest, died before the necessary preparations were undertaken. The Persians indeed summoned the Hndrakai\* from India to serve as mercenaries, but they did not lead an army into the country, and only approached its borders when Kuros marched against the Messagetæi.

*Of Dionusos and Hérakles.*

7. The accounts about Hérakles and Dionusos, Megasthenês and some few authors with him consider entitled to credit, [but the majority, among whom is Eratosthenês, consider them incredible and fabulous, like the stories current among the Greeks.....]

which Bacchus led, the city of Nussa is no mean monument, while Mount Mêroa is yet another, and the ivy which grows thereon, and the practice observed by the Indians themselves of marching to battle with drums and cymbals, and of wearing a spotted dress such as was worn by the Bacchantes of Dionusos. On the other hand, there are but few memorials of Hérakles, and it may be doubted whether even these are genuine: for the assertion that Hérakles was not able to take the rock Aornos, which Alexander seized by force of arms, seems to me all a Macedonian ruse, quite of a piece with their calling Párapamisos—Kankuros, though it had no connexion at all

8. On such grounds they called a particular race of people Nussaians, and their city Nussa,† which Dionusos had founded, and the mountain which rose above the city Mêroa, assigning as their reason for bestowing these names that ivy grows there, and also the vine, although its fruit does not come to perfection, as the clusters, on account of the heaviness of the rains, fall off the trees before ripening. They further called the Oindrakai descendants of Dionusos, because the vine grew in their country, and their processions were conducted with great pomp, and their kings on going forth to war and on other occasions marched in Bacchic fashion, with drums beating, while they were dressed in gay-coloured robes, which is also a custom among other Indians. Again, when Alexander had captured at the first assault the rock called Aornos, the base of which was washed by the Indus near its source, his followers, magnifying the affair, affirmed that Hérakles had thrice assailed the same rock and had been thrice repulsed.‡ They said also that the Sibæ were descended from those who accompanied Hérakles on his expedi-

with Kankuros. In the same spirit, when they noticed a cave in the dominions of the Párapamisoi, they asserted that it was the cave of Prometheus the Titan, in which he had been suspended for stealing the fire. So also when they came among the Sibæ, an Indian tribe, and noticed that they wore skins, they declared that the Sibæ were descended from those who belonged to the expedition of Hérakles and had been left behind: for, besides being dressed in skins, the Sibæ carry a cudgel, and brand on the backs of their oxen the representation of a club, wherein the Macedonians recognized a memorial of the club of Hérakles.

It is variously written Sydrakai, Syrakmai, Sabagro, and Sygambri.

† V. H. Nicomène, Nicovv.

‡ This celebrated rock has been identified by General Cunningham with the ruined fortress of Râbigat, situated immediately above the small village of Nogrâm, which lies about sixteen miles north by west from Ohind, which he takes to be the Bantimâ of the ancients. "Râbigat," he says, "or the Queen's rock, is a large upright block on the north edge of the fort, on which Râja Varsa's rival is said to have seated himself daily. The fort itself is attributed to Râja Varsa, and some ruins at the foot of the hill are called Râja Varsa's stables. . . . I think, therefore, that the hill-fort of Aornos most probably derived its name from Râja Varsa, and that the ruined fortress of Râbigat has a better claim to be identified with the Aornos of Alexander than either the Mahâtan hill of General Abbott, or the castle of Râja Rudi proposed by General Court and Mr. Lawnoothal." See Grote's History of Greece, vol. VIII. pp. 437-8, footnote.

† Sesôstris (called Sesôsis by Diodorus) has generally been identified with Ramses the third king of the 19th dynasty of Manetho, the son of Seti, and the father of Menephtah the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Lepsius, however, from a study of the Tablet of Ramses II. found at Abydos in Egypt, and now in the British Museum, has been led to identify him with the Neartasen or Thirtasen of the great 18th dynasty.—See Report of the Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Orientalists, p. 44.

§ V. I. NaSakodpôrovov.

|| Called by Ptolemy the "Pillars of Alexander," above Albania and Iberia at the commencement of the Asiatic Expedition.

¶ Herodotus mentions an invasion of Skuthians which was led by Marias. As Idanthuros may have been a common appellation of the Skuthian kings, Strabo may here be referring to that invasion.

\* The Hndrakai are called also Oindrakai. The name, according to Lassen, represents the Sanskrit Kâundrakai.



tion, and that they preserved badges of their descent, for they wore skins like Hérakles, and carried clubs, and branded the mark of a cudgel on their oxen and mules. § In support of this story they turn to account the legends regarding Kaukasos and Prométhéus by transferring them hither from Pontos, which they did on the slight pretext that they had seen a sacred cave among the Παροπαμισαδαί. This they declared was the prison of Prométhéus, whither Hérakles had come to effect his deliverance, and that this was the Kaukasos, to which the Greeks represent Prométhéus as having been bound. ||

## FRAGM. XLVIII.

Josephus Contra Apion. I. 90 (T. II. p. 431, Haverc.).

## Of Nabuchodonosor.

(Cf. Fragm. XLVI. 2.)

Megasthenés also expresses the same opinion in the 4th book of his *Indika*, where he endeavours to show that the aforesaid king of the Babylonians (Nabouchodonosor) surpassed Hérakles in courage and the greatness of his achievements, by telling us that he conquered even Ibéria.

## FRAGM. XLVIII. B.

Joseph. Ant. Jud. X. ii. 1 (T. I. p. 538, Haverc.).

[In this place (Nabouchodonosor) erected also of stone elevated places for walking about on, which had to the eye the appearance of mountains, and were so contrived that they were planted with all sorts of trees, because his wife, who had been bred up in the land of Media, wished her surroundings to be like those of her early home.] Megasthenés also, in the 4th book of his *Indika*, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavours to show that this king surpassed Hérakles in courage and the greatness of his achievements, for he says that he conquered Libya and a great part of Ibéria.

## FRAGM. XLVIII. C.

Zonar. ed. Basil. 1557. T. I. p. 87.

Among the many old historians who mention

§ According to Curtius, the Sibae, whom he calls Bobii, occupied the country between the Hydaspes and the Acesines. They may have derived their name from the god Siva.

|| No writer before Alexander's time mentions the Indian gods. The Macedonians, when they came into India, in accordance with the inveterate practice of the Greeks, considered the gods of the country to be the same as their own. Siva they were led to identify with Bacchos on their observing the unbridled license and somewhat Bacchic fashion of his worship, and because they traced some slight resemblance between the attributes of the two deities, and between the names belonging to the mythic conception of each. Nor was anything easier, after Euripides had originated the fiction that Dionysos had

Nabouchodonosor, Jésoptas enumerates Bêró-  
ses, Megasthenés, and Diaklés.

## FRAGM. XLVIII. D.

G. Eyscel. T. I. p. 419, ed. Renn. (p. 231 ed. Paris, p. 177 ed. Voss.).

Megasthenés, in his fourth book of the *Indika*, represents Nabouchodonosor as mightier than Hérakles, because with great courage and enterprise he conquered the greater part of Libya and Ibéria.

## FRAGM. XLIX.

Abyden. ap. Euseb. Prep. Ev. L. 41 (ed. Colon. 1682, p. 456 D.).

## Of Nabuchodonosor.

Megasthenés says that Nabuchodonosor, who was mightier than Hérakles, undertook an expedition against Libya and Ibéria, and that having conquered them he planted a colony of these people in the parts lying to the right of Pontos.

## FRAGM. L.

Art. Ind. 7.9.

Of the Indian races—of Dionysos—of Hérakles—of Pearls—of the Pandean land—of the Ancient History of the Indians.

VII. The Indian tribes, Megasthenés tells us, number in all 118. [And I so far agree with him as to allow that they must be indeed numerous, but when he gives such a precise estimate I am at a loss to conjecture how he arrived at it, for the greater part of India he did not visit, nor is mutual intercourse maintained among all the tribes.]

He tells us further that the Indians were in old times nomadic, like those Skuthians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons varied, from one part of Skuthia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor worshipping in temples; and that the Indians likewise had neither towns nor temples of the gods, but were so barbarous that they wore the skins of such wild animals as they could kill, and subsided on the bark of trees; that these trees were

roamed over the East, than to suppose that the god of luxuriant fecundity had made his way to India, a country so remarkable for its fertility. To confirm this opinion they made use of a slight and accidental agreement in names. Thus Mount Mîra seemed an indication of the god who sprang from the thigh of Zeus (ἐκ θύλης μύρου). Thus they thought the Kandrakas (Oxandrakas) the offspring of Dionysos because the vine grew in their country, and they saw that their kings displayed great pomp in their processions. On equally slight grounds they identified Kriakus, another god whom they saw worshipped, with Hérakles; and whenever, as among the Sibae, they saw the skins of wild beasts, or clubs, or the like, they assumed that Hérakles had at some time or other dwelt there.—Schrömh. p. 62.



called in Indian speech *tala*, and that there grow on them, as there grows at the tops of the palm-trees, a fruit resembling balls of wool; that they subsisted also on such wild animals as they could catch, eating the flesh raw,—before, at least, the coming of Dionnosos into India. Dionnosos, however, when he came and had conquered the people, founded cities and gave laws to these cities, and introduced the use of wine among the Indians, as he had done among the Greeks, and taught them to sow the land, himself supplying seeds for the purpose,—either because Triptolemos, when he was sent by Dêmêter to sow all the earth, did not reach these parts, or this must have been some Dionnosos who came to India before Triptolemos, and gave the people the seeds of cultivated plants. It is also said that Dionnosos first yoked oxen to the plough, and made many of the Indians husbandmen instead of nomads, and furnished them with the implements of agriculture; and that the Indians worship the other gods, and Dionnosos himself in particular, with cymbals and drums, because he so taught them; and that he also taught them the Satyric dance, or, as the Greeks call it, the *fordos*; and that he instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god, and to wear the turban; and that he taught them to anoint themselves with unguents; so that even up to the time of Alexander the Indians were marshalled for battle to the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. But when he was leaving India, after having established the new order of things, he appointed, it is said, Spartembas,\* one of his companions and the most conversant with Bæcchiæ matters, to be the king of the country. When Spartembas died his son Boudyas† succeeded to the sovereignty, the father reigning over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; the son of the latter, whose name was Kradenas,‡ duly inherited the kingdom, and

thereafter the succession was generally hereditary, but when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house the Indians elected their sovereigns on the principle of merit. Hêrakles, however, who is currently reported to have come as a stranger into the country, is said to have been in reality a native of India. This Hêrakles is held in especial honour by the Sourasônai, an Indian tribe possessing two large cities, Metbora† and Kleisobora, and through whose country flows a navigable river called the Iobares.§ But the dress which this Hêrakles wore, Megasthenes tells us, resembled that of the Theban Hêrakles, as the Indians themselves admit. It is further said that he had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him in India (for, like his Theban namesake, he married many wives), but that he had only one daughter. The name of this child was Pandais, and the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which Hêrakles entrusted her, was called after her name, Pandais, and she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say farther of Hêrakles that when he was going over the world and ridding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even to this day the Indian traders who bring their wares to our markets eagerly buy up as such and carry away, while it is even more greedily bought up by the wealthy Romans of to-day, as it was wont to be by the wealthy Greeks long ago. This article is the sea-pearl, called in the Indian language *margarita*.|| But Hêrakles, it is said, appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, caused it to be brought from all the sea into India, that he might adorn with it the person of his daughter.

Megasthenes informs us that the oyster which

FRANK. L. B.  
Pina. Hist. Nat. IX. 55.  
Of Pearls.

Some writers allege that in swarms of oysters,

\* It has been conjectured that this name very incorrectly transliterates the Sanskrit *Sourasônâra*. V. L. Spartembas.

† No doubt Buddha.

‡ Perhaps altered from *Praxenos*, which may represent the Sanskrit *Purandara*.

§ The *Mâdhava* § *râs* *Qadâs* of Ptolemy, the *Mathari* or *Madhapuri* of Sanskrit writers, and the modern *Mathurâ*;

as among bees, individuals distinguished for size and beauty act as leaders. These are of wonderful cunning in preventing themselves being caught, and are eagerly sought for by the divers.

see Ind. Ant. vol. V. pp. 85, 334; and conf. *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLIII. pt. i. pp. 336, 351. Kleisobora, according to Ptolemy on the opposite side of the river, would thus be *Mâdhava*; see *Grieco's Mathura*, pt. i. pp. 151, 152; Col. Yule places it lower down the river at *Batesar*.—Ed.

§ Iobares is the *Jamanâ*.

|| Represents the Persian word for a pearl—*marvâd*.

yields this pearl is there fished for with nets, and that in the same place the oysters live in the sea in shoals like bee-swarms; for oysters, like bees, have a king or a queen, and if any one is lucky enough to catch the king he readily encloses in the net all the rest of the shoal, but if the king makes his escape there is no chance of catching the others. The fishermen allow the fleshy parts of such as they catch to rot away, and keep the bone, which forms the ornament: for the pearl in India is worth thrice its weight in refined gold, gold being a product of the Indian mines.

IX. Now in that part of the country where the daughter of Hérakles reigned as queen, it is said that the women when seven years old are of marriageable age, and that the men live at most forty years, and that on this subject there is a tradition current among the Indians to the effect that Hérakles, whose daughter was born to him late in life, when he saw that his end was near, and he knew no man of equal rank with himself to whom he could give her in marriage, had incestuous intercourse with the girl when she was seven years of age, in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India; that Hérakles therefore made her of suitable age for marriage, and that in consequence the whole nation over which Pandæia reigned obtained this same privilege from her father. Now to me it seems that, even if Hérakles could have done a thing so marvellous, he could also have made himself longer-lived, in order to have intercourse with his daughter when she was of mature age. But in fact, if the age at which the women

there are marriageable is correctly stated, this is quite consistent, it seems to me, with what is said of the men's age,—that those who live longest die at forty; for where men so much sooner become old and die, it must needs be that they attain their prime sooner, the sooner their life is to end. It follows hence that men would there at the age of thirty be turning old, and young men would at twenty be past the season of puberty, while the stage of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. And, quite compatibly with this, the women might be marriageable at the age of seven. And why not, when Megasthenes declares that the very fruits of the country ripen faster than fruits elsewhere, and decay faster?

From the time of Dionusos to Sandrakottos the Indians counted 133 kings and a period of 6042 years; among these a republic was thrice established \* \* \* and another to 300 years, and another to 120 years. The Indians also tell us that Dionusos was earlier than Hérakles by fifteen generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India,—not even Kuroa the son of Kambarda, although he undertook an expedition against the Skathians, and otherwise showed himself the most enterprising monarch in all Asia; but that Alexander indeed came and overthrew in war whom he attacked, and would even have conquered the whole world had his army been willing to follow him. On the other hand, a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.

Should they be caught, the others are easily enclosed in the nets as they go wandering about. They are then put into earthen pots, where they are buried deep in salt. By this process the flesh is all eaten away, and the hard concretions, which are the pearls, drop down to the bottom.

FAAGU. LI.

Philostr. Mirab. 23.

Of the Pandæian Land.

(Of. Fragm. XXX. 6.)

Megasthenes says that the women of the Pandæian realm bear children when they are six years of age.

FAAGU. L. C.

Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. xi. 43.

Of the Ancient History of the Indians.

For the Indians stand almost alone among the

nations in never having migrated from their own country. From the days of Father Barchus to Alexander the Great their kings are reckoned at 154, whose reigns extend over 6451 years and 3 months.

Solia. 62. 5.

Father Barchus was the first who invaded India, and was the first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From him to Alexander the Great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period, to the number of 153.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON THE LAX OBSERVANCE OF CASTE RULES, AND OTHER FEATURES OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE, IN ANCIENT INDIA.

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THE object of this paper is to show, by illustrations drawn chiefly from *Manu* and the *Mahābhārata*, that the regulations defining the duties, relations, prerogatives, and functions of the different Indian classes, as prescribed by *Manu* and in some parts of the *Mahābhārata*, were not strictly respected or practised in ancient times in India; that the custom of polyandry was not unknown, that liberal sentiments were entertained regarding the religious position of the lower classes, and that considerable freedom of speculation on theological topics was prevalent.

On this subject the remarks of Professor Max Müller, in his *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 46ff., the article of M. Auguste Barth, of which a partial translation appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III., p. 329ff. (Nov. 1874), and my *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I. p. 386, note, and vol. III., pp. 292ff., may be referred to.

Both in *Manu* and in the *Mahābhārata* we find very different ideas and statements about the system of castes in earlier ages. I begin with *Manu*. In some passages he appears to record the Brāhmanas as infinitely superior to all other men in virtue of their birth alone; while in other places they are considered as deriving their eminence more from learning or from moral goodness. In the following texts their natural and inherent power and virtue, and that springing from a knowledge of the *Vedas*, are set forth:—i. 98-99, 98-101; ix. 245, 313-320; x. 3; xi. 32, 85, 261, 263. The Brāhman is said to be the chief of the creation, and lord of all beings (i. 98, 99); everything in the world is his by right (i. 100). A man of this class who has gone through the *Veda* is lord of the whole world (ix. 245). Brāhmanas could destroy a king with all his host; they created fire, the ocean, and the moon, and could create new worlds and gods (ix. 318-19). Whether learned or not, and even when practising undesirable occupations, a Brāhman is a great divinity (ix. 317, 319). He is a divinity even to the gods (xi. 84). If he retain in his memory the *Rigveda*, he would incur no guilt by destroying the three worlds,

or eating food received from any quarter: as a clod of earth is dissolved when thrown into a lake, all sin is sunk in the triple *Veda* (xi. 261, 263). With this may be compared the glorification of royalty in chapter vii. 5-8, where a king is said to be composed of eternal portions of different gods, to surpass all beings in glory, to dazzle the eyes of all gazers, and to be a great deity in human form.

Elsewhere, however, it is said that neither the *Vedas*, nor liberality, nor sacrifices, nor observances, nor austerities, can avail in the case of a man whose nature is corrupted (ii. 97); and that a Brāhman who knows the *yājñatri* only, if his life is well regulated, is better than one who knows the three *Vedas* but whose life is unregulated, who eats everything, and who sells all commodities (ii. 118). An unlearned Brāhman is compared to a wooden elephant or a leathern deer (ii. 157). One who does not study the *Veda*, and employs himself in other pursuits, soon sinks with his descendants, even in this life, to the condition of a Śūdra (ii. 168). Such (ignorant) Brāhmanas, as are mere ashes, should not be entertained at *śrāddhas* (presentations of oblations to gods and departed ancestors) (iii. 97, 133, 142). Similarly, low and infidel Brāhmanas are declared unworthy of receiving honour at such celebrations (iii. 146, 167). The kind of Brāhmanas who should be honoured on such occasions are described in verses iii. 128-131, 143, 145. A father who has been instructed in the *Veda* by his son is to be shunned (iii. 160), as is also a Brāhman leading the life of a Śūdra (iii. 164). In answer to an inquiry how death can prevail over Brāhmanas, Bṛiṣa declares that they are subject to death owing to their neglect of the study of the *Veda*, and inattention to propriety of conduct, &c. (v. 2-4). Those Brāhmanas who accept gifts from Śūdras for the offering of oblations to fire (*agnihotra*) are condemned as ministers of the base-born (xi. 42f.); and the performance of sacrifices for Śūdras is again reprehended (iii. 178f.). Kings, Kshatriyas, kings' domestic priests, and men skilled in the war of words, are declared to belong to that middle class of beings who are under the influence of the principle of *rājās*—or



The husband of a twice-married woman, or widow, is to be avoided (iii. 180, 181). Here Mann seems to come into conflict with the *Pûrâ*, at least if we regard the *Âtharvan* as one of the sacred and authoritative books; as that work (ix. 5, 27) declares that a *punarbhî*, or twice-married woman, shall not be separated from her second husband, but shall go to the same heaven with him, if they present the *ajapanchaudana* offering (see *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. V. p. 300).

Any actual discrepancies in the rules which have been noted above seem to proceed from writers of different schools and sentiments, or of different periods. As M. Barth considers, the more rigid provisions represent rather the ideals of strict and exclusive Brâhmanas than the current practice of the ages when they lived. It is quite clear, from the details presented above, that in their matrimonial connections the Brâhmanas were very far from confining themselves to their own class, and that they were not the exclusive teachers of the *Vedas*.

In the *Mahâbhârata* also we find both passages, in which the inherent virtue of Brâhmanhood is strongly insisted upon; and other texts again in which mere priestly birth is represented as of little or no value unless accompanied by learning or moral goodness. Of the former class is the following quotation:—

*Mahâbh.* iii. 13435. "Whether ill or well read in the *Vedas*, whether uneducated or educated, Brâhmanas are not to be despised, like fires concealed beneath ashes. As a brightly burning fire in a cemetery is not polluted, so, learned or unlearned, a Brâhman is a great divinity."<sup>†</sup>

In the same book we have the following passage, in which both views are stated. The conversation is between a woman and a Brâhman mendicant, to whose wants she had not attended before those of her own husband, and who told her that even the god Indra bowed before the Brâhmanas, who could burn up the earth, v. 13673ff. She replies that she did not despise the Brâhmanas, whose power and greatness she knew, and by whose anger the ocean was made salt and undrinkable (v. 13677). But she tells him in vv. 13684ff. what qualities

constituted a real Brâhman. "Anger is a foe which abides in the bodies of men. The gods call that man a Brâhman who abandons anger and illusion; who speaks truth; pleases his spiritual preceptor; who when injured does not retaliate; who conquers his senses; is devoted to righteousness, and to study of the scriptures; who is pure, and controls lust and wrath; who esteems all the world as himself; who knows his duty, and is intelligent; and is addicted to all righteous acts; who will teach, or who will study, who will offer sacrifice, or officiate at sacrifice for others, or will be liberal according to his power, who will lead a life of abstinence, and read the *Vedas*, and be alert in study."

She adds that duty is hard to understand, that it is declared by the ancients to be proved by the *Veda*, that it is manifold and difficult to determine with nicety; and that he whom she is addressing, though he has a knowledge of it, and is a zealous student, and pure in his life, does not, in her opinion, thoroughly comprehend duty (vv. 13692ff.). She concludes by telling him of a person, a huntsman, who would instruct him. The Brâhman takes this in good part, and follows her advice. This introduces the story of the *Dharmavyâdha*, which will be given below.

In the following verses Brâhmanas are ranged in different classes, according to their manner of life and conduct:—

*Mahâbh.* xii. 2879. "Those men who are distinguished by knowledge, and are always impartial, being like Brahma, are known as Brâhmanas. Those of the Brâhmanas who are accomplished in the *Itik Yigush* and *Sâma Vedas*, and are actively engaged in their proper works, are like to the gods. But those low, covetous Brâhmanas, who do not practise the works of their caste, resemble *Sûdras*. A righteous king should subject to taxes and to forced labour all those (Brâhmanas) who are ignorant of the *Veda*, and have not kindled the sacred fire. Messengers, idol-priests, astrologers, and sacrificers in villages, with travellers,\* are the *Chagâlâs* among Brâhmanas. Sacrificing and domestic priests, kings' ministers, ambassadors, *vârtânukarshakas*,†—such Brâhmanas resemble *Kshatriyas*. A king, when his

<sup>†</sup> Compare a similar passage from the *Mahâbh.* xii. 2160 ff. quoted in my *Original Sanskrit Texts* (2nd ed.), vol. I. p. 130.

\* Explained by the commentator to mean either travellers who cross the sea, or collectors of customs on the highway. † This word is not explained by the commentator.



treasury is empty, should levy taxes from such persons, excepting those who resemble Brahma and the gods" (see above). Compare Prof. Haug's note to his translation of the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, p. 38, where six kinds of Brāhmaṇas are stated to be, according to the Smṛitis as referred to by Śāyana, of a low order.

*Mahābh.* xiii. 1542. This passage insists on character. "All the *Vedas*, with their six appendages, the Sāṅkhya, the *Purāṇa*, birth in a good family, cannot help the Brāhmaṇ who is destitute of good character. The man who has read and thinks himself learned, but who, by his knowledge, seeks to discredit others, he sinks—he does not practise truth—his happiness in the next world is finite," 1550f. Any one giving gifts to men who "traverse this earth praising righteousness but not practising it, and who are addicted to acts which infringe the rules of their caste," goes to hell.

According to verses 1585ff. of the same chapter, the following classes of Brāhmaṇas are not to be invited to *śrāddhas*, viz. "physicians, idol-priests, men practising vain observances, sellers of the *Soma*-plant, singers, dancers, jugglers, musicians, story-tellers, soldiers, those who act as *hotṛi* priests for, or who instruct, Śūdras, or are the pupils of Śūdras, and those who are salaried to teach, with their pupils, these being sellers (or buyers) of sacred learning," &c. &c. In v. 1644, among the men who go to hell are mentioned those who sell the *Vedas*, or corrupt (or revile) them, or commit them to writing. This punishment seems more deserved by those who are doomed to it in v. 1636, viz. those who deceive a female who is an orphan, or young, or old, or timid, or an ascetic. In vv. 1646f. among persons who get to heaven are mentioned those who obey their fathers and mothers, and are affectionate towards their brethren; and those who, though rich, and strong, and young, are self-restrained and sober. In vv. 4302ff. of the same book (xiii.), among the Brāhmaṇas who elevate their class are named the ascetic, who knows the course of life which leads to final emancipation, those who recite legends (*śikhāṇḍas*) to Brāhmaṇas, who are acquainted with grammars and commentaries, who peruse the *Purāṇas*, and books prescribing legal duties, and who properly, and in due form, practise what they read."

The following passages also occur in the

*Mahābhārata*:—xii. 8751 ff. "He who discerns the imperceptible supreme (One) in all mortal bodies is, when he dies, fitted for absorption into Brahma. Wise men look with an equal eye on a Brāhmaṇ who is distinguished for knowledge and high birth, on an ox, on an elephant, on a dog, and on a man out of the pale of caste. For in all beings, both those which move and those which cannot, dwells the one great Soul whereby this universe is stretched out. When the embodied spirit beholds itself in all creatures, and all creatures in itself, then Brahma is attained."

*Mahābh.* iii. 17392. Yudhisṭhira says, in answer to a Yaksha's question on what Brāhmaṇhood depends:—"It is neither birth, nor study, nor Vedic learning which makes a man a Brāhmaṇ; it is good conduct alone which does so. Good conduct must be earnestly maintained, especially by a Brāhmaṇ. He does not decline, whose good conduct does not decline; but he whose virtue is destroyed is (really) destroyed. Students, teachers, and others who reflect on the scriptures are all zealous fools; the man who acts in the real paṇḍit. A man who knows the four *Vedas*, if his conduct be bad, is worse than a Śūdra (as *śūdrā atirichyate*: perhaps we should read *na* instead of *as*, 'is no better than a Śūdra'). He who assiduously practises the *agnihotra* sacrifice, and is of subdued mind, is called a Brāhmaṇ."

*Mahābh.* iii. 14075. "A Brāhmaṇ living in evil deeds which cause him to fall, hypocritical, wise to do evil (*duṣkṛita-prajñah*, according to Dr. Bāhtlingk's correction), is on the same level as a Śūdra. But regard as a Brāhmaṇ that Śūdra who always practises calmness, truth, and righteousness, for in conduct he is a twice-born man."

*Mahābh.* v. 1492. "The man who, whether of humble or of high birth, does not transgress the rules of virtue, who seeks after righteousness, is mild and modest, better than a hundred well-born men."

*Mahābh.* xii. 8925. "The gods call him a Brāhmaṇ by whom alone the ether is, as it were, filled; and by whom (by whose absence?) it is rendered empty though crowded with (other) men; who is clothed in anything, and fed by anything, who sleeps anywhere; who dreads a crowd as if it were a serpent, sees (or

satiety) as if it were hell, women as if they were corpses; who, whether honoured or dishonoured, will neither be angry nor pleased; who fills all creatures with a sense of security; who will not welcome death nor delight in life, but will await his time, as a servant (his master's) command. . . . 8836. The gods call that man a Brāhman who is free from all attachments, who is a sage, existing like the ether, who has nothing of his own, who lives alone, who is tranquil, who lives for the sake of virtue, and practises virtue for the sake of Hari (Viṣṇu), whose days and nights exist for the sake of holiness, who has no desires, makes no exertions, neither salutes nor praises any one, and who is free from all bonds."

*Mahābh.* xii. 9068. "When a man does not feel fear or inspire others with fear, when he neither desires nor hates, then he attains to Brahman. When a man does not behave sinfully towards any creature, either in act, thought, or word, then he attains to Brahman. The bond of desire is the one sole bond; there is here no other: he who is freed from it is fit for union with Brahman."

*Mahābh.* xii. 9081. "He who knows that whereby one who does not eat is satisfied, whereby a man without riches is satisfied, and whereby a man free from affliction gains strength—he knows the *Veda*."

*Mahābh.* xiii. 2810. "Let no one honour a well-born man (*jyāyāṁsam*) who is destitute of virtue; but even a Śūdra who understands duty and whose conduct is good should be honoured."

#### *Illustration from the case of Vidura.*

It appears from the following account of Vidura, from the *Mahābhārata*, that the old Indian traditions did not represent the rules confining the study of the *Vedas* to the three twice-born classes as having been strictly or invariably observed.

King Vichitravirya having died childless, his mother Satyawati desired the sage Vyāsa, her son by a previous marriage, "to raise up seed to his brother," and Vyāsa consents, as this was according to rule (*Mahābh.* i. 4256ff.); two sons, Dhritarashtra and Pāṇḍu, were in consequence born to him by the two widows of Vichitravirya, and a third

son Vidura, by a Śūdra slave-girl, whom one of the queens substituted for herself when Satyawati desired that a third son should be raised up to the deceased Vichitravirya; *Mahābh.* i. 4297ff. and 4303.

Vidura was an incarnation of the personal Dharma or Righteousness, who for some cause had been doomed by a Rishi's curse to take a human form (vv. 4302, 4335). The three brothers were, we are told (vv. 4333ff.), from their birth cherished by Bhishma like sons. They were trained in various accomplishments—in reading, in athletic exercises, in archery, in the *Veda*, in fighting with clubs, in sword exercises; they were taught morals and politics, legendary lore (*itihāsa* and *purāṇas*), and various disciplines, were instructed in the *Vedas* and their appendages. Pāṇḍu excelled in handling the bow, Dhritarashtra in strength; but no one in the world was equal to Vidura, who was steadfast, and had attained to perfection in righteousness. In consequence, however, of his birth as the son of a Śūdra mother, he was not eligible as king. He is introduced as giving good advice to Dhritarashtra (ii. 1777ff.), who highly appreciates his counsel, and praises his wisdom (ii. 1790ff.). See also verses 1784, 2002, 2111, 2187ff., 2307ff. In the 8th or *Udyoga* parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, Vidura is introduced as delivering a long series of maxims moral and prudential, in conversation with his elder brother Dhritarashtra, vv. 886-1180, 1221-1350). When, however, he is invited by Dhritarashtra to proceed yet further with his discourse, he says that as he himself was the son of a Śūdra mother he could not say more, but refers him to sage Sanatsumjia, the son of a Brāhman female (vv. 1569ff.), who, by being summoned in thought, arrives. He is again a speaker in vv. 2438, 2445, 4103ff., 5020ff.

In i. 2245 ॥ is said of Vidura that "as Indra in Svarga confers happiness on all living creatures, so Vidura was a constant source of happiness to the Pāṇḍavas."

We have thus in Vidura an instance of a man not belonging to any of the twice-born classes being instructed in the *Veda*. It is true that he is represented as being an incarnation of Dharma or Righteousness; but this may be a subsequent addition to the original story, and so also

2 Compare *Samhitā* Texts, v. 159f. and *Manu*, ii. 39f. See case of Pāṇḍu trying to get his wives to have children

to Brāhmanas, i. 467ff., ii. 478ff., and what follows. This, however, is a different case from Vyāsa's.

may be the section above referred to, in which, as we have seen, he states his opinion (vv. 1569f.) that he had not the right of teaching all the esoteric doctrines that the son of a Brâhman mother, as well as father, was empowered to teach. But it seems nearly as much opposed to the recognized rules, that he should have been taught, as that he should teach the *Veda*. The case of Vidura is treated along with that of Dharmavyâdha by Sankara in his commentary on the *Vedânta Sûtra*, I, 3, 34, 35. It is there decided that the knowledge they possessed was continued to them from a former birth, and that from its transcendent character they could never lose its results. See *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, vol. III. (2nd edition), pp. 295 and 300. The same explanation of Râma's friendship with the Nishâda king (Jala, mentioned in the *Râmâyana*, and referred to above in a note, is given by the commentator on the passage of that poem. See *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II, pp. 407, footnote, *Stories of the Dharmavyâdha*, of Tulâdhara, of the *Dasyu Kâyavya*, and of the ascetic who unlawfully instructed a Sûdra.

The story of the Dharmavyâdha, or pious huntsman, here referred to by Sankara, is (as already noticed above), narrated in the *Mahâbhârata*, 1361-44). A Brâhman (as we have seen), was told by a woman, with whom he had been conversing, that he would find a person of that description in Mithilâ, from whom he might learn a lesson in regard to duty. He goes thither accordingly and sees the Vyâdha selling flesh (13710). This the Brâhman regards as a shocking occupation. The Vyâdha explains that it is his ancestral profession (13720). He says he does not kill the animal himself, but buys the flesh of bears and buffaloes from others (13722f.), and sells it, but does not eat any. He proceeds to expatiate on duty at great length. His present occupation, he explains, is the result of his sin in a former birth (13802f.); but it has now become his duty to pursue it (13819). He goes on to say that even those who till the earth necessarily kill many living creatures; that animals slay and eat each other; and that it is impossible to avoid destroying life. The Brâhman puts several questions, which the Vyâdha answers, and after he has declared to him the doctrine of final emancipation (*moksha*), the Brâhman remarks that there is nothing which

he (the Vyâdha) does not know (14001). Such knowledge, he afterwards says (14049), is difficult for a Sûdra to possess, adding that he cannot look upon him as such, and asking how he fell into that condition. The Vyâdha answers (14052) that in a former birth he was a Brâhman, had read the *Veda*, and gone through all its appendages (*Vedâṅgas*), and had come into his present condition by his own fault. He had gone out to hunt in company with a king, who was his friend, and had wounded a Rishi by accident with an arrow, and had been doomed by his curse to be born again as a huntsman (14082), in a Sûdra family. He had implored the Rishi's forgiveness, but he was told that the curse could not be recalled, but that though he became a Sûdra, he should be acquainted with duty, should remember his former birth, and should go to heaven, and after the effects of the curse were exhausted, he should be born again as a Brâhman (14085f.).

In this case, final emancipation is not attained, but only heaven, after which only a return to earth as a Brâhman is promised.

It is worthy of remark that, in another story also (*Mahâbhârata*, xii. 9277f.), that of Tulâdhara and Jâjali, an ascetical Brâhman is represented as being instructed by a person of a lower class than himself. As, however, the latter was a Vaiśya (v. 9343), he possessed the prerogative of reading the *Veda*, as well as the Brâhman. Jâjali, the Brâhman, had by his austerities acquired a supernatural power of locomotion, and considered that in this respect there was no one like him (9278f.); and that he was perfect in virtue (9317); but he was told by a voice from the sky that he was not equal in this respect to Tulâdhara (9318). He, in consequence, conceives a desire to see the latter, and after a time goes to Bankura, where he finds the merchant in his shop (9321), selling a variety of vegetable products, but no spirituous liquor (9346f.); and asks how he who is following such a mode of life has attained to transcendental knowledge (9349f.). In answer, Tulâdhara explains his own just, righteous, passionless, innocent, merciful character and conduct (9348f.). He goes on to condemn all cruelty to animals, and even agriculture, by which living creatures are killed, and in which oxen are yoked to the plough, and denounces the



after having described the practice of *yoga*, or abstraction, the writer proceeds: "To a good man thus self-concentrated, impartial in regard to all objects, and constantly abstracted for six months, the verbal *Brahma* (*Śabda-brahman*)\* passes away. Beholding creatures distressed by pain, but regarding with an equal eye clouds, stones, and gold, let him (proceeding) on this path cease (from desire), and be free from illusion. Even a man of a low caste, and a woman, seeking after righteousness, may by this road attain to the highest goal. Then the spiritual man beholds through the soul that unborn, ancient, undecaying, eternal (essence), which he can discern when his senses are still, and which is minuter than the minutest, and greater than the greatest."

In *Mahābh.* xiii. 4935 ff., a *Chāṇḍāla* asks how he may be delivered out of his low condition; and is informed, in reply, that he may obtain final liberation by giving his life for a *Brāhman*, but in no other way.

#### *Polyandry in ancient India.*

The story of *Drupadī* leads to the conclusion that polyandry was at one time practised in Hindustan,† as it is still in the Himalayas, and in one district on the south-west coast of India. I give the following particulars of this story from the first book of the *Mahābhārata*. In verses 2711 ff. it is said that this princess was a blameless damsel, born in the family of *Drupada*, but that she sprang from the midst of the sacrificial hearth, and was a portion of *Śachi* (the wife of *Indra*). She was of the middle height, fragrant as a blue lotus, with long lotus-like eyes, a handsome figure, and very black and curly hair. *Drupadī* was her patronymic, and her proper name was *Kṛishṇā* ('the black').

In verses 6822 ff. it is related that a *Brāhman* who came to the house where the *Pāṇḍavas* were living, told them of *Kṛishṇā*'s wonderful birth, and of her projected *swayamvara* (selection of a husband from an assemblage of suitors). The sage *Bharaḍvāja*, it appears (6831 ff.), had a son called *Droṇa*, who studied the *Vedas*, and a friend in king *Prishata*, whose son *Drupada* used to frequent the sage's hermitage, and play as well as study with *Droṇa*. *Drupada* succeeds his father as king, and *Droṇa*,

who, though a *Brāhman*, had received instruction in arms‡ from *Paraśurāma* (who happened to come to the spot), offers his friendship to *Drupada*. The latter, however, repels the advances of the friend of his boyhood by saying that none but a Vedic scholar can be the friend of such a scholar, none but a charioteer the friend of a charioteer, and none but a king the friend of a king (6842). *Droṇa* then goes to the city of the *Kurus*, and *Bhishma* appoints him to instruct the *Pāṇḍavas*, his grandsons (they were really grand-nephews), in the use of arms. When he has taught them, he asks as his fee the kingdom of *Drupada* (6848). They accordingly conquer *Drupada*, and deliver him bound to *Droṇa*. The latter again asks his friendship, and says they shall divide the kingdom (6850). *Drupada* agrees to be his friend. He does not, however, forget the injury which he has received, and seeks for *Brāhman*s to perform a ceremony whereby he should get a son, who should slay *Droṇa* (6855 ff.). He succeeds in finding a priest, and a ceremony is performed (6890), and a son, in the accoutrements of a warrior, issues from the sacrificial fire (6891 and 6893 ff.), and a daughter of unparalleled beauty rises from the altar (6898 ff.). Strange to say, *Droṇa*, thinking that destiny could not be eluded, and having regard to his own reputation as a teacher of martial accomplishments, undertakes to train *Drupada*'s son *Dhṛishtadyumna* in them (6408). When the *Pāṇḍavas* have heard the *Brāhman*'s story (nothing farther is here said about the *swayamvara*), their mother *Kānti* proposes that they should go to the country of *Drupada*, as they had already stayed long enough where they were (6412). While they are living in disguise in the country of *Drupada*, their relative, the sage *Vyāsa*, comes to see them (6421), and tells them (6426 ff.) a story of a certain sage's elegant daughter, who was so unfortunate as not to have got a husband, and who consequently, in order to gain one, practises asceticism, by which she pleases the god *Śiva*, who offers to confer on her the boon which she desires. She asks again and again for a husband endowed with all virtues. The god says she shall have five. She replies that she only wants

\* See *Maitri Upanishad*, vi. 22, and Prof. Cowell's translation; also the *Mahābh.* vii. 3340 and 9707.

† See Prof. M. Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 462, Prof. H. H. Wilson's *Works*, III. p. 3407.

note, and Prof. M. Williams' *Indian Epic Poetry*, pp. 98 ff.

‡ In verse 6838 he is called a *Brāhman*, and in vv. 6879 and 6881 it is said that no *Kshatriya* was equal to him.



one. Śiva rejoins that she has made the request five times; and that when she should be born in another body she should obtain what she had asked (6433f.). She has accordingly, Vyāsa adds, been born in Drupada's family, and is the destined bride of the Pāṇḍavas whom he was addressing (6434). He therefore, recommends them to stay where they were, and tells them that they should be rendered happy by obtaining her as their wife (6435). They eventually proceed with a multitude of other people to the *svayamvara* (6923f.). On their arrival in the city, they were disguised as Brāhmanas, and lived by mendicancy (6931). It appears that Drupada had wished to give his daughter to Arjuna, one of the Pāṇḍavas, although he did not disclose this (6932). He had had a bow made which was exceedingly difficult to bend; and he proclaimed that the man who should bend and string it, and pierce a mark which he had suspended in the air, should gain his daughter's hand (6933f.). This intimation was repeated afterwards by his son, Dhrishtadyumna (6978f.), who then named all the suitors to his sister Draupadī (6980f.). Great excitement ensued among the suitors (7005f.). Those who first tried all failed to string the bow (7022f.). Karṇa, the half-brother of the Pāṇḍavas, had no difficulty in doing so, and in fitting an arrow on the string; but he was at once rejected by Draupadī, and threw down the bow (7027). Śaunpāla, Jarāsaṇḍha, and Śalya next successively failed (7029f.). Arjuna then rose out of the midst of the Brāhmanas (7034f.), which caused a sensation among that class, some being displeased and others glad. Some feared that this youth by his failure might make their caste ridiculous; others said that nothing was beyond a Brāhman's power. "Eating nothing," they said (vr. 7045f.), "or eating air, eating fruits, practising austerities, the Brāhmanas, though weak, are most powerful through their own might. Whether he practises good or evil, a Brāhman is not to be contemned, whatever task may arrive, easy or difficult, great or small. The Kshatriyas were vanquished in battle by Rāma the son of Jāmadagni. Agastya, by his Brāhmanical energy, drank up the fathomless ocean." Arjuna, bowing down to Śiva, and calling Kṛishṇa to mind, seized the bow, strung it, took the arrows, and pierced the mark, which

fell to the ground (7050f.). Loud shouts were heard in the sky, and from the assembly; and flowers were showered from the heavens. Draupadī then advanced to Arjuna, smiling, and holding a garland; and he leaves the assembly accompanied by her (7059). The royal suitors, however, were incensed that her father should have wished to give her to a Brāhman, after their desire to possess her had been kindled; and that the tree whose fruits they had hoped to enjoy had been cut down (7061f.); as, in such a case the princess's choice should have been limited to Kshatriyas (7067). They therefore rushed at Drupada with the intention of killing him (7072); but he took refuge among the Brāhmanas, and two of the Pāṇḍavas, Arjuna and Bhīma, came to the rescue (7073f.). A fight ensues; Arjuna and Bhīma triumph over Karṇa and Śalya; and the Kshatriya kings become alarmed, and propose that the combat should cease for the present. Kṛishṇa then comes forward and declares to them that Draupadī's hand had been properly awarded by her father (7075-7121). Arjuna and Bhīma go with Draupadī to the house where their mother was anxiously awaiting the event, and, in allusion to their being at present in the habit of soliciting alms, they said to her that they had brought something home with them. She, being indoors, and not seeing what it was that they had brought, replied, "Enjoy it all together;" but afterwards, on seeing Draupadī, she exclaimed that she had spoken wrongly (7131f.); and informs Yudhishtīra that she had done so inadvertently, and asks his opinion. Yudhishtīra (7137f.) addresses Arjuna, and says that he who had gained her must take her as his wife. Arjuna, however, replies that Yudhishtīra must first wed her, and then the other brothers successively. They then all became enamoured of her (7151f.). Yudhishtīra then recollects what Vyāsa had formerly said to them (see verse 6434 quoted above), that Draupadī was destined to be the wife of all the five—which Yudhishtīra declared she should become (7145). Dhrishtadyumna, we are next told, then goes to visit the Pāṇḍavas in the house where they were living, and makes a report of his visit to his father (7168, 7174), who sends his family priest to them (7182), and then a messenger with provisions, &c. and chariots, in which they were to proceed to the royal residence;

which they accordingly do (7203f.). Drupada asks Yudhishtira how he is to know whether they are Kshatriyas, or Brâhmanas, or Vaisyas, or Sûdras (7219f.). Yudhishtira assures him that they are Kshatriyas, sons of Pându; and that his daughter was like a lotus, which should be transplanted from one pond to another (7225 and 7228). Drupada then proposes that the marriage of his daughter to Arjuna should proceed (7237). Yudhishtira, however, informs him that she was to be the wife of all the five brothers, and tells how their mother's word had determined this; and that they had all agreed upon it (7240). Drupada replies that it was quite legitimate that one king should have many wives,§ but not that one queen should have more than one husband; and urges that Yudhishtira should not do an immoral act, contrary to custom and the Veda (7244). Yudhishtira rejoins that the question was one of a delicate or difficult nature (*sûkshma dhârma*); that they could not judge of its character, but followed the path trodden by a succession of ancestors; and adds that their mother had enjoined it (7246f.). Vyâsa now opportunely arrives (7251). Drupada asks him how one woman can become the lawful wife of several husbands. Vyâsa invites all present to express their opinions (7257). Drupada pronounces such a marriage to be contrary to custom and the Veda, not practised by former generations, and of doubtful propriety. Dhrishtadyumna too (7261) will not allow that the question can be settled by calling it a nice point, or that an act can be both right and wrong. Yudhishtira, on the contrary (7264), says the practice is lawful, and instances the cases of Jatilâ, the daughter of Gotama, and Vârkshî, the daughter of a sage (*muni*), both virtuous women, who were the wives of seven, and ten husbands respectively. He also urges the duty of obeying his mother's command above referred to (7131) as a ground for all the five brothers having Draupadî for their wife; and his view is supported by his mother. Vyâsa also says that the custom is lawful; and that it dated from time immemorial, and promises to explain how. He tells two stories, which, however, do not prove that the practice was an ordinary one. The first (7275—7318) is to the effect (see

verses 7310f.) that the five Pândavas were, in a former state, five Indras, Arjuna being a portion of the real Indra; and that Śrî, or Lakshmi, who had been assigned to them as their earthly wife, had taken the form of Draupadî (7303f., 7309f.). For how, asks Vyâsa, —unless by divine appointment,—could such a woman as Draupadî issue from the earth at the end of a sacrifice? Vyâsa then imparted to Drupada a divine insight whereby he beheld the five Pândavas and Draupadî in their previous celestial forms (7312f.). He then goes on (7319f.) to repeat the other story, which he formerly told to the Pândavas (see above, vv. 6426f.), about the sage's daughter who had got no husband, and in order to obtain one, had prostituted Śiva, and had gained from him a promise that she should have five in a subsequent state of existence; and adds that she had now accordingly been born anew at the sacrifice as Draupadî, the destined wife of the five Pândavas. After this, Drupada can, of course, no longer hold out. He says (7331f.) that as his daughter had formerly asked, and Śiva had promised her, a plurality of husbands, the god must know what is right: and as he had so ordained it, whether the polyandry was lawful or unlawful, he himself was not in fault. Yudhishtira was then first married by the family priest to Draupadî, and afterwards the other brothers were united with her (7339f.); and she received the benediction of her mother-in-law (7350f.).

From a perusal of the above narrative, it appears that although Kuntî, the mother of three of the Pândavas, is represented as having at first sanctioned the union of the five brothers with Draupadî only by a mistake, and although supernatural occurrences are introduced to explain and justify the transaction, its lawfulness as a recognized usage, practised from time immemorial, is also affirmed both by Yudhishtira and Vyâsa. At the time when the *Mahâbhârata*, as we now have it, was composed or revised, the practice must have so far fallen into disuse, or have become discredited, as to require that special divine authority should be shown in order to render its occurrence among respectable persons conceivable even in earlier ages.

§ See *Satapatha Brâhmana*, ix. 4. 1. 5, "wherefore also there are many wives of one man."

*Difficulty of comprehending what is duty; an illustration of this from the case of Kauśika.*

With reference to the expression *sūksma dharmo*, which is noted above, I have to remark that in the *Mahābhārata* several passages occur in which the nicety of duty, the difficulty of correctly apprehending it, is insisted on. Thus in iii. 13843: "It is the teaching of the ancients that duty is proved by Scripture (*śruti*); for the system of duty is abstruse; it has many branches, and is infinite. In matters of life and death, in regard to marriage, falsehood should be spoken; in such cases, falsehood will serve the purpose of truth, and truth of falsehood. Whatever powerfully conduces to the good of living creatures is to be held as truth; thus righteousness arises from its opposite; such is the nicety of duty." Again: ii. 8640ff. "One who can distinguish between duty and what is not duty (righteousness and unrighteousness), overpasses all difficulties. 8642. A man who acts when he possesses knowledge, succeeds universally. For the unskilful man, though seeking righteousness, practises unrighteousness, or practises to his loss what has only a semblance of righteousness. Desiring to practise duty, he thinks he does so, when he does the opposite, while another man, loving unrighteousness, practises righteousness." This does not seem a good moral doctrine.

In ii. 9259ff., Yudhishtira, who generally confines himself to putting short questions, remarks at some length as follows:—

"Duty cannot be completely known. A man has one duty in prosperity, and another in adversity; but how can all states of misfortune be fully known? Duty is considered to be virtuous practice, and virtuous men are marked out by their conduct. But how can what is to be done or not to be done (be known)? for virtuous conduct has no characteristic mark. A common man is seen to practise unrighteousness in the guise of righteousness, and again, a superior person is seen to practise righteousness in the garb of unrighteousness. Again, the standard of righteousness is defined by men who are versed in the scriptures; and we have heard that the doctrines of the Vedas decline in every age. The duties in the Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali Yugas (ages), respectively are different, as if ordained according to men's powers. The words of sacred tradition (*śamśaya*) are true; such is

the popular understanding (*loka-saṅgraha*). From these traditions again the all-sided Vedas have sprung. If they are the standard of everything, we have a standard here; but if this (so-called) standard be vitiated by error, what becomes of its authoritative character (*pramāṇa 'py apramāṇa viruddhe śāstratā kutaḥ*)? When violent and wicked men practise any duty, and while doing so pervert any of its settled rules (*saṁsthā*), they too are destroyed. Do we know so and so, or do we not? can it, or can it not, be known? it is minuter than the edge of a razor, and greater than a mountain. The form of the Gandharvas' city is at first perceived, but when so seen by poets, it again becomes invisible." It seems, however, to be intended that these doubts should be overruled, as the speaker then proceeds thus:—"As misters for cattle, as streamlets in a field, the *Smyiti* (law-code), is the eternal law of duty, and is never found to fail. But some men, from wilful desire of other things (?), and many others for other reasons, follow evil practices." After some other verses, the speaker concludes (v. 9276) by saying that "duty has long been ascertained and declared by wise men of old, and that such practice forms the eternal rule" (*saṁsthā bhavati śāstratā*).

In the eighth Book of the *Mahābhārata*, vv. 3439ff., a story is told in illustration of the principle that knowledge is necessary for the successful practice of righteousness. "How strange," it is said, "that a man who is unwise and stupid, though a lover of righteousness, should fall into great sin like Kauśika!" He, it seems, was a devotee well read, and who had determined always to speak the truth (verse 3449). In pursuance of this principle, he pointed out to certain robbers the road which some persons, of whom they were in pursuit, had taken, and whom they thus succeeded in killing (vv. 3450ff.). "In consequence of this great sin (vv. 3454ff.), and wicked speech, Kauśika went to a hell of suffering, as he was ignorant of the niceties of duty (*sūksma-dharma-meshu ukoridh*). So a fool, who has read little, and does not know the distinctions of duty, and who does not ask a solution of his doubts from ancients, deserves to fall into the deep abyss. . . . The highest knowledge is hard to attain for him who seeks it by reasoning. Many say that duty is known from the *Veda*."

In verse 3560, *dharma* (duty) is said to be



derived from the root *dhar*, because it supports mankind.

In another, Book iii. 13777, *dharma* is declared to be defined in the *Smṛiti*, (the class of works to which the law-books belong) as just and proper action, and its opposite, *adharmas*, to be defined by well-instructed men as the absence of right conduct.||

#### *Prevalence of Nāstikya or Infidelity.*

It is evident from the frequent mention of *nāstikya*, or infidelity, in *Manu* and the *Mahābhārata*, that disbelief in the *Vedas* was not uncommon in India in ancient times.¶ The following passage occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, xiii. 2194: "Rejection of the authority of the *Vedas*, transgression of the precepts of the *Sāstras*, and an universal lawlessness, lead to a man's own destruction. The Brāhmaṇ who regards himself as a Pandit, who reviles the *Vedas*, and is devoted to useless logic, the science of reasoning, who states arguments among virtuous men, defeats them by his syllogisms, who is a constant assailant and abuser of the Brāhmaṇs, an universal doubter and a fool, such a man, though sharp in his language, is to be regarded as a child; people regard that man as a dog. Just as a dog assails, to bark and to kill, so such men set to to wrangle and to overthrow the sacred books."

A similar character is described in *Mahābh.* xii. 6736ff., of which a translation will be found in this Journal for November of last year, vol. V. p. 313.

Here is an answer given (*Mahābh.* iii. 17402) by Yudhiṣṭhira to a Yaksha who had asked

him what was the path to walk in: "Reasoning has no firm basis; Vedic texts are mutually at variance; there is not one sage whose doctrine is authoritative; the essence of virtue is enveloped in mystery; the (right) path is that which the many follow."

Here is the advice given to doubters (*Mahābh.* iii. 18401b): "Neither this world nor the next, nor happiness, is (the portion) of the doubter. The ancients who possess knowledge have said that faith is the sign of final emancipation. . . . 18402b. Abandoning fruitless reasonings, resort to the *Veda* and the *Smṛiti*."

#### *The three Vedas not eternal.*

In the next passage the eternity of the text of the three *Vedas* is denied. *Mahābh.* xii. 7407: "Greater than Time is the divine *Vishṇu*, of whom is this entire universe; that god has no beginning, nor middle, nor end. From his having neither beginning, nor middle, nor end, he is imperishable, and overpasses all sufferings, for suffering is finite. That is declared to be the highest Brahma; that is the highest abode and stage. Attaining to that, men are freed from the condition of Time, and gain final emancipation. . . . 7501. The *Rik*, *Yajus*, and *Sāman* verses, dwelling in bodies, exist on the tips of the tongue, are to be acquired by effort, and are perishable. But Brahma is not regarded as having his dwelling or origin in a body; nor is Brahma attainable by effort, nor has he a beginning, a middle, or an end. *Rik*, *Sāman*, and *Yajus* verses are said to have a beginning; and things that begin are observed to have an end; but Brahma has no beginning."\*

### THE RĀJATARANGINĪ.

From Dr. Bühler's Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. made in Kashmir, Rājputana, and Central India.\*\*

As regards Kālihana's great Kāvya, the *Rājataranginī* which, after all, will probably remain the only Kāśmīrian work interesting a larger circle of readers, the Śāraṇa MS. in the Government collection, together with my collation of Ganakāk's MS., Sāhebrāin's explanatory

translations and abstracts, the MSS. of the *Nīlmatapūraṇa* and other works, will enable us to restore the text and to explain its meaning with greater accuracy than has hitherto been done. The contents of the first six cantos of the *Rājataranginī* were first made known by Professor H. H. Wilson in 1826, in the XVth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. Next, the text was published in Calcutta 1835 A.D., by the pandits of the Asiatic Society

speculation in ancient India.

\* For the opinions of the different Indian philosophical schools for and against the eternity of the *Vedas*, the 3rd vol. of my *Original Sanskrit Texts* (2nd ed.), pp. 70-126, may be consulted.

\*\* Published as an extra Number of the Jour. As. Soc. Br. R. As. Soc. No. xxiv 4. 1877.

|| In Bk. iii. 1377b *brambho nyāyayukto yathā hi dharmah ita smṛitāḥ adharmas ita śāstra-śūnībhāḥ*.

¶ Compare my article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIX. pp. 296ff. entitled *Verres from the Sarva-dharma-samgraha, the Vishnu Purāṇa, and the Bhāgavata, illustrating the tenets of the Chārvākas, or Indian materialists, with some remarks on freedom of*



Some years later Mr. A. Troyer began a critical edition of the text, and in 1849 issued the first six cantos together with a translation of the whole eight cantos, which was completed in 1852. Further, Professor Lassen gave, in his great encyclopedia of Indian antiquities, the *Indische Alterthümer*, a complete analysis of the work; and last, not least, General Cunningham treated its chronology in an admirable article in the *Namtiatic Chronicle* of 1848. It may seem scarcely credible that a book which has engaged the attention of so many Sanskritists, and of some of the first rank, is, after all the labour expended, not in a satisfactory condition, and that its explanation leaves a great deal to desire. Still this is the case, and if it is taken into consideration how bad the materials were on which the European and Indian scholars have worked, it is not wonderful that a great deal remains to be done. When Professor Wilson wrote, he possessed three bad and incomplete Devanāgarī MSS., which were so inaccurate "that a close translation of them, if desirable, would have been impracticable."† The Calcutta edition was made, as Mr. Troyer‡ states, according to a Devanāgarī transcript sent by Mr. Moorcroft from Kāśmīr, and Prof. Wilson's MSS. Mr. Troyer's own edition, finally, was prepared from the same materials and two Devanāgarī copies which Mr. Colebrooke had presented to the library of the India House.§ For the last two books he also used a Devanāgarī transcript procured by Major Broom.|| Professor Lassen had nothing to work upon but the printed texts.

Both editions are therefore prepared from Devanāgarī copies, made either in India or in Kāśmīr. Not one of the scholars who have written on the book ever saw a MS. in Śāradā characters, in which Kāṭhapa's original copy and all MSS. in Kāśmīr were written. Besides, for cantos vii. and viii., which are wanting in the MSS. acquired by Mr. Colebrooke and Professor Wilson, the Calcutta paṇḍits had a single MS., Mr. Moorcroft's transcript. After what I have said above on Kāśmīrian Devanāgarī MSS. and the difficulty Kāśmīrian paṇḍits have in reading Devanāgarī, it is not wonderful that the published text, especially of the last two cantos, should contain many corrupt passages. I must say that I think it wonderful that the changes required are not more numerous. In the first two cantos there are, if obvious misprints and the faulty forms *Gonanda* for *Govanda*, *Edmiedh* for *Kāśmīr*, are not taken

into account, only between forty and fifty corruptions which seriously affect the sense, i. e. one in every dozen or twelve verses. Most of these cases are, however, very serious. The ratio of mistakes does not increase much in the following four *tarangas*. Nearly all the corruptions in these six books have been caused by a faulty transcription of single Śāradā letters or groups. But in the viii. and viii. *tarangas* the case becomes different. The corrupt passages are much more numerous, and some verses as given in the Calcutta edition bear only a faint resemblance to the readings of the Śāradā MSS. It seems to me that Moorcroft's transcript of these two cantos must have been very bad, or have shown lacunae, and that the Calcutta paṇḍits have corrected the text in a very unscrupulous manner.

The new materials which I have procured will enable us to restore the text to a much greater degree of purity than could ever be done with the help of Devanāgarī MSS. But I fear that a small number of doubtful passages will remain, because all Śāradā MSS. known to exist at present in Kāśmīr are derived from a single copy which is 100 to 150 years old. This is the MS. of Paṇḍit Keśarīm, which is regarded in Kāśmīr as the *codex archetypus*. It is an ancient Śāradā paper MS. written by an ancestor of the present owner. It bears no date, but its appearance shows that it must be more than a hundred years old. The paṇḍits assert that it is the MS. from which Moorcroft's transcript was made, and from which all now existing copies have been derived. I do not feel certain that the first statement is correct, as Moorcroft's copy is said to have been made from a birch-bark volume.¶ The second statement is, I think, true, as all the copies which I have used and seen, half-a-dozen, are new, and agree in all decisive passages with Keśarīm's copy. My friends made great efforts to find for me a birch-bark MS., for the loan of which I offered a considerable sum. But they possessed none, and were unable to procure one. P. Chandam told me with a sorrowful face that some years ago he had found remnants of a birch-bark MS. among his father's books, and that he had thrown them into the Jhelam,\* as he had thought that they were of no value. This is the only news of a Bhārja MS. of the *Rajataranginī* which I received, and I fear that there is very little chance of any being found hereafter. The possibility of such an event can, however, not be denied as long

† *As. Res.* vol. XV. p. 3.

‡ *Rajat.* vol. I. p. iv.

§ *Ibid.* pp. v. vii. and viii.

|| *Ibid.* vol. III. p. iii.

¶ *Troyer, Rajat.* vol. I. p. iii.

\* It is customary in Kāśmīr to throw remnants of books into the river, in order to preserve the face of Narapati from disfigurement. The bodies of children that die before teething are likewise consigned to a watery grave. Similar practices prevail on the Ganges and other particularly holy rivers.

as the libraries belonging to the Persian-speaking *paṇḍits* have not been fully explored.

As regards the efforts of European scholars to translate the *Rājataranginī*, and to use its contents for historical purposes, Professor Wilson's and General Cunningham's results are the most trustworthy. Considering the corruptness of Prof. Wilson's MSS., his article in the *As. Res.* is admirable, and deserves the great fame which it has enjoyed. It is, however, by no means free from bad mistakes, some of which, e.g. the misstatement† that Pratāpāditya, the second Karkotaka king, had seven sons, instead of three each called by two or three names, have been copied by every succeeding writer on Kashmirian history, and have caused mischief in other respects. He has also omitted to make use of the key to the chronology of the Karkotaka and the later dynasties, which Kalhana gives (L 52) by saying that the Saptarshi or Laukika year 24 corresponded to Śaka 1070. General Cunningham has supplied this omission in his paper on Kashmir coins and chronology published in the *Namismatic Chronicle* for 1848. The dates which he has fixed for the kings following Durlabhaka require few alterations.‡

As regards Mr. Troyer's work, it is impossible to commend either his translation or the historical and geographical essays attached to it, however much one may admire his patience and industry. He undertook a task very much beyond his strength, for which he was qualified neither by learning nor by natural talent. The *Rājataranginī* is, no doubt, a difficult book, and nobody who attempts to translate it can hope to accomplish his task without making a number of mistakes. But Mr. Troyer has seldom been able to make out the meaning of the text, except where Kalhana uses the simplest, plainest language. His renderings of passages in which Kalhana adopts a higher style are invariably wrong, and frequently unintelligible. The worst portions of the translation are cantos vii. and viii. The contents of the historical and geographical essays attached to the translation require no condemnation on my part, as they have been estimated at their proper value by other Sanskritists. But I must touch on one point discussed in the preface to Mr. Troyer's 3rd volume, regarding which Professor Lassen also has followed him. Mr. Troyer undertakes there, p. x., an inquiry about the authorship of the last two cantos of the *Rājataranginī*, and comes to the conclusion that the author of these cannot be the same person as he who wrote the first six *tarangas*,

because (1) he allots to the last two hundred and fifty years double the number of verses which he devotes to the preceding three thousand two hundred years; (2) because the references, and *résumés* made in cantos vii. and viii. to and of events narrated in the first six cantos are not exact; (3) because the viiiith canto relates events which occurred after A.D. 1149, the year given (L. 42) as the date of the book. To these arguments Professor Lassen adds the difference in style observable in the two portions,§ and that in some MSS. the last two books are wanting.

These arguments, plausible as they may seem, are altogether insufficient to support the assertion made. For, with regard to the first point, Mr. Troyer himself has already given the objection which is fatal to it. If a chronicler narrates the events of his own time and of the period immediately preceding it at greater length than the remoter portions of the history of his country, that is no more than might be expected. His materials were more abundant, and the events in which he himself, his immediate ancestors and his patron, played their parts possessed for him an interest which the more distant times did not possess. This interest which he took in his surroundings explains also why he introduces details which to men of later times appear trivial and uninteresting. To say less would also have been considered an offence against the Rāja, in whose employ Kalhana's father was. The answer to the second argument, the discrepancies between statements in the first six cantos and the last two, is that these discrepancies are mostly, if not wholly, due to Mr. Troyer's bad materials and faulty translation. It is true that the successor of Ohandrapīḍa is called Lalitāditya in the ixth canto, and Muktāpīḍa in the *résumé* attached to the viiiith. But it is not the fault of Kalhana that Mr. Troyer has not been able to understand the verses (iv. 42, 43) in which it is clearly stated that Muktāpīḍa and Lalitāditya are names of the same person. As regards the third argument, Mr. Troyer has overlooked the fact that Kalhana states that he began to write his poem in Saptarshi Śaivāt 24. It contains more than 8000 *ślokas*, and it cannot be supposed that the author completed it in the same year. The fact that he mentions in the viiiith book events which happened nine years later, in Saptarshi Śaivāt 33,|| merely proves that the poem was not completed until after that time.

Professor Lassen's additional arguments are not more conclusive. Neither myself nor the

† *As. Res.* vol. XV. p. 43.

‡ The necessity of one alteration in the date of Lalitāditya and his predecessor, whose reigns Kalhana has antedated by thirty years, has been recognized by General

Cunningham himself: compare above, p. 43, note, *As. Res.* p. 91, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 103 seqq.

§ *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. 491.

|| *Rājat.* viii. 3109, Troyer.

Kāśmīrians have been able to detect any difference in the style of the two parts. The incorrect Calcutta text is hardly a fair basis for the argument. The MSS., finally, in which the last books are wanting are secondary sources, modern transcripts, which prove nothing.

While it is thus not difficult to meet the objections against Kalhana's authorship of cantos vii. and viii., there are some important facts in favour of it. The first is that the viii. canto ends too abruptly to be considered the real conclusion of a *maḥākāvya*. Secondly, the obscurity of the narrative in the viii. canto, of which Mr. Töyler justly complains, is such as might easily be caused in a contemporary history by the chronicler's omitting, as superfluous, details which were so notorious that he might presume them to be known to his readers, or, to speak more accurately, to his hearers. Thirdly, and this is the really conclusive argument, Jonarāja, who wrote, about two hundred years after Kalhana, a continuation of the history of Kāśmīr, states distinctly that his predecessor's work ended with the reign of Jayasinha, which is described in the viii. canto of the *Rājataranginī*. He says in the beginning of his poem,

*śrīganaḍamukhaḥ dharmaśāstramukhaḥ ā kaleḥ kila |*  
*kaśmīrakāvyapī bhāṣair apīti gṛhaśāstrībhīḥ || 4 ||*  
*tesāṃ bhāṣyāḥ samāntaḥ śāstrāḥ śāstrībhīḥ |*  
*evaiva kuṭichā apītyat idam | kāvyārthaḥ śāstrāy deḥ*  
*chiram || 5 ||*

*rasamayā gīrā vyāsaśāstrā nīlādrāgyam āpīat |*  
*atha śrīgṛhaśāstrībhīḥ tatkīrtiḥ kalhanāśrījāḥ || 6 ||*

(4) "From the beginning of the Kalīyuga, righteous kings, endowed with (great) qualities, the first among whom is the illustrious Ganaḍa, protected Kāśmīr-land, the daughter of Kāśyapa.

"As long as the darkness of night (caused) by the winter of their misfortune lasted, nobody perceived them. For late it was ere the sun of poetry rose.

(6) "Then the Brāhman Kalhana gave, by the nectar of his song, eternal youth to the ancient fame of these (princes), the last among whom was the illustrious Jayasinha."

I think we may trust Jonarāja's word and accept it as a fact that Kalhana wrote the whole of the eight cantos which go under his name.

A new attempt to translate and to explain the *Rājataranginī*, and to use its contents for the history of India, ought to be made. But it is a work of very considerable difficulty, and will require much time and patience. As no commentary on the book exists, it is firstly necessary to study all the Kāśmīrian poets and writers on

Alaṅkāra who immediately preceded and followed Kalhana, especially the *Haravijaya*, the *Śrīkaṭhakavita*, Bilhana's *Vikramaditya-chaṭa*, Jonarāja's and Śrīvara's *Rājataranginī*, &c. A close attention to their style, similes, and turns of expression will solve most of the difficulties which arise from Kalhana's style. Next the ancient geography of Kāśmīr must be minutely studied. Nearly all the localities mentioned can be identified with more or less precision by means of the *Nūratoparāṣa*, the *Uḍḍiṁya*, the later *Rājataranginī*, Śāhebrām's *Tīrthasaṅgraha*, the set of native maps procured by me, the large map of the Trigonometrical Survey, and the works and articles of modern travellers and archaeologists. But some of the geographical questions will probably require a final re-examination in Kāśmīr. As regards the use of the contents of the *Rājataranginī* for the history of Kāśmīr and of India, a great deal remains to be done for the earlier portion, up to the beginning of the Kārkaṭa dynasty. Kalhana's chronology of the Gonandīya dynasty is, as Professor Wilson, Professor Lassen, and General Cunningham have pointed out, valueless. An author who connects the history of his country with the imaginary date of a legendary event, like the coronation of Yudhisṭhira, and boasts that "his narrative resembles a medicine, and is useful for increasing and diminishing the (statements of previous writers regarding) kings, place, and time,"† must always be sharply controlled, and deserves no credit whatever in those portions of his work where his narrative shows any suspicious figures or facts. The improbabilities and absurdities in the first three cantos are so numerous that I think the *Rājataranginī* ought to be consulted much less for the period comprised therein than has been done by the illustrious Orientalists named above. I would not fill the intervals between the historically certain dates of Aśoka, Kanishka, and Durabhakha by cutting down the years of the kings placed between them by Kalhana. But I would altogether ignore all Kāśmīrian kings for whose existence we have no evidence from other sources, be it through Indian or foreign writers, or through coins, buildings, and inscriptions. If Kalhana had merely given the stories reported by Suvrata and other predecessors, there might be a hope that we could re-arrange them. But we do not know what materials he had, nor how he treated them, if in any particular case he lengthened or shortened the reigns, and if he displaced or added kings or not. General Cunningham's constant search for Kāśmīrian coins, which,

† The instead of *śāstrī* in the reading of the Śāradā MSS.  
\* In the text the adjective translated by "last of whom,"

&c. refers to *śāstrī*. But the general sense of the passage is the same.  
† *Rajet.* i. §1.



as I learn from his private letters, he attended with good results, will eventually throw a great deal of light on this dark period of Kashmiri history. Full certainty regarding the era of the Guptas, which now seems to be near at hand, will also assist in settling the dates of some kings, especially of Toramāṇa, Maṭṭigupta, and Pravarasena.

For the period which begins with the Kāśka dynasty not much remains to be done. The discovery of the initial date of the Saptarshi or Laukika era, which I obtained in Kashmir, makes it possible to fix the reigns of the kings after Avantivarman with perfect accuracy. The beginning of the Saptarshi era is placed by the Kashmirians on Chaitra Śudi 1 of the twenty-fifth year of the Kaliyuga, and the twenty-fourth year, in which Kūlhapa wrote, is consequently the Saptarshi year 4224. For

|   |      |
|---|------|
| From Kaliyuga 25 to the beginning of    |      |
| the Saka era is .....                   | 3154 |
| From Saka Samvat 1 to Kūlhapa's time. . | 1070 |

Total—Saptarshi years..... 4224

My authorities for placing the beginning of the Saptarshi era in Kull 25 are the following. First, P. Dayarām Jotai gave me the subjoined verse, the origin of which he did not know.—*kaler gatai sityakṣetravṛkṣaḥ saptarshicaryā tridivā pratyakṣaḥ | loka ā svikṣataraṇatṛikāyā saptarshimānā pravṛtānti sataḥ ||* "When the years of the Kaliyuga marked by the 'arrows and the eyes' (i.e. the five and the two, or, as Indian dates have to be read backward, 25) had elapsed, the most excellent Seven Rishis ascended to heaven. For in the calendar (used) in the world the virtuous declare the computation of the Saptarshi (years to begin from that point)."

Pandit Dayarām explained the verse as I have done in the above translation, and added that each Saptarshi year began on Chaitra Śudi 1, and that its length was regulated by the customary mixing of the *chandra* and *sunya* māsas.

† The word *loka*, 'in the world,' alludes to the appellation *Lokakṣa*, Lord (Ka)śmiratman.

§ *Rājataranginī*, vol. 46, l. 7: *tridivā loka 1750 kullāte 1005 nigārahāḥārāṇāmānānāntakṣaḥ*.

\* The use of the Saptarshi era in Kashmir and the adjacent hill states, which continues even in the present day, has first been pointed out by General Cunningham.

\* The text has been corrected according to two collated copies written by Gopalakṣ Pandit, G<sup>1</sup> and G<sup>2</sup>, and the copy in the Government collection, Ch.

To avoid confusion in the references made for the notes following, the *carparivṛttiloka* are referred to by their numbers.

\*G<sup>1</sup> and other MSS. read *śāśāḥkṣa* instead of *bāḥ*. *śāśāḥkṣa*. Hara or Śiva wears a serpent instead of a jewel or Brahmanical string, and smaller serpents instead of bracelets. The Kashmirians, being Śaivas, consider Śiva to be the Universal soul, and expect to be absorbed by him. The preposition *prā* in *prāṇā*, which adds force to the meaning of the root, indicates that absorption is complete,—

The correctness of his statement is confirmed by a passage in P. Sāchebrām's *Rājataranginī* where the author says that the Saka year 1786 (A.D. 1864), in which he writes, corresponds to Kali 4965 and to Saptarshi or Laukika Samvat 4940.5. One of the copyists, too, who copied the *Dhanyaloka* for me in September 1875, gives in the colophon, as the date of his copy, the Saptarshi year 4951. These facts are sufficient to prove that P. Dayarām's statement regarding the beginning of the Saptarshi era is not an invention of his own, but based on the general tradition of the country. I do not doubt for a moment that the calculation which throws the beginning of the Saptarshi era back to 3076 A.C. is worth no more than that which fixes the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3101 A.C. But it seems to me certain that it is much older than Kūlhapa's time, because his equation 24 = 1078 agrees with it. It may therefore be safely used for reducing with exactness the Saptarshi years, months, and days mentioned in his work to years of the Christian era. The results which will be thus obtained will always closely agree with those gained by General Cunningham, who did use the right key.

In concluding this long discussion on the *Rājataranginī*, I will add that the specimen of a new translation given below is merely intended to show some of the results which may be obtained by means of the new materials brought by me from Kashmir. I do not pretend that all the difficulties requiring consideration have been brought to a final solution.

#### Specimen of a translation of the *Rājataranginī*.\*

Canto I. st. 1-107.

'Reverence to Hara, who (grants his worshippers' desires) like the tree of Paradise, who is beautified by a seven of light emitted by the jewels that are concealed in the heads of the serpents adorning him, and in whom there dwell (from the circle of births) And eternal rest. May both the halves of the body of the god, whose cognizance is the bull,

absorbed, not effluge. This verse, it seems to me, is an imitation of Bala's *Śāśāḥkṣa* l. 1.

\*A translation of this verse being impossible, I have given a paraphrase. Almost the whole of its first three-padas is made up of a succession of puns. Śiva is invoked in his form of Ardhanārī, in union with Pārvatī. The words describing the appearance of the two halves are chosen in such a manner that they apply to the female form and its dress as well as to the male. *Amṛtāṇa*, lit. 'containing a ring,' must be taken as, I think, in the sense of 'earring' or 'necklace' when it refers to Pārvatī. *Jaladhīpachchāyāḥ* referred to Pārvatī must be dissolved into *jalahīpachchāyāḥ*, if referred to Śiva into *jalahīpachchāyāḥ* or *śāśāḥkṣa*. In the description of Śiva, *śāśāḥkṣa* must be dissolved into *śāśāḥkṣa*, 'the lord of snakes,' Vamān, who serves Śiva instead of the jewel. 'Near the ear' may also be referred to the sentence beginning with *śāśāḥkṣa*. The ocean-born poison is the Halāhala which Śiva swallowed.



and who is united with his spouse, give you glory, —the left, whose forehead wears a saffron *tilaka*, the colour of whose throat near the ear is fair like the splendour of the ocean-born (moon), and is enhanced by numerous tremulous earrings, and whose breast wears a faultless bodice;—the right, whose forehead carries a flame of fire, the colour of whose throat near the ear is concealed by the ocean-born (poison) and enhanced by numerous playfully moving snakes, and whose chest is encircled by the lord of snakes as by a bodice.

\*Worthy of praise is that quality of true poets, whatever it may be, which enables them to sprinkle with the nectar (of their song), and thereby to preserve, their own bodies of glory as well as those of others. \*Who else but poets resembling the Prajāpati (in creative power), and able to bring forth lovely productions, can place the past times before the eyes of men? \*If the poet did not see in his mind's eye the existences which he is to reveal to men, what other indication would there be that he is a divine seer? \*Though for its length the story does not show much variety, still there will be something in it that will gladden the virtuous. \*That virtuous (poet) alone is worthy of praise who, free from love or hatred, restricts his muse to the exposition of facts. \*If I narrate

again the subject-matter of tales of which others have treated, still the virtuous ought not to turn their faces from me without hearing my reasons.

\*How great a cleverness is required in order that men of modern times may complete the account given in the books of those who died after composing each the history of those kings whose contemporary he was! Hence in this narrative of past events, which is difficult in many respects, my endeavour will be to connect.

\*The oldest extensive works, containing the royal chronicles (of Kashmir) have been lost in consequence of (the appearance) of Suvrata's composition, who condensed them in order that (their substance) might be easily remembered.

\*Suvrata's poem, though extensive, does not easily reveal its meaning, since it is made difficult by misplaced learning.

\*Owing to a certain want of care, there is not a single part in Kāśh emondra's 'List of Kings' free from mistakes, though it is the work of a poet.

\*Eleven works of former scholars which contain the chronicles of the kings, I have inspected, as well as the (Purāṇa containing the) opinions of the sage Nīla.

\*By looking at the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants, at the laudatory

\*The Prajāpati are fourteen in number. They caused the successive creations of the world.

\*Verses 9 and 10 form a *vaṅśātka*, or couplet, i.e. they are interlarded in their construction: compare Kāvyādarśinī I. 25, comment. They give the 'reasons' alluded to in v. 8. But must be taken as a conjunction, depending on *śloka* *ca* *śloka* *śloka* *śloka* *śloka*, which is difficult in many respects, made literally 'in which there are dangers of mistakes of all kinds.'

\*Shivānanda apparently wrote a *śāśva* book of the history of Kashmir, he is commended to memory in the schools, which, as usual in India, caused the loss of the more ancient books on the same subject.

\*Khemendra has taken care to let us know a good deal about himself and his time. In the colophon to the *Śaṅkha-gāndhārī* he informs us that he finished that work during the reign of king Ananta, in the 25th year of the Kāśhīrājan cycle, 1050 A.D. In the *Śaṅkha-gāndhārī* he again states that he wrote under Ananta, and finally he says that he finished the *Pratibhāṣā* in the year 41 of the Saptarāshī era, under Ananta's son, Kāśh. Ananta ruled from Saptarāshī 8. 4, or 1029 A.D. to Saptarāshī 8. 30, or 1064 A.D. In the latter year he nominally abdicated in favour of, and performed the *abhishēka* of, his son Kāśh. The Saptarāshī year 41 corresponds to the year 1069 A.D. Consequently Khemendra's literary activity falls in the second and third quarters of the eleventh century. The other data which he gives regarding his family and himself are that his grandfather's name was Śindha, and his father's *Prakāśendran*. The latter was a great patron of Brāhmins, and expended three *hastis*, or thirty millions (of what is not stated), in various benefactions, and died a fervent worshipper of Śiva. Khemendra himself seems to have been in his youth a Śaiva, but later he was converted to the Vaiṣṇava-Bhāgavata creed by Śaṅkhaśārya. He studied the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* under the famous *Abhinavacūṭaśārya*. He wrote several of his compositions at the request of a Brāhmin called Rāma-yāśa, and one, the *Vaśatāśāstra*, at the command of one Devadhara, who seems to have occupied a prominent position in the Brāhminical community of Kashmir. His surname, *Vyāsaśāśa*, is given in all his works except

in the *Kāśhīrājan*. Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. I. pp. 302 *supra*, vol. V p. 29. Khemendra wrote also, as Kulluṇa asserts, a *Pratibhāṣā*, or history of the Kashmirian kings. This work exists now in Kashmir. But the hope that it would some day come into my hands, which I expressed in my preliminary Report, has hitherto not been fulfilled. I do not, however, yet despair of ultimately obtaining it. Dr. Bühler's Report, pp. 40, 41.

\*The *Alaṅkāraśāstra* is supposed to have been narrated by *Vaśatāśārya*, a pupil of Vyāsa, to king Janamejaya. It opens with a question of the king inquiring why an ruler of Kāśh took part in the great war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍus. The king's answer is for the greater part lost, but from the fragments remaining it is clear that it contained the account of the expedition of Dharmaditya to Malhūka and of Jaskandha, in which he was slain, and of the attempt by his son Dharmaditya to avenge his father's death when Krishna came to a settlement in the Gandhāra country, just as these events are told in the *Pratibhāṣā*, i. 57-60. A few verses have been saved, which mention the reign of the king and the destruction of Dharmaditya by Krishna, as well as the coronation of Dharmaditya's pregnant queen and the birth of Dharmaditya II. They prove that Kulluṇa took over some portions of his narrative almost literally from the *Purāṇa*. Janamejaya's next question is why Krishna considered Kāśh so important as to secure for it a king by the coronation of a woman. *Vaśatāśārya* hereupon states that the country is an incarnation of Kāśh or Lakṣmi, and describes its various excellencies, adding that it was formerly a lake called *Śaṅkhaśāśa*. This statement gives an opportunity to introduce the story of the creation of Kashmir by Kāśh. The *Purāṇa* then goes on to narrate the 'rites' proclaimed by Nīla, which occupy two-thirds of the work; and it concludes with some miscellaneous *Alaṅkāraśāstra*. From this it will appear that it is an attempt to connect special Kashmirian legends with those of India proper, and especially with the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, as well as to supply a sufficient authority for the rites prevalent in Kashmir.

\*According to my interpretation of this passage, Kulluṇa used four kinds of records:—(1) the *pratibhāṣā*, *śāśva* *śāśva*, i.e. inscriptions recording the erection and consecration of temples or other buildings and monuments, such



Nāgas gleaming with the splendour of various jewels, chief among whom are Śaṅkha and Padma, and thus resembles the town of Kuruva, the depository of the nine treasures (chief among which are Śaṅkha and Padma). "To shelter, forsooth, the Nāgas, who came afraid of Garuḍa, it stretched its arms out behind its back in the guise of a wall of mountains. "There (worshippers) touching the wooden image of the husband of Umā at the Tīrtha called Pāpamūdana obtain heavenly bliss and final liberation as their rewards. "There the goddess Saṁdhya produces water on an arid mountain, and shows the presence of merit and the absence of sin. "There self-created fire, rising from the bowels of the earth, receives with numerous arms of flame the offerings of the sacrificers. "There the goddess Sarasvatī herself is seen in the form of a swan swimming on a lake situated on the summit of Mount Bhōḍa, which is sanctified by the source of Gangā. "There, even now, drops of sandal-ointment offered by the gods are to be seen in Nandikeshetra, in the temple, the habitation of the immortals. "There, after looking on the goddess Śārādā, (the worshipper) at once reaches the river Madhumatī and Sarasvatī who is worshipped by poets. "In that (country) which is adorned by Keśava-Chakrabhṛt, and by Śiva-Vijayās and other (deities), there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum which has not its Tīrtha. "The country may be gained by the strength of spiritual merit, but not by armies of soldiers. Hence people there are chiefly anxious about the next world. "There the rivers are free from dangers and aquatic monsters, provided with warm bath-houses for the winter, and comfortable places (for descending) into the current. "Out of respect, as it were, the Sun

does not fiercely shine, during summer even, in that (country) which has been created by his father, as he knows that it ought not to be tormented.

"Things that elsewhere in the three worlds are difficult to find, viz. lofty halls of learning, saffron, icy water, and grapes, are common there. "In these three worlds the jewel-producing region of Kuruva is (chiefly) worthy of praise; (next) in that (region) the mountain range, the father of Gaṇḍi; and (thirdly) the country which is enclosed by that (mountain).

"Fifty-two princes, beginning with Gonandā, who in the Kaliyuga were contemporaries of the Kurus and of the sons of Kuntī, have not been recorded. "In consequence of the demerit of those rulers of the land of Kaśyapa, no poets of creative power, who produced their bodies of glory, existed in those times. "We pay reverence to that naturally sublime craft of poets, without whose favour powerful princes are not remembered, although the earth that is girdled by the oceans was sheltered under the protection of their arms as is the shade of a forest. "Without thee, O brother composer of true poetry, this world does not even dream of the existence of its chiefs, though they rested their feet on the temples of elephants, though they won prosperity, though maidens, moons of the day, dwelt in their palaces,—without thee the universe is blind: why (praise) thee with a hundred hymns?

"Some (authors) have given this (following) calculation of the years wrongly, as they were deceived by the statement that Gonandā and his successors protected Kāśmīr during twenty-two hundred and sixty-eight years in the Kaliyuga, (and) that the Bhārata (war) took place at the end of the Drāpaṇa yuga. "If the years of the kings,

"Kāśmīr is here personified and supposed to face Garuḍa, who chased the Nāgas through the 'Gate' of the Valley at Bāsumūla. Under this supposition it becomes intelligible how the mountain-chains surrounding the country can be likened to 'arms stretched out behind the back.' The story of the Nāgas' flight to Kāśmīr occurs in the *Nīlamāhātmya*.

"The locality intended is the Pāpamūdana Nāga or Kapaleśvara Tīrtha, said to be in the Kaśhān parvaṇa near Iḷḷamūḷ. — *Kapaleśvara, Kṛtichārḍane Kāśhānīkhyā-nishaye*, G<sup>o</sup>. Comp. *Schindler*, in 14, where the other name of the Tīrtha, Kapaleśvara, is given.

"*Uttara-pāṇḍurāyāḥ devatāpūjānāmāpāthale*, G<sup>o</sup>. The story how a certain Māyārājā, son of Bhadravarṇan, brought the goddess Śaṁdhya-Gangā to his domain near Deval, in the Haring parvaṇa, is told at length in the *Saṁdhya-māhātmya*.

"The *Śrāvaṇabhadra* Agni here mentioned is the burning naphtha spring in Kāmṛj or Kramachya, near Roper. So also G<sup>o</sup> — *Kramachya sūrasūtri-pravāḍhā*, and *Sāhebrām, Tīrthasamgraha*.

"*Bhadrāgiri* — *Khelabhrāṇḍā itī pravāḍhā*, G<sup>o</sup>. — The *Gāṇḍādhātmya*, No. 55, mentions the hill.

"*Nandikeshetra nāṇḍamagāma*, G<sup>o</sup>. It is situated in the Lāḥ parvaṇa, not far from the *Uttaramukhagāṇḍi*, and is a station on the pilgrimage to the latter: see also *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. xxv. p. 224. So also *Sāhebrām's Tīrthasamgraha*. *Saṁskṛtaphāṇḍā* may be a noun proper.

"*Grāṇḍāḥ haret itī pravāḍhā āthāḥ daradāśasomipā-cartini*, G<sup>o</sup>. *Grāṇḍā* is found on the Survey-map in the parvaṇa *Khayabān*, to the north of the *Vollur* lake, into which latter the *Madhumatī* falls, as marked on the native map. *Sāhebrām (Tīrthasamgraha)* places these Tīrthas in *Lalāḥ*.

"*Chakrabhṛt lokatāḥ chakradhara itī pravāḍhā*; *vijayā tēna vijayār itī pravāḍhā*, G<sup>o</sup>. The ancient fane of *Vishva-Chakradhara* lay on a low hill, situated about a mile below *Bijūr*, on the left bank of the *Vitarā*, and is now called *Chakdhar*. See Report, p. 18. *Bijūr* or *Bijhār* is too well known to need any further notice. But compare *Vign.* vol. II. p. 34.

"The father of Gaṇḍi, i.e. the *Himālaya*.

"Kuruva is the regent of the North, and the possessor of the nine treasures.

"In the text read कश्यपायः कश्यपः अतः कश्यपः in the form which the *Sārada MSS.* give everywhere. The two verses form a *yugalakā* for *yuga*, and v. 48 must therefore be taken as depending on the words *itī vṛttāyā vṛttāyā*, which occur in the second half of v. 47.

"I was unable to make anything of this verse, except by taking *lū* in *śaṁdhya-gāṇḍi* to refer to *khāṇḍā* in v. 49. For with any other explanation the figures must come wrong, and the verse must be taken as part of the *pūrvagāḥ*, which it is not, as the opinion of the 'some' has been done with in the preceding verses.



the length of whose reigns is known, are added together (and deducted) from the past period of the Kaliyuga diminished by that (time which elapsed between the beginning of the Kaliyuga and the Bhārata war), no rest remains. "When six hundred and fifty-three years of the Kaliyuga had passed away, the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas lived on the earth. "At present, in the twenty-fourth year (of) the Laukika (era), one thousand and seventy years of the Śaka era have passed. "On the whole, at that (time) two thousand three hundred and thirty years have elapsed since (the times of) Gonanda (III.). "Twelve hundred and sixty-six years are supposed (to be comprised) in the sum of the reigns of those fifty-two kings. "Since the Great Bear moves in a hundred years from one Nakṣatra to the other, the author of the *Brhat Samhitā* has thus given his decision regarding its motion in this (era):—

"When king Yudhisṭhira ruled the earth, the Manu (the Great Bear) stood in (the Nakṣatra) Maghā. His reign fell 2526 years (before) the Śaka era."

"The brave king of Kāśmīr, Gonanda, was worshipped by the region (of the North), which Kailāsa illuminates (with the glitter of its snow), and rolling Gaṅgā clothes with a soft and transparent garment.

"The earth, afraid as it were that Śoṣha's poison might be infused into her, left the serpent's body and rested in the king's arms that was adorned by the jewel sacred to Garuḍa. "Jarāsaṁdha, his relation, called on him for help. With a large army he besieged Mathurā (the town) of Kṛishṇa.

"Regarding the Laukika or Saptarshi era see above.

"The proper reading, instead of the ३११ of the Calcutta and Paris editions, is ३१३, which is found in all Śāradā MSS. The mistake has been caused by the resemblance of Śāradā u and ṭa.

"The verse is found *Brhat Samhitā* xiii. A. Jour. R. A. Soc. N. S. vol. v. p. 70. From vv. 49-50, which give the chronological basis of the *Tarāṅgīnī*, it would appear that the statement of the *Nīlāmṇi*, which makes Gonanda II. contemporary with the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas, was the starting-point common to Kālhana and other chronologists. But while others placed Gonanda in the beginning of the Kaliyuga, guided by the tradition that the Great War occurred at the end of the Prāpura-yuga, Kālhana used Varāhamihira's date of Yudhisṭhira, 2526 before Śaka, or 653 Kali, to determine the beginning of the Gonanda. He then cut down or lengthened (vide above, v. 21) the reigns of the Kāśmīra kings until their sum total plus 653 agreed with the time which had elapsed between the year in which he began to write, viz. 1020, and the beginning of the Kaliyuga. His equation, as has been shown by Wilson, Troyer, and others, is—

| Years of the Kaliyuga     | 32 lost kings of Kāśmīr— |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| elapsed in Śaka 1070=1070 | 1265 (v. 54)             |
| From Gonanda III. + 3179  | + 2330 (v. 53)           |
|                           | + 653 (v. 51)            |
| 4240                      | 4240                     |

The expression *pratyak*, 'on the whole' (v. 54), and *māṭṭā* (v. 54), seem to me further proof (in addition to the direct statement, v. 51) that Kālhana did make alterations in the

"When he pitched his camp on the banks of the Kāśmīrī, the fame of (the hostile) warriors vanished together with the smiles of the females of Yādava's race. "Once (Balarāma), whose ensign is the plough, engaged that warrior in battle in order to protect his entirely shattered forces. "The bridal wreath of the goddess of victory faded, since it remained long in her hands, while those warriors of equal strength were combating each other and the result was doubtful. "Finally, with limbs wounded by each other's weapons, the king of Kāśmīr embraced the earth, and the acion of Yādava the goddess of victory.

"When that brave warrior travelled the road which great heroes easily find, his son, the illustrious Dāmodara, protected the earth. "That proud prince, though he had obtained a kingdom which was distinguished by affording the means of enjoyment, found no peace because he brooded over the death of his father. "Then that (hero), whose arm, (strong) like a tree, was burning with pride, heard that the Vṛishṇis had been invited by the Gāndhāras on the banks of the Indus to an approaching *ayanyāsa*, and that they had come. "Then, (impelled) by excessive fury, he undertook on their approach an expedition against them, obscuring the sky with the dust that the horses of his army raised. "In the battle with those (foes), the bride, who was about to choose a husband and was impatient for the wedding, was slain. "Then the celestial maidens chose husbands in Gāndhāra-land. "Then the valiant ruler of the earth-disk, attacking, in the battle with the god whose wea-

length of the reigns. Another circumstance shows with what facility Kālhana worked. The period of 1366 years begins with the reign of Gonanda I. and Gonanda II., his grandson, was, according to the Purāṇas, the infant king when the Great War began. Nevertheless he assumes that the coronation of Yudhisṭhira occurred in the first year of Gonanda I., as he places the whole of the 1220 years after Kali 641, in which Yudhisṭhira was installed on the throne, according to Varāhamihira.

"Thus as well as the subsequent stories regarding Dāmodara and Gonanda II. down to v. 82 are taken from the *Nīlāmṇi*.

"The jewel sacred to Garuḍa, the destroyer of the Serpents, is the emerald. Read *देह* with the Śāradā MSS. instead of the nonsensical *देव* of the editions.

"The road to Śaṅga is meant.

"Read here and elsewhere with the Śāradā MSS. कालीयिक: instead of कालीयिक.

"Regarding the Gāndhāras on the Sindhu see Cunningham, *Ant. Geog.* pp. 67-69. *Vijānta* is another name of the Yādavas. In the text read *वर्षावर्षा*.

"The editions read *निष्पन्निम्*, a corruption of which is also found in *Ch.*; (Śāradā *निष्पन्निम्*). The former reading gives no sense. *Nipāṇate* is apparently intended for *nipāṇate*, and it is just possible that Kālhana used this incorrect form on account of the metre.

"The numerous puns on the word *chakra*, 'disc,' make this verse dear to the pupil. *Chakradhārādharā*, 'by the reel of the edge of the battle-disc,' may also be dis-



pon is the war-disc, the disc-like array of his enemies, went to heaven by the road of the edge of the battle-disc.

<sup>70</sup> Then Kṛishṇa, the descendant of Yada, ordered the Brāhmanas to install the (king's) pregnant widow Yaśovati on the throne. <sup>71</sup> When the servants of the slayer of Madhu at that time became angry, he, reciting this stanza from the Purāṇa, reproved them:—

"Kāmīr-land is Pārvatī; know that its king is a portion of Śiva. Though he be wicked, a wise man who desires (his own) welfare will not despise him."

<sup>72</sup> The eyes of men, who formerly regarded with contempt (the country and the queen) as two fortresses and objects of enjoyment, looked (after this speech was uttered) upon (Yaśovati) as the mother of her subjects, and (upon the country) as a goddess. <sup>73</sup> Then in the proper month that queen bore a son endowed with divine marks, a new sprout of the family tree which had been consumed by fire. <sup>74</sup> The Brāhmanas performed the coronation and kindred rites for him together with his *jātakarma* and other sacraments.

<sup>75</sup> The infant king received afterwards, together with the regal dignity, the name of his grandfather, Gopāṇḍa. <sup>76</sup> Two nurses were engaged in rearing him, the one gave him milk, the other complete prosperity. <sup>77</sup> The ministers of his father, who were careful that his being pleased should not remain without results, bestowed wealth upon his attendants even when he smiled without cause. <sup>78</sup> When his officers, unable to understand his infant stammering, did not fulfil his orders, they considered themselves guilty of a crime. <sup>79</sup> When the infant king ascended his father's throne, his whose legs were dangling in the air did not banish (from the hearts of his subjects) the desire (to

prostrate themselves) before his footstool. <sup>80</sup> When the ministers decided the legal and religious disputes of the subjects, they listened to (the opinion of the child) whose locks were moved by the wind from the *chakra*. <sup>81</sup> Thus (it happened that) the king of Kāśmīr, being an infant, was taken neither by Kuru nor Pāṇḍava to assist them in the Great War.

<sup>82</sup> Thirty-five kings who followed him, and whose names and deeds have perished in consequence of the loss of the records, have been immersed in the ocean of oblivion.

<sup>83</sup> After them Lavana, an ornament of the earth, a favourite of Victory that is clothed in a flowing robe of fame, became king. <sup>84</sup> The roar of his army, which roused the universe from its slumber, sent—O wonder!—his enemies to their long slumber. <sup>85</sup> Constructing eighty-four lakhs of stone buildings, he founded the town of Lalāra. <sup>86</sup> After giving to a community of Brāhmanas the *agrahāra* of Lavāra on the Līḍar, the valiant (king) endowed with blameless heroism and splendid ascended to heaven.

<sup>87</sup> He was succeeded by his son Kūṣa, expert in (deeds of) prowess and lotus-eyed, who gave the *agrahāra* of Kūṣāḍa.

<sup>88</sup> After him his son, the illustrious Khaṅgendra, the destroyer of his foes' elephants, the first (among men), an abode of valour, obtained the throne. <sup>89</sup> He settled the two principal *agrahāras* (of Kāśmīr), Khāḍgi and Khonamasha, and afterwards he ascended to that world which he had bought by deeds brilliant like (the glitter of) Śiva's (teeth in) smiling.

<sup>90</sup> After him came his son Surendra, possessed of priceless greatness, who was an entire stranger to guilt, who far surpassed Indra's state, and whose deeds astonished the world. <sup>91</sup> Surendra,

<sup>92</sup> Lalāra is situated in the pargāṇā of Lōḍhā.

<sup>93</sup> The Lōḍar, now called Līḍar or Liddar, is the principal northern tributary of the Viṇāṭī, which it joins not far from Bijbūr. An *agrahāra* is an *indm* village given to a Brāhman, or to a community of Brāhmanas. See the *Pet. Dist. r. c.* Lavāra is said to exist now.

<sup>94</sup> According to the annotator of 431, Kurakhāra is now called Kalar, and Pandit Dayarāṇ places it in the Dakhin-pargāṇā.

<sup>95</sup> Khāḍgi is said to be the modern Kāḍpū (Wilson and Trogner), and Khonamasha is Khannoh, as was first recognized by General Cunningham. See also above Report, pp. 4 & 52. The Sāradā MSS. read Khonamash instead of Khannamash, and in this form points also the Khonamokha of Bihār. *Prakṛatāraṇḍa*, vol. 7. A. there is hardly any difference between the pronunciation of a and ā in Kāśmīr the spelling does not matter much.

<sup>96</sup> *Dirghamaghavattāśāhīkṛitā*, of which a double translation has been given, may be taken as two words, *dirgham* and *aghavattāśāhīkṛitā*, or as a compound, *dirghamaghavattāśāhīkṛitā*. The author, like a good Kavi, loves his pun dearly, and intends it to be taken both ways.

solved, *chādī-rudhārāḥ* Kṛishṇa, as *eva* pāṇḍitāṇa, and be translated 'the road (being opened to him by) Kṛishṇa, the bearer of the war-disc.' To be slain by a person as holy as Kṛishṇa would, of course, ensure heaven to the victim. Perhaps Kalliyā intended it to be taken both ways.

<sup>70</sup> The earth, or the country, is always considered to be the wife of the king.

<sup>71</sup> Read with the Sāradā MSS. *देवप्रिया*, instead of *मोक्षप्रिया* as Trogner and the Calcutta edition have.

<sup>72</sup> The second verse is the *earth*, or the country, which gave him entire prosperity.

<sup>73</sup> It is the custom and the duty of kings to give presents whenever they are pleased. The ministers watched lest the custom should be neglected in the case of the infant king, and gave presents whenever he smiled.

<sup>74</sup> Read ॐ with the Sāradā MSS. instead of ॐ. *ॐ* *pradadīṣṭhavya*, 'the desire for the footstool,' means the desire to use the footstool for its legitimate purposes, i.e. for touching it with the forehead. The persons from whom this desire was not taken are not named. Hence it must be understood that everybody, all the king's subjects, are meant. The verse is intended to furnish another proof that this infant king was respected quite as much as any grown-up ruler could have been.

the lord of the gods, could not be compared to this *Sarandra*, since he is called *śatamaṣṭu*, 'the harbourer of a hundred grudges,' and *gotrabhīṭ*, 'the destroyer of the gotra,' while (*Sarandra* of Kashmir) deserved the surname *śatamaṣṭu*, 'he whose anger is appeased,' and *gotrapātā*, 'the protector of the gotra.' <sup>100</sup> That illustrious (ruler) founded on the frontiers of Dardistan a town called *Sauraka*, and a viḥāra called *Sarandra bhavana*. <sup>101</sup> In his own kingdom that prince of great fame and of holy works founded a viḥāra, called *Sauraka*, which became famous for piety.

<sup>102</sup> After this king had died without issue, *Qodhara*, a scion of a different family, protected the earth, together with the best of mountains. <sup>103</sup> Liberal, pious *Qodhara* went to heaven after presenting the *agrahāra* *Haṭiśāla* to the Brāhmins.

<sup>104</sup> His son *Savarpa* after him distributed gold (*saurya*) to the needy, he who caused to flow, in the district of *Kurka*, the brook *Savarpa mapi*.

<sup>105</sup> His son *Jānaka*, comparable to a father (*janaka*) of his subjects, founded the viḥāra and *agrahāra* called *Jālorā*.

<sup>106</sup> After him the illustrious *Śaohinara*, whose

disposition was forgiving, protected the earth as ruler, his commands gaining obedience (*from all*).

<sup>107</sup> That king founded the two *agrahāras* *Saṁśajasa* and *Aśanāra*. Without male issue he obtained half of *Indra*'s seat (*after death*).

<sup>108</sup> Next, the son of that king's grand-uncle, and great-grandson of *Śakuni*, the voracious *Aśoka*, ruled the earth. <sup>109</sup> That king, cleansed from sin and converted to the teaching of *Jina*, covered *Sushkaletra* and *Vitastātra* with numerous stūpas. <sup>110</sup> Within the precincts of the *Dharmāraya Viḥāra* in *Vitastātrapura* stood a *chaitya*, built by him, the height of which the eye was unable to measure. <sup>111</sup> That illustrious prince built the town of *Śrinagari*, which is most important on account of its nine million and six hundred thousand houses. <sup>112</sup> This virtuous (prince) removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of *Vijayāsvara*, and built a new one of stone. <sup>113</sup> He whose defection had been overgrown built within the enclosure of *Vijayāsvara*, and near it, two (other) temples, which were styled *Aśokaśvara*. <sup>114</sup> As the country was overrun by *Mlechhas*, the pious (king) obtained from *Śiva*, the lord of creatures, a son in order to destroy them.

## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

### EARLY COINS OF WESTERN INDIA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—I have been lately occupied in examining the materials for Sir Walter Elliot's promised contribution to the series of the new *Numismata Orientalia*, "On the Coins of Southern India."

In attempting to decipher the too frequently obliterated legends of the various subdivisions of the coins of the western coast bearing *Aśoka*

characters, I have been more than ever impressed with the aid to be derived from duplicate and other examples, which, though seemingly unimportant, may chance to contribute to a practised eye a missing link in the interpretation of the authorized version of the local Prakrit, so confessedly uncertain in its best forms of orthography. In the hope of eliciting the sympathies of collectors of coins in the Western Presidency, I desire to appeal,

<sup>100</sup> *Indra* or *Sarandra* is called *Gotrabhīṭ* because he opened the *gotra* or pen in which the *Panis* had confined the cows of the gods—see the quotations in the *Pet. Inscr.* s. v. In the case of the Kashmirian *Sarandra*, *gotra* must be taken to mean his own or the Brāhminical families.

<sup>101</sup> Neither the place mentioned in this verse nor the one mentioned in the next can be traced, though the former, as they were situated on the frontier of *Dardistan*, must have been somewhere in *Zolāb* or *Khuyāhm*. It is important to note that *Kāthuga* ascribes the foundation of viḥāras, or Buddhist monasteries, to the last king of the line of *Gopanda*, whom he must have placed somewhere about the 18th century before our era.

<sup>102</sup> Read with *GA.* and *G<sup>1</sup>* सौरवर्षा यम. 'The best of mountains' is the *Himalaya*.

<sup>103</sup> According to the annotator of *G<sup>1</sup>*, *Haṭiśāla* is now called *Asthāl*. My Brāhmin friends did not know this latter name, and thought that *Haṭiśāl* might be meant.

<sup>104</sup> The annotator of *G<sup>1</sup>* explains *Kurka* by *Arḍhavan*, and *Savarpa*—indulged by *Sunnamayā adha*, the *adha* or brook called *Sunnamayā*, marked on the native map in the *pargana* *Arḍhavan* or *Arwa*.

<sup>105</sup> My Kashmirian friends identify *Zāvār*, near *Zorab*, with *Jālorā*.

<sup>106</sup> According to the annotator of *G<sup>1</sup>* the modern equivalent

of *Śrinagari* is *Byāgus*, in the *Kojāhāra pargana*, near *Iskandābād*, and of *Śanāra*, the well-known village of *Chādr*.

<sup>107</sup> Read शुष्कलेत्रा बुधलेत्रा. The annotator of *G<sup>1</sup>* remarks: *śushkaletraḥ budhaletra vitastātra vitastātra, śushkaletra cha vitastātra cha budhaletra vitastātra vitastātra dollyāḍa vitastātra cha*. Both localities, the names of which are usually pronounced *Haklir* and *Vekhyote*, are situated in the *Dardistan pargana* to the south of *Iskandābād*. The former is marked on the *Trig. Surv.* map as *Vekhyote*.

<sup>108</sup> Read शकनय with *G<sup>1</sup>* and *CA.* instead of the *शकनय* of the editions.

<sup>109</sup> General Cunningham (*Ans. Geog.* p. 96) has fixed the site of the ancient *Śrinagari* near *Madraṭhān* (*Parādhāb-jāna*). Some *Pandits* think that it lay near *Iskandābād*.

<sup>110</sup> Regarding the very remarkable *prāśāda* of the Kashmirian temples see Cunningham, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. xiii. pp. 340 seqq.

<sup>111</sup> *Aśokaśvara* must be explained as a *modhyamapadālopi* compound by *Aśoka* *nirmita śvara*, 'the (temple of) *Śiva* built by *Aśoka*.' The same remark applies to the numerous names of temples ending in *śvara* and beginning with the name of a person, which occur further on.

<sup>112</sup> The *Mlechhas* intended here are probably the Greeks: vide *Lampson, Ind. Ant. (2nd ed.)* vol. II. p. 205.

through your columns, to all those who may happen to possess specimens of any of the types enumerated below, for their contributions to the publication in question.

The plates for Sir W. Elliot's article will be delayed, pending a reasonable interval, to test the result of this application, or will otherwise be supplemented by woodcuts illustrating the more tardy arrivals.

I have been permitted to examine and avail myself of the information I have obtained from the Kolhapur collection, which has already formed the subject of an article for the *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society* by Bhagvānśī Indrajī. I have expressly reserved myself from any inspection of his paper, which is in the hands of Dr. Codrington, in order that I might give you my free and independent interpretation of the legends on the coins themselves, and the inductions I have arrived at in regard to their bearing upon an important social question in India of olden time.

I allude to the ascendancy of women. Some indication of such state of things was to be gathered from the inscriptions in the Nāsik caves, so ably translated by Professor Bhānūkrar in the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists* in London. The coins, however, very materially extend and confirm the references to the acknowledged supremacy of the female line in royal houses, and lead up to a much more extended inquiry as to the parallel practices of other cognate or associate nations.

Our earliest intimation of the existence of such customs is derived from Herodotus, who testifies to its exceptional currency with the Lyones, but it is clear that similar ideas prevailed among (perhaps extended to) the *Kitrana* also.\*

Herodotus' statement is as follows:—

"The Lyones are, in good truth, anciently from Orotan; which island, in former days, was wholly peopled with barbarians . . . Milyas was the ancient name of the country now inhabit-

ed by the Lyones: the Milyas of the present day were in those times called *Soly mi* . . . Their customs are partly Orotan, partly Carian. They have, however, one singular custom in which they differ from every other nation in the world. They take the mother's and not the father's name. Ask a Lyonian who he is, and he answers by giving his own name, that of his mother, and so on in the female line."†

There need be no reserve in admitting that Hetairism held an important place in the earlier civilization of India, and indeed constituted a potent feature in the state policy.‡

Polyandry and polygamy equally prevailed in ancient times, as we learn from the annals of the *Mahābhārata*, where Arjuna is seen to have brought home a new wife in addition to his one-fifth share of the charms of Drupadi, who was held in common by the joint brotherhood. I will leave our native friends, who are so much more at home in such matters, to follow out these investigations, and conclude this section of the inquiry by drawing attention to the curious identity of the rights of females in Australia—a country linguistically and otherwise associated with the Indian Peninsula, and once, if we are to credit geologists, even constituting a continuation of the continent itself. "The Australians (according to Sir G. Grey) are divided into great clans, and use the clan name as a sort of surname beside the individual name. Children take the family name of the mother, and a man cannot marry a woman of his own name: so that here it would seem that only relationship by the female side is taken into account. One effect of the division of clans in this way is that the children of the same father by different wives, having different names, may be obliged to take opposite sides in a quarrel."

Sir G. Grey further remarked upon "the practice of reckoning clanship from the mother, and the prohibition of marriage within the clan, as all bearing a striking resemblance to similar usages found among the natives of North America." §

\* The mention of the mother's name after the father is a genuine Etruscanism. It is general in Etruscan epigraphy, and was retained even under Roman domination, for some sarcophagi bear similar epigraphy in Latin with *nomen* affixed to the mother's name. (Deinam's *Etruria*, vol. I. p. 133.) "Her grave was inscribed with even more splendour than that of her lord" (p. 131; conf. also vol. II. p. 170). This custom the Etruscans must have derived from the East as it was not practised by the Greeks or Romans; but the Lyones always traced their descent through the maternal line, in the total exclusion of the paternal—a fact recorded by Herodotus, and verified by modern researches—Follies's *Lyones*, p. 376. The Etruscans, being less purely Oriental, made use of both methods.—ib. vol. I. p. 133; see also vol. I. pp. xli. xlii: "Tuosque Asiae celsi vinctat"—Boncompagni, *ib.* p. 107. *Not. Scit.* 6, &c.

† Of marriage, no representation which has not a mythical reference has yet been found on the sepulchral urns of Etruria, though most of the early writers on these antiquities mistake the farewell scenes, presently to be described,

—where persons of opposite sexes stand hand in hand,—for scenes of nuptial festivity.—Deinam's *Etruria*, vol. II. p. 180.

‡ Rawlinson's edition, vol. I. p. 170.

§ Haskins and McLennan, two of the most recent authors who have studied this subject, both agree that the primitive condition of man, socially, was one of pure Hetairism, when marriage did not exist; or, as we may perhaps for convenience call it, communal marriage, where every man and woman in a small community were regarded as equally married to one another. Haskins considers that after a while the women, shocked and scandalized by such a state of things, revolted against it, and established a system of marriage with female supremacy, the husband being subject to the wife, property and descent being considered to go in the female line, and women enjoying the principal share of political power. The first period he calls that of Hetairism; the second of *Matriarchy*, or mother-right.—Sir J. Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization*, p. 67.

§ C. B. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind* (1865), p. 330.



There is another most important point disclosed by the legends of coins Nos. 1-4, in the termination "Kura," or *Kala* as I read it,|| which is rendered as 'a race, a family, tribe, caste,' &c. In the present instances it seems to refer to some joint brotherhood, descendants of the ancestral female by different fathers. These communities in process of time may have grouped themselves into small republics, and the title of *Rājā* which heads the legends may perchance refer to the senior or anonymous president for the time being.¶

The subjoined list of the Western coins which I have now seen for the first time has been restricted to a technical description of the types, and an avowedly tentative effort at the decipherment of the legends. The time has not yet arrived for any consecutive arrangement of the coins, either in the numismatic or historical sense. I trust that the future contributions of local collectors will enable me to make it more perfect hereafter.

#### List of Coins.

No. 1. Copper mixed with lead. Size, full 9 of Mionnet's scale. Weight 220 grains. 4 specimens. 1 Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., 2 Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs.

*Obverse*—A crude figure of a bow and broadly barbed arrow.\*

*Reverse*—*Chaitya* with four rows of inverted semicircles surmounted by a half-moon (as in the *Sāh* coins), to the right a tree with seven leaves or branches, at the foot an oblong pedestal with serpent in a wavy line, and dots.

*Legend*—रजो मकारी पुनस सिवाल कुरस

*Rājō Makārī-putasa Siwāl-kurasa.*

No. 2. Copper and lead. Size 7 of Mionnet's scale. Weight 224 grains. 3 specimens. 1 Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., 2 the Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs.

*Obverse*—Device a crude strung bow, and broadly barbed arrow set for use.

*Legend*—रजो वासिधो पुनस विहवाय कुरस

*Rājō Vāsīḍhō-putasa Vīdhavāy-kurasa.*

*Reverse*—A *chaitya* consisting of three layers of inverted semicircles with dots, surmounted by a *chakra* (or figure of the sun?). To the left a tree with seven broad leaves. At the foot, an oblong square pedestal, in which is figured a serpent, with the wavy intervals filled in with dots.

I place the children of the daughter, *Vāsīḍhī*,

¶ Malleswari, in his *Marathi Dictionary*, notices several variants in the orthography of this word कळ कुरस "the compounds changing the क into ख and the र into ड." The interchanges of R and L and R and L may be followed in Caldwell's *Grammar*, but it is sufficient for our purpose to notice that the ancient inscriptions fully authorize the optional use of *Rāja* or *Lāja*.

¶ It is remarkable how apparently complete an organization of corporate bodies and trade guilds is seen to have existed in Western India when the *Nāśik* cave inscriptions were put upon record.

I myself long ago suggested that some such explanation

earlier than the children of the mother, *Gautami*, on numismatic grounds. It is possible that the greater glories and ancestral status of the grandmother eclipsed, in process of time, the subdued claims of the memory of the mother.

No. 3. Copper and lead. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale. Weights range from 180 grains to 190. The execution of the dies is inferior. Numerous specimens.

*Obverse*—The usual crude bow and arrow.

*Legend*—रजो गोमती पुनस विहवाय कुरस

*Rājō Gomatī-putasa Vīdhavāy-kurasa.*

*Reverse*—*Chaitya* device as above, but the tree is attached to the main device and rises directly from the end of the pedestal.

Many of these coins are what is technically termed 'double-struck,' i.e. the dies of a successor or adverse contemporary have been repeated over the original impression, without any re-fashioning of the piece itself.

These indications are often of much value in determining the relative priority of the conjoint rulers. In the present instance they authorize us to place the children of *Madārī* before those of *Gautami*.

In one case a coin of the *Gautami-putras* has had the identical legends of the original *obverse* repeated over the surface of the old *reverse*.

No. 4. Copper. Size 4 of Mionnet's scale. Weight 28 grains. 2 specimens, Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs.

*Obverse*—Bow and arrow.

*Legend*—रजो वास ' ' ' वसविहवाय कुरस

*Rājō Vasi [tho-pu]tasa Vīdhavāy-kurasa.*

*Reverse*—*Chaitya*, with tree growing on the summit.

In the field of one specimen, a monogram possibly composed of the letters *वस* *vaśa* or *वस* *vaśa*; on the other example, a letter exactly like a Chaldean-Pehlivi *u* (a).†

No. 5. Copper and lead. Size 7. Weight 230 grains. Sir Walter Elliot.

*Obverse*—Device similar in some respects to No. 1, but the *Chaitya* is solid, surmounted with the usual half-moon, while the tree is replaced by a conch-shell, balanced on the other side of the field by a flower. Serpent at foot.

might apply to the *Sāh* series in a republican system of rotation, which should account for the over-full list of the kings whose names occur on the coins.

\* The main typical form of bow and arrow occurs frequently on the earliest specimens of the ancient punched coins. See my *Indian Weights, Numismata Orientalia*, Part I. Plate, figs. 12, &c.

† See *Journ. R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. III. (1865) p. 264. It may be as well to add that the occurrence of such a letter on the local coinage need not necessarily reduce the age of the pieces so inscribed to the modern limits assigned to extant Pehlivi inscriptions. The letters of these alphabets are found on very early specimens of the Parthian coinage.



**Legend.**—रगो गौतमी पुतस सरय

*Rāṅo Gōtāmī-putasa Saraya . . .*

**Reverse.**—Four circles, each composed of a central dot and two concentric circles, joined together by cross-lines—conventionally termed the Ujjain symbol.

No. 6. Lead. Size 5. Weight 86 grains.

**Obverse.**—Small *Chaitya*, with three inverted semicircles, and serpent at the foot.

**Legend.**—रज वासिष्ठ पुतस सरय मतस

*Rājā Vāsīṣṭha-putasa Sira Yastasa.*  
(perhaps *Saraya*)

**Reverse.**—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 7. Similar coins, variants.

**Legend.**—..... सवपुतससिरिवस

*Rājā Vāsīṣṭha-putasa Sīrivasa.*

One coin has सिवस *Sivasa*.

No. 8. Lead. Size 4½ Mionnet's scale.

**Obverse.**—A well-executed figure of an elephant, to the left.

**Legend.**—रजस सिर वज गौतमी पुतस

*Rājasa Sira Vajā Gōtāmī-putasa.*

**Reverse.**—Four double rings joined by a cross—the conventional symbol of Ujjain.†

No. 9. Lead. Size 4. Weight 70 grains.

**Obverse.**—A boldly sunk die bearing a well designed figure of a horse to the left.

**Legend.**—रज गौतमी पुतस सरिव . . .

*Rājā Gōtāmī-putasa Sira Y . . .*

**Reverse.**—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 10. Copper or bronze. Size 4. Weight (average) 35 grains.

**Obverse.**—A well-outlined figure of an elephant free, with trunk erect; no trappings.

**Legend.**—सिरिसवकसि

*Sira Satakasi.*

**Reverse.**—Four single circles joined by cross-lines.

No. 11. Variant. The elephant is decorated with rich head-gear.

**Legend.**—वजसवक

*Vajāsavaka.*

N.B.—The forms of the letters of the legends would indicate that these coins belong to a later date than the specimens previously described.

No. 12. Lead. Size 6. Weight 133 grains.

**Obverse.**—A well-executed figure of a horse to the right, with a half-moon in the field.

**Legend.**—रजस ..... सवकसस

*Rājā (Gōtāmī-putasa) Satakasasa.*

**Reverse.**—Device indistinguishable.

No. 13. Lead. Size . . . Weight?

**Obverse.**—A crude figure of an elephant to the left.

**Legend.**—सरिवस *Sarivasa* or *Salivasa*; possibly

*Sira Vasa.*

**Reverse.**—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 14. Lead. Similar coins.

**Legend.**—सिरि रुव

*Sira Rudra?*

The रु is sometimes given as र, and the R has to be supplied.

London, 24th July 1877.

EDWARD THOMAS.

### Query.

#### HEMĀD PANT AND THE GAULI RĀJAS.

Who and what was "Hemād Pant," who shares with the Gauri Rājas the credit of ancient buildings in the Northern Dekhān and Konkan? One story is that he was a Rākshasa; another that he was a physician, and imported the Moḍi or current Marāṭhi alphabet from Oeylon; a third that he was the Brāhman minister of a Musalmān Sultan in Bidar or Golkonda.

Professor Weber, in his paper on the *Krishna-jaymatsām* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 161 and notes) mentions three "Hemādīs" :—

No. 1. Son of Charudeva, and minister of a king Mahādeva (king of where?); composed by his command the *Chaturvargachintamani*, "perhaps at the end of the 13th century."

No. 2. Patron of Vopadeva, and minister to king Rāmachandra of Devagiri, ergo belonging to the same period; this is, I presume, the Rāja plundered in A.D. 1205 by Ala'addin the Parricide, and perhaps identical with Dnyānsēvara's patron, Rāmachandra Yādava of Newās (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 354).

No. 3 was "a commentator on Vopadeva at the court of a king Rāmarāja." The locus in quo is not given, not being, indeed, necessary to Prof. Weber's argument, but I think there are only two Rāmarājas available in this instance—the one just mentioned, and the unfortunate ruler of Vijayanagara, overborne by the Moslem confederacy of the Dekhān three centuries later.

If Hemād Pant were a minister of the Devagiri Yādavas, it would go far to confirm the conjecture already hazarded by Mr. Śrīkṛishna Śāstri Talekar and myself, that they were the Gauri Rājas of tradition, as the same building is often ascribed to both him and them, and even where one monopolizes the credit the style is the same. It may be well seen in the lower part of the fort of Devagiri itself; and that fort is almost in the centre of the country over which the names of Hemād Pant and the Gauri Rājas are known.\*

† See *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VII. plate lxi.; *Numericals Orientalis*, "Ancient Indian Weights," Part I. Plate, figs. 5, 6.

\* Mr. Shankar Phalurang Poojit (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I.

p. 206) says the Rākshas Kōtas of Manher were Yādavas, but gives no authority. The Halpala Belains certainly were, as they state it in their inscriptions, but their dominions lie south of the range of the Gauri tradition.

Down here (Kalsdg) I have not heard of either, old buildings being generally (and often correctly) referred to "the Jains."

It may be added that the 13th century, a period of great architectural activity, is just the natural epoch in which to refer the great builders of tradition. I should like to hunt down this Gauh Rāj, and I hope that any gentlemen who can afford me help will lend it. It is a disgrace to us to accept as a mystery what cannot be a thousand years old.

W. F. S.

#### DR. HAUG'S ORIENTAL MSS.

The collection of Oriental MSS. chiefly in Zend, Pahlavi, Pazard, Persian, and Sanskrit, made by the late Dr. Haug when Professor of Sanskrit at Papp, has been purchased from his widow for the Royal Library at Munich, for 17,000 marks. It will be remembered that Dr. Haug acknowledged, in a public lecture, that he had obtained many valuable if not unique MSS. from Pārsia, during a tour he made in Gujārat to collect MSS. for Government. His right, as a paid Government servant, to collect on his own account, under any pretext whatever, was strongly protested against in the Bombay newspapers in June 1863, and especially in June and July 1864, when

Government was urged to investigate Dr. Haug's conduct in the matter, but no public notice was taken of it.

#### HEMACHANDRA'S PRĀKRIT GRAMMAR.

The first part of Hemachandra's *Prākṛit Grammar*, edited by Professor Pischel of Kiel, has been published. It is the eighth section of Hemachandra's large work on Sanskrit grammar, and is the most complete treatise on the earlier Āryan Indian dialects as yet published. An edition of the text, but quite uncritical, appeared in Bombay in 1873, edited by Mahābala Kṛishṇa.

Prof. Th. Benfey has published under the title *Vedica und Verwandtes*, a series of papers treating mainly of a number of very nice and subtle questions of verbal criticism and explanation of difficult terms in the *Vedas*. Most of the papers are reprints from the *Glöttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*.

Mr. Murray has in the press—'A Discursive Glossary of peculiar Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases, Etymological, Historical, and Geographical,' by Col. H. Yule, C.B., and Dr. A. Burnell,—a work the appearance of which will be looked for with considerable interest.

#### BOOK NOTICES.

WEITER DER URSPRUNG DES LINGAKULTUR IN INDIA, v. F. KITTEL. (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, 1876.)

In this pamphlet of 48 pages 8vo. the Rev. F. Kittel starts a theory in opposition to that propounded by Lassen, and supported, though with reserve, by Dr. J. Muir, that Līṅga-worship is of early Drāviḍian origin. He contends that it formed no part of the Drāviḍian religion before the influence of Brāhmanism in the south, and in proof of this points out that, formerly at least, Śaiva-Līṅgaism counted more famous shrines in Northern India than in the south; that the pretended abstention of Brāhmins from its officiating priesthood is to be explained, where it really exists, by local causes alone; that the Brāhmanical legends make no allusion to any reception of its worship from another race; that most of the legends relative to the Līṅga point to the north; and, most important of all, that in the south Līṅga-worship is not met with except among the populations more or less influenced by Hinduism, while those unaffected by its extraneous influence are quite ignorant of it. The suggestion, however (pp. 46-7), that Līṅga-worship reached India from Greece seems almost entirely without foundation. This little brochure is full of the most interesting information on the actual position of Līṅgaism in

the south, its divisions, the origin of its various sects, and on the archaeology, literature, and ethnography of the Canarese portion of the Peninsula. It is to be hoped our able contributor will be induced to give us a second edition of it in an English dress.

TRAVELS IN INDIA in the Seventeenth Century: by Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Fryer. (Reprinted from the *Calcutta Weekly Englishman*.) London: Trübner & Co.

The title of this work fully explains what it is: a good while ago Mr. Talboys Wheeler had *The Journal of his Voyage to the East Indies, and Observations there during his residence at the Mogul's Court as Ambassador from England*, by Sir Thomas Roe, Knt., and Dr. John Fryer's *Account of India*, reprinted in the *Calcutta Weekly Englishman*. At the same time a few copies were struck off in octavo form for separate publication. The impression, however, was overlooked for some time before it was issued. The two works are printed on thin paper and form a volume of 474 pages, but are put forth without note or comment, index or table of contents, and of course without the illustrations of the original editions. From its size this reprint may be found convenient by the general reader, but it will not supersede the earlier editions, copies of which are not scarce.



## SOUTH INDIAN SEPULCHRAL URNS.



*No. 1*



*No. 2*



*No. 3*



*No. 4*



*No. 5*

Scale of  inches



## SEPULCHRAL URNS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY THE Rt. Rev. BISHOP CALDWELL, D.D., LL.D.

I AM anxious to obtain some information as to the extent of the area within which sepulchral urns, like those to which I am about to refer, are found, and I trust that some readers of the *Antiquary* will be so kind as to help me to obtain the information of which I am in search.

The urns I refer to are large earthenware jars containing fragments of human bones, generally in a very decayed state. They are of various sizes, corresponding with the age of the person whose remains were to be disposed of. The largest I have found was eleven feet in circumference, and the smallest have been between four and five. The shape varies a little within certain limits, so that I have not found any two perfectly alike, but the type generally adhered to is that of the large earthen jars (in Tamil *kūnai*) with which the people in this neighbourhood draw water for their cultivation. The urn is without handles, feet, rim, or cover. It swells out towards the middle and terminates in a point, so that it is only when it is surrounded with earth that it keeps an upright position. The urns do much credit to the workmanship of the people by whom they were made, being made of better-tempered clay, better burnt, and much stronger than any of the pottery made in these times in this part of India. They would contain a human body easily enough in a doubled-up position, if it could be got inside, but the mouth is generally so narrow that it would admit only the skull, and one I tempted to conjecture that the body must have been cut into pieces before it was put into the urn, or that the bones must have been collected and put in after the body had decayed. Generally decay is found to have advanced so far that these theories can neither be verified nor disproved. Fragments only of the harder bones remain, and the urn seems to contain little more than a mass of earth. In one instance I found the bones partially petrified, and therefore almost perfect, though they had fallen asunder; but this was the large eleven-feet urn referred to above, discovered at Korkai, so that in this instance it was conceivable that the body had been placed in it entire. At Ilanji, near Kortalam, on opening an urn some traces of the shape

of a skeleton were discovered. The skull was found resting on the sternum, and on each side of the sternum was a tibia. It appeared, therefore, as if the body had been doubled up and forced in head foremost, though it was not clear how the shoulders could have got in. The bones were of the consistence of ochre, and crumbled to pieces when they were taken out. Nothing could be preserved but a piece of the skull and the teeth, which were those of an adult. Dr. Fry, Surgeon to the Resident of Travancore, who was present at the find, pointed out that the molars had been worn down by eating grain, and that the edges of the front teeth also had been worn down by biting some kind of parched pulse. Afterwards, on examining the mouths of some natives, I found their front teeth worn down a little in the same manner, and, as they admitted, from the same cause. I have not noticed any distinct trace of the bones in these urns having been calcined.

In addition to human bones a few small earthen vessels are found in most of the jars. Sometimes such vessels are arranged outside, instead of being placed inside. These vessels are of various shapes, all more or less elegant, and all appear to have been highly polished. At first I supposed they had been glazed, but I have been informed by Dr. Hunter, late of the Madras School of Arts, that what I noticed was a polish, not a true glaze. Whatever it be, I have not noticed anything of the kind in the native pottery of these parts and these times. In some cases the polish or glaze is black, and the decay of these blackened vessels seems to have given rise to the supposition that the bones had sometimes been calcined.

On the accompanying plate are sketches of five of these little vessels. When these have been shown to natives, they say that No. 4 appears to have been an oil vessel, and No. 5 a spittoon. The use of No. 2, the vessel with the lid, is unknown. In these times such vessels would be made of bell-metal, not of pottery. We may conclude that the object in view in placing these vessels in the urn was that the ghost of the departed might be supplied with the ghosts of suitable vessels for eating and drinking out

of in the other world! Small stones about the size of a coconut are generally found heaped round the mouth of the urn, and the discovery of such stones ranged in a circle, corresponding to the circular mouth of the urn, will be found to be a reason for suspecting the existence of an urn underneath.

The natives of these times know nothing whatever of the people by whom this singular mode of sepulture was practised, nor of the time when they lived. They do not identify them with the *Samaṇas*, that is, the Jains and Buddhists lumped together, about whom tolerably distinct traditions survive, nor does there appear to be anything in or about the jars distinctively Jain or Buddhist. There is a myth current amongst the natives, it is true, respecting the people who were buried in these jars, but this myth seems to me merely a confession of their ignorance. They say that in the *Trētā yuga*—that is, about a million of years ago—people used to live to a great age, but that however old they were they did not die, but the older they grew the smaller they became. They got so small at length that to keep them out of the way of harm it was necessary to place them in the little triangular niche in the wall of a native house in which the lamp is kept. At length, when the younger people could no longer bear the trouble of looking after their dwarf ancestors they placed them in earthen jars, put with them in the jars a number of little vessels containing rice, water, oil, &c., and buried them near the village.

The name by which these urns are called in the Tamil country does not throw much light on their origin. This name assumes three forms. In the Tamil dictionary it is *madamadakkat-tāli*. A more common form of this word is *madamadakkan-dāli*, the meaning of both which forms is the same, viz. the *dāli*, or large jar, which boils over. The meaning attributed to this by some natives is rather far-fetched, viz. that the little people who were placed in them used sometimes to come out of the jars and sit about, as if they had boiled over out of them. The form of this word in use amongst the common people seems capable of a more rational interpretation. This is *madamattan-dāli*, or more properly *madāmmattan-dāli*. *Madāmmatta* (Sansk.) means 'insane,' but it is sometimes used in Tamil to mean 'very large,'

as in the Tamil version of the *Panchatantra*, where it is used to denote a very large jungle. The great size of the urn being its principal characteristic, it would seem that the name in use amongst the common people is, after all, better warranted than that which is used by those who are regarded as correct speakers.

Who the people were who buried their dead in these urns is a problem yet unsolved. The only points that can be regarded as certain are those which have been ascertained by the internal evidence of the urns and their contents themselves. From this it is clear that the people buried in them were not pygmies, but of the same size as people of the present time. How they were put in may be mysterious, but there is no doubt about the size of their bones. The skulls were similar to those of the present time. The teeth also were worn down, like those of the existing race of natives, by eating grain. In a jar opened by Dr. Jäger, of Berlin, a head of millet was found. The grain had disappeared, but the husks remained. The unknown people must have lived in villages, the jars being found, not one here and another there, but arranged side by side in considerable numbers, as would naturally be done in a burial-ground. They were also a comparatively civilized people, as is evident from the excellence of their pottery, and the traces of iron implements or weapons which have sometimes been found in the jars. The conclusion from all this which seems to me most probable is that they were the ancestors of the people now living in the same neighbourhood. If this were the true explanation, it is singular that no relic, trace, or tradition of such a mode of sepulture has survived to the present day. And yet, if we were to adopt the supposition that they were an alien race, it would be still more difficult to conjecture who they were, where they came from, and why they disappeared.

I have myself seen these urns both in the Tinnevely and Madurai districts and in northern and southern Travancore,—that is, on both sides of the Southern Ghāts, and the object I have in view in sending these particulars to the *Antiquary* is to ascertain in what other districts of India they are found. If the area within which they are found can be accurately traced, some light may be thrown thereby on their history.

*Idaiyanguḍi, Tinnevely District.*

## ON THE KRISHNAJANMĀSHTAMĪ, OR KRISHNA'S BIRTH-FESTIVAL.

BY PROF. A. WEBER, BERLIN.

(Continued from p. 153.)

(Translated from the German by Miss Tweedie.)

## § 2.

We come now to the representation of the celebration of the festival itself. On the intricate questions of a calendar sort which belong to it, we do not enter further here, as they have been sufficiently discussed already. One point, however, in this respect appears of importance: the dividing of the celebration into two forms, one a simple form which consists only in the observance of a strict fast (see above, p. 163); while the other, depending on the coincidence of the date with a particular star, appears as the original celebration of the festival, with which alone we have to do here. We have seen already that in it also two forms are to be kept separate from each other; one of which keeps the god in view together with his mother, while the other presents him alone; in the former case the celebration is combined with the preparation of a *śheda* intended for the reception of a woman about to give birth to a child, adorned with pictures from the history of the holy nativity, and in which the mother of the god, with her son drinking at her breast, is represented resting on a couch, and receiving the worship consecrated to her; in the second case the picture of the god is worshipped over a jug. As the sources for this last form of the celebration, we have only the secondary texts Śc. (= Śc. 3) V. J. Uḍ. In D. and Ms. both forms of the festival are brought forward. The rest of the texts recognize only the first form.

The richness and abundance of the material now before us in these various texts is so great that we are obliged to limit ourselves. I have therefore chosen as a guide the representation which the older *Bhāṛishya* texts O. C. Śc. offer, having at the same time due regard to the variations of the rest of the texts from it, but referring only, as far as seemed indispensable, to the rites and formulas peculiar to them.

After the necessary cleansing of the teeth on the previous day (N) the vow of fasting is

taken in a solemn manner on the morning of the feast-day. This is done, according to R. N. after previous calling on the gods as witnesses (with the words—

*śūryaś somo yamaś kālāś asūdhyaś bhātāny aśaś kṣhapāś* | *parāno dikpātir bhūmīr ākātāś kṣachar-damarāś* ('rā nārāś, NŚ.) | *brāhmyāś* (brāhmanī, NŚ.) | *īśanam āsthyaś kalpadhvaś* (kalpantām Vr.) | *īha acchinidhim* | )

amid sprinkling of water out of a copper vessel filled with fruits, flowers, and roasted barley, and with water, while reciting, according to O 24, Śb 54b, 55a, D. Ms. Uḍ., the following sentence,\* asking for the god's assistance:—

*adya śhīlād nirāharaś tvobhāte paramesvara* | *tu para 'hani, Śb.* | *bhokshye 'ham pundarikāksha śaranam me bhātā 'chryata* ('ryaya, Śb.)

"Remaining without nourishment to-day, I shall feast to-morrow.

O high lord, O lotus-eyed one, be a defence to me, thou mahakāśha one!"

Ms. D. reads the second hemistich thus:—*bhokshyāmi Devakīputra armin janmāśhāmīrate* (the last *pāda* as in Cc also) |, and Uḍ. has—*karishye pāraṇāś tatra bhaktim me hy śchalāś kuru* |

Cc adds other three half-*ślokas* to this:—

*śarpadlakandīśya prasanno dhava keśava* |  
*idam vratam mayā deca grīhītam puratat tava* |  
*nirvighnam siddhim dydū prapannā trayī keśava* ||

"Be gracious to me, O Keśava! to the blotting out of all my sins.

Let this vow which I have now taken before thee, O god! be accomplished without hindrance, through thy grace, O Keśava!"

B 24 has the following sentence:—

*adya 'ham pundarikāksha vradddhāyukto jīvendriyaś* |  
*vraddeam karishyāmi sarvajanmāśhāmīratatvaś* (Veratā ?)

O. Śc. Śc. give no sentence at all. Lastly B (p. 26) quotes from the *Saṁvatsaraśhpradīpa* the four following impressive verses, in the use of which N (fol. 39b) Ś. V. and Śc. join with him. (Kā. has only vv. 1 and 4):

\* Compare with this the quite analogous sentence in the *Vaidikapurāṇa* (Chaubert 563a, fol. 130b, on the occasion of the *nityayodudhāt*):

*śiddhāyuktā nirāharaś śhīlād cibhiva para 'haś | bhokshyāmi pundarikāksha śaranam me bhātā 'chryata* |  
The formula, it is evident, is one generally acknowledged

in the *Vaiṣṇava* ritual. In the *Jayantī* form of the *Janmāśhāmī* (fol. 23a), treated of separately in Ms. (see p. 179), the sentence runs nearly as above, with the readings *Jayantīdyāś* for *nirāharaś* *bhokshyāmi* *pundarikāksha śaranam* *chardash tate* |



*Vasudevaśamuddhiya* (*samabhyarchya*, N. fol. 26b)  
*sarvopadaprasāstaya* | *upadśaś karishyāmi kṛish-*  
*ṇāśhamyāmi nabhasy aham* || 1 ||  
*adya kṛishṇāśhamin devīm (chaiva Vr.) nabhaś-*  
*chandra-sarvāṅgīm* (sic! no N both times, thus  
 also S. Śk. and B. p. 33, where v. 2 recurs; only  
 Vr. has *chandraś*) | *archayiteopavāsena bhokshye*  
*'ham apare 'hāni* || 2 ||  
*enaso (eva cha Vr.) mokshakāmo 'mi yad govinda*  
*triyonijam (triyojanam S., triyojitam Vr.)* | *tan me*  
*imūcha tu mām īdhi putitām śokadgare* || 3 ||  
*djanmamaramaṇi yadvad yan mayā dushkṛitām kṛi-*  
*taṁ* | *taṁ prāṇtāya govinda prasāda puruṣho-*  
*tana* || 4 ||

"To the honour of Vāsudeva I will fast now  
 for the expiation of all sins |

To-day, as the eighth day of the black half of the  
 Nabhas moon ||

Celebrating by fasting to-day the *Kṛishṇāśham*,  
 the Nabhas month and the moon |

Together with *Rohiṇī*, then to-morrow I shall  
 eat again ||

I wish, O Govinda! to atone for the sins  
 of three births |

Blot them out to me, and save me who fall into  
 a sea of trouble ||

From birth to death, whatever evil deed I have  
 done |

Cancel it, O Govinda! be gracious, *Pur-*  
*uṣhottama*! ||"

From this specimen we may form an idea  
 of the variations of the several representations,  
 even in those cases where substantially the same  
 subject is treated of, and draw from it a further  
 conclusion as to cases where real differences  
 are dealt with.

At midday of the day of the festival a bath  
 is to be taken in clean river—or other water  
 (O. O. B. N.), making use of sesamum Śs.  
 N. K. D. (white sesamum). J (black ditto),  
 Ms (oil of black sesamum), carrying a myro-  
 balan fruit on the head (*dādriphalaś nirasi*  
*dhrīṭā, J.*). In Śs the bath is placed before  
 the taking of the vow of fasting: thus also  
 in Ud. (*drivhyādina brāhma muhūrte utthāya tila-*  
*malakamandam*).

After this (the setting up on an auspicious

† See *Vishnuaradhaya* in M, vide ante, p. 164.

I also read *vikramasādhnam, āgneyyā panchāṅgāyab* |  
*vāruṇyāṁ bhogyanagṛhāṁ nairityāṁ sūtikāgriham* ||

§ *Pravīṣet sūtikāśāstjinaś kṛitarukṣam amantatāb* |  
*śubhāman nirmītaṁ rāmyaṁ vāṭavidyāśāstjinaś* |

*pṛīṭvāśam uttaradvāram āthavā sudhāśāstjinaś* |  
*devānam brāhmaṇaśāstjinaś cha garhāṁ kṛtvā cha pūjānam* ||

spot of a *sūtikāgriha* (house for a woman  
 in childbirth) takes place. Thus according to  
 O. Śs. O. B. K. N. (S. Vr.) D. Ms. In R. Śk.  
 indeed this subject is not specially mention-  
 ed, but "the house" simply is described as  
 the scene of the ensuing celebration (*griham*  
*upakramya*): probably, however, the same  
 thing is meant by it. For the preparing  
 of such a separate shed intended for the  
 purpose of being occupied while passing  
 safely through the time of lying in, is a  
 constant Indian custom, which appears to  
 have come down from pretty early times. The  
 reason of it was probably, on the one hand the  
 wish to keep the impurity connected with child-  
 birth at a distance from the other members of the  
 family as well as from the dwelling-house proper,  
 and on the other the better opportunity there-  
 by offered of defending and guarding the  
 mother and child from all bad demoniacal in-  
 fluences. After the quotations in K. iii. 1 fol.  
 6a, b, but especially in Anantadeva's *Saṁ-*  
*skārakautubha* (fol. 56ab), the *sūtikāgriham*  
 is, according to a text of Vasiṣṭha, I con-  
 tained in the *Pārijāta* (*Mānupārijāta*, see  
 Aufrecht, *Catalogue*, pp. 274, 275) to be  
 erected in the south-west region. Ananta-  
 deva gives also astrological information from  
 Garga respecting the right time to enter it  
 (*sūtikāgāraśāstnam, sūtikāśāstnam*), as well as  
 special texts from the *Pādma* respecting the  
 erection itself, &c. § According to him, it is to be  
 made well defended on all sides, to be erected  
 on a good situation, firm and secure, by people  
 skilled in building, and to be provided with a  
 door to the east, and one to the north. After  
 the worship of the gods, Brāhmanas, and  
 cows has taken place, the *ensuite* one enters,  
 calling on the Brāhmanas for blessings, amid  
 conch sounds and other music. Only kindred  
 and trustworthy women afterwards enter. (Meal  
 of *ricinus* roots mixed with gāi serves to  
 facilitate the birth.) According to the *Viś-*  
*ṇudharma*, it is to be inhabited for ten days  
 (precisely on the tenth the in-lying woman gets  
 up again, see *Pār. I. 17 Śūkh. g. I. 24*) and

*viprapuṣṭhāśāstjinaś śūkhāśāstjinaś cha* |

*prastāśā bhavāṁ tatra tathā kleśakṣamāśāyab* ||

*krīḍyā vīṣṇamātyāś cha pravṛṇyā(b) strīṣaś cha tat* |

*śrāvaṇāśchāśāstjinaś saṁkṛitāś tathāiva tām (foraṇa?)* ||

*sukhaprasavaṇārthāya paśchat kārya tu tat kṛīḍyāś it* |

Compare M. iii. 1 fol. 156: *sūtikāgriham govind-*

*apūjānam kṛtvā mantravādyaśāstjinaś śāstjinaś* ||

*sāśā kāryaś* |



during the time is to be provided with arms, fire, links, full jugs, lights, with a pestle, and with pictures painted in water-colours (probably for protection against bad demons).<sup>5</sup>

Sk. contains other accounts of the *sūtikā-grīha*, under the word itself, and words of similar signification *sūtikāśāṭha*\*, *sūtikāśāṭha*, *sūtikāśāṭha*, *sūtikāśāṭha*, and *sūtikāśāṭha*. According to it, *arishya* in *Amara* (&c. see *Pet. W.*, s. v.) is also to be taken as a synonym for it (so indeed *Ragh.* III. 15). According to the *Bhāṭoprakāśa*† it is to be made eight hands long and four wide (that would be a very narrow measurement!). According to the *Vaiṣṇavapūṣṭa*, chap. *prajāpatisarga*, ‡ bad demons surround it, but good spirits stay there too, who then, on the sixth (the specially critical) day after the birth, are to be worshipped with offerings. The night of that day is to be passed waking,—so according to the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*.§

The accounts in this place of the setting up of the *śālikāgrha* agree with these statements, at the same time they also show some special peculiarities.

The pillars (*N*) made of plantain stems are to be covered with lotus-coloured (ruby red), variegated (*OC*), with white, yellow, red, striped or green (*Sa. D.*) cloths. It is to be decorated with wreaths of sandalwood, pearls and jewels (*O*, with amulets *O. Sa. N.*), with new pitchers (*kalasa*) filled with water (*N.*), with numerous flowers and fruits, and rows of lamps, and to be perfumed with wreaths of flowers, sandalwood and agalloehum. It is to be arranged quite like a *gokulam*, byre, or

\* Compare *Brithmastumia*, *ultramarina* and *hampala* and *...*

100. 4 :-  
 jagana sūtikasvabhāva sūtrārdraṇa vidhātā bhūh |  
 jagatābhāva sūtikāmbhāva bhavānā bhāhōra ha |  
 1 sūtrābhāvaṇa cāra cāra cāra cāra cāra cāra |  
 prāhāṇaṇa dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra |  
 2 sūtrābhāvaṇa sūtrābhāva sūtrābhāvaṇa |  
 prāhāṇaṇa dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra |  
 3 sūtrābhāvaṇa sūtrābhāva sūtrābhāvaṇa |  
 prāhāṇaṇa dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra |  
 4 sūtrābhāvaṇa sūtrābhāva sūtrābhāvaṇa |  
 prāhāṇaṇa dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra |  
 5 sūtrābhāvaṇa sūtrābhāva sūtrābhāvaṇa |  
 prāhāṇaṇa dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra |  
 6 sūtrābhāvaṇa sūtrābhāva sūtrābhāvaṇa |  
 prāhāṇaṇa dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra |  
 7 sūtrābhāvaṇa sūtrābhāva sūtrābhāvaṇa |  
 prāhāṇaṇa dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra |  
 8 sūtrābhāvaṇa sūtrābhāva sūtrābhāvaṇa |  
 prāhāṇaṇa dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra |  
 9 sūtrābhāvaṇa sūtrābhāva sūtrābhāvaṇa |  
 prāhāṇaṇa dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra |  
 10 sūtrābhāvaṇa sūtrābhāva sūtrābhāvaṇa |  
 prāhāṇaṇa dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra dāra |

cowherd's coat, and to be filled with milk-maids (*OC.*). Fetters for women, iron swords, a sacrificial post, along with a black (*N.*) he-goat are to be found inside; a pestle is to be laid down at the door, guards are to be placed in it, likewise the goddess *Śhaśhāṭī*,\* and all sorts of selected meats for the gods (idols) in rich abundance (*OC. Śa.*) Of the decoration of the walls with pictures from the "holy history," which *Śa. (Mn.)* mentions here, *OC.* treat but in the sequel, see below. According to *Śa.* the setting up of the *sūtikagṛika* is also to be accompanied with music of all kinds, dancing and singing.

It is highly surprising, first of all, that, according to these statements, the *sūtikāgrihaṃ* is to be set up like a *gokulāra*. For the legend itself is quite consistent throughout, in stating that Devakī gave birth to Kṛishṇa in prison. Evidently a transference has here taken place to Devakī of those circumstances in which Yāso dā, who received the newly born child immediately after his birth, on her part gave birth to her own child, that magical girl who is exchanged with him. The reason of this indeed can only be that, from the beginning, the celebration of the *Jāmadāṭmī* festival stood in close relation to the representation of Kṛishṇa's growing up among cowherds, and consequently this conception entirely preponderated over the other, according to which he was a prince born in prison.

The following is the wording of the texts belonging to this.—First of all, OC. (the first *śloka* also in B. v. 69b, 70):

latah mada' che madhyathu madyadu vimala jale |  
dangih sutobhanam baryad Dwakayth silikdri-  
hamt , 25 :

[illegible]

of the father's name is omitted. Probably the fathers are meant, which, according to the legend, Kassa had reason to be put on his sister Uruk and her husband Vassora (see above, p. 126). The words and the guards, on the other hand, are probably (see above, p. 282) the universal recipients of every ethnographic, intended for protection against predators and similar corruptions. They therefore, probably, do not refer to the prison guards, who are directly mentioned further on.

[illegible]

† Thus O. C has added to (E.) and children have made  
run in yard.



The texts run as follows:—*Śb.*, in the first place, has only—

|| 55 || sampādya 'rchanatādhanaṁ

ⲁⲛⲉⲓⲁⲣⲱⲛⲓ ⲃⲟⲃⲗⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓ ⲕⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲣⲏⲗⲁⲣⲱⲛⲓⲣⲓⲃⲓⲗⲓⲣ  
 (ⲣⲱⲙⲓⲣⲁⲛⲟⲩ<sup>9</sup> Ⲫⲭ.) ⲡⲱⲧⲱⲛ |

Sa. : sausaṅgā prāṇāṁ kīṛṣā pādyaṅgāyāccha-  
manṣyakam | pātrāṁ (pātrāṁ Fr.) saṁpadya vi-  
dhivā pūjopakarāṇāṁ (Fr. jyo<sup>o</sup> Sa) tatka || 6 ||  
gocarmaṁśīrāṁ saṁkīṇya madhye māṇḍalam  
dharat | brahmadya devata kṛta śāṅgāyāc-  
chāpūjyāt || 7 ||

manuṣyaṁ rucyate tatra bodhisattvabhāṣa-  
tām | chaturvīṅśatopetaṁ (sic!) phalaprakāśa-  
ślokaṁ || 8 ||

vilānaṁ tatra tadāśyad cichitrani chaiteḥ śobha-  
nam |

VI 2°: tuchau āśa tu sañjalāpya gomayena  
vichakṣhaṇaḥ | manāliniḥ kṛṣṇaḥ tatra pañcha-  
vārṇena bodhitaḥ || 14 ||

navanābhām śī<sup>2</sup>raśindam caratobhadra-śamjī-  
tam ; | māṇḍalam kṛdayen madhye maṇḍaladakṣ-  
raṁ parām || 15 ||

svatatanulapuhitena pañchagarnena bhūpate : |  
mandapam kṛtsyati tatra ratovandanamavāsanam  
|| 16 ||

chaturdśadśvitarāṅ hy etat śhāpayet kṛtva dātvaś |  
prathamādśvitradeśe tu varuṇān śhāpayet kṛtvaś  
|| 17 ||

("Kureta at the second, Devendra at the third,  
Gopandayakam at the fourth door:" vv. 18-20)  
*Ed. sarvabuddhadrumanulalan kuryavyam.*

After the erecting and decorating of the *sūti-kāgrīha*, in the manner described above, the placing of the pictures of the gods to be worshipped at the approaching festival is to be taken in hand. In the first place a picture of Devaki, made of gold, silver, copper, brass, clay, wood, or jewels, or only painted with colours, is to be placed in the middle of

the *sukilagrāho*. This represents Dvarkī as endowed with all the characteristics of beauty, as half asleep, as radiant as burnished gold; moreover in company with her son,—as having in fact just given birth to him, and being rejoiced in consequence of this moment (of the pain overcome?) while the sleeping child, lying at her side, is drinking at her breast, his own breast furnished with the holy *śrīvatsa* sign, and the colour of his skin like the leaves of the blue lotus.

Here again is something very surprising about this representation. For while the legend throughout informs us that at Krishna's birth there was danger in delay, that his father Vasudeva had to carry the newly-born child immediately away, to escape the dangers that threatened him, the above representation, which shows us the mother and child (the former, too, "joyfully moved") slumbering beside each other on a couch, presents a picture of undisturbed repose, and stands therefore in such direct contrast to the legend that it is difficult to suppose that both representations have grown up on the same ground. The representation in this place appears as foreign as the difference discussed above (p. 283) in reference to the locality of Krishna's birth.

Now the texts relating to this now are--First in OO & K, as follows:--

tanmadhye pratimā sthāpyā (adryā B.) § ad cād 'py  
asāfarikā śrīpā (kāśchāndāricāirmild B.) || 29 ||

4. lūchamī rājath tāmri paritthai mṛinamāy tathā† |  
 dāratimāyāy chācā† varānikābhitt'pi eva† | 30.

saravakāḥ saṁparivāsi (saṁparivāsi O Sa K) par-  
vātāḥ cūti sūti saṁpādikāḥ | prastipādānchambodha  
mayā sāha tapasvini §§ || Ji ||

prasthād cha prasthād ch i<sup>4</sup> ॥, lāṭṭhānāch ch prasthā-  
chād<sup>4</sup> ॥ mān ch 'pi (tata Śa K.) lāṭṭakān sup-

: And v. 294, 30 also in B; 294, 316, 326, 333, also in R.

Some of the various readings given by Dr. Weber are omitted.—Ed.

\* paritit O. pitati na prapra tathā B. (?)

\* rijkshet Ste. Lekehl. no. 1 B. A. manschap, manschap O. lakt en manschap karys B.

fr. 'thavé O. K., varmakar bishitl tatul Sa. N., varokalik-  
bitokharé R.

II \*kam O, p. saragayāikā C, p. chā 'shaiyabō so,  
2 chāyāyāikā, K.

55. *Isotriaena maritima* *europaeana* *stictica* *mutabilis* S. 41. *Isotriaena* *stictica* S. 41. The whole organism is wanting in *A. stictica*, we have *Isotriaena* *stictica* *mutabilis* *europaeana* which is perhaps the ecology of the account further on in *A. stictica*: see below.

45. I praeterea chagratia vi C. O (but both times cha),  
praeterea (prae- de i) cha praeterea cha de, praeterea  
cha praeterea cha R.

<sup>60</sup> tatāhuraññ eha C, tatāhuraññ brahmakareññi Q (for tatāhuraññ, see Q v. 55), sthāpayen mañchakopari Ss. K.

\* A marginal note has only stepigraph labels, chairman.  
tanmadhye chd \*stepigraph.com

f According to M., by *māṭra* it is to be understood a row of white mantras (*śrīkṛṣṇakṛmāntrakamālā*, *tatkalā*) found on the breast towards the right side, which is regarded as the characteristic of a male person; *Kṛishnadās* understands by it an amulet (*śrīkṛṣṇakṛmāntrakamālā*) to be worn on the breast after the manner of the *Mañjushāla*. Mallinatha in *Sargod.* viii. 29 explains it under by *chakra-māṭra*. Might not perhaps the latter form of the word be connected? Compare *Pardisāsh.* xxiii. 10 to Kern (*white pure symbols*) as the original form. compare however *M.: śrīkṛṣṇakṛmāntrakamālā*, *pūṭā*, *citrasya pādmasaṅgah,* it *Tribhūga-saṅgah,* as well as Wilson, and even, and my reading on the *Bhagvata*, II. 318). The employing of *vandita* as a sign of happiness comes down from early times, probably from the Buddhists and Jains (see again Burnouf, *Lectures*, pp. 695-9, 677), after all, the proper meaning of it, as well as its most ancient form and date, is still undetermined! A reference to the sign of the Cross and to the *Agnus Dei*, as I have conjectured in the *Zerstörung der Brut Morgend. Gesellschaft*, VI. 24, does not appear to be contained in it.







very high (according to *Manu* viii. 134 this would be only a half-sautara, 40 *brishgala*). The addition (see p. 296 n.) made by *Vr.* describes only the preparing of the *kalaka*, and its being set up in a *sarvalobhadramandala*, both quite as *D.* *W* 2 and *Sc.*; regarding the use to be made of it for the worship of the image of *Kṛishṇa Vr.* is altogether silent: as the author cannot well set himself too much in opposition to the other texts quoted by him, as well as to his sources *S N.*; he borrows, however, in the course of the discussion two more additions from the *kalaka*-ritual, namely the 16 *upachāras* and the *angapūjā* (see below, p. 291).

Now this worship over the jug is a highly peculiar feature, the cause of which, as well as the object of it, is still not quite clear to me. I have first met with it in that festival-cycle which (see p. 179) the *Vardhapurāṇa* consecrates to the ten or eleven *avātāras* of Viṣṇu, which are all to be worshipped in the same manner (as above in V. and Śc.). Perhaps just in this lies the explanation of the riddle. At the head of these *avātāras* stand the incarnation of Viṣṇu as a fish, and in this the worship in or over a jug is of course fully justified; perhaps the celebration of the other festivals of this kind may have been regulated according to the type of the *Bratavātāra*-festival? The jug in which, according to the tradition,—see *Satsp. Br.* I, 8. 1. 3 (*kumbhdyām*), *Ind. Stud.* vol. 1. p. 163,—the first progenitor Manu brought up the fish which saved him from the flood would then be the original of this.

From the accounts in *Ms.* of the festival of the *Tachigara* ritual it further follows with certainty that this same type recurs in them throughout, and this harmony after all is not confined merely to the worship over the jug, but extends itself to the whole habitus of the celebration, viz. to the *anagapôjô*,—that is, the worship of the separate members of the idol's body,—to the watch kept through the night, and to the giving away of the idol to the *schûrya* on the next morning at the breaking of the fast. In *Ms.*, it is true, several further peculiarities appear.

I In the middle of four-ings which represent the four  
ways, in the intermediate 145<sup>th</sup> or 146<sup>th</sup> month, Chaz-  
bars offer, for 131<sup>st</sup> a stand is placed covered with a cloth  
(*fashim* *sanjaye rubum* *phishim* *chipsay* *maxamaphishim*).  
This also a golden, silver, copper, or wooden bowl is set  
there; and in this the idol in the form of a golden fish is laid.  
The statement that then further this *phishim* with the  
idol is to be set down upon a jug (*kumbha*, *ganta*, *istia*,  
dc.) is indeed not found here, but in the following *awadhi*.

as the placing of the jug in the *sarvatobhadramay. dāsa*, the detached explanation of the *aṅgapīṭhā*, &c., and the coincidence of Vi. Śc. also in them shows that their representation, while it keeps aloof from the special peculiarities of the *Jamūshānti* celebration, is founded on an adaptation to the general form of the *Vaiṣṇava* ritual.

The connected texts run thus:—

ՏԵՄԱՅՈՒՆԻ ԵՐԵՎԱՆԻ ԳՐԱԴԱՐԱՆԻ ԳՐԱԴԱՐԱՆԱԿԱՆ ԿՈՒՆԵՐԵՐԸ

upachdrait' cho laethib' do d'buaidh na f'ulcayis

[illegible]

J. tatak jakevotakubutastidpita haina ranyye  
 Lare calava ni lilagdrupitara hainani Deu-  
 ktanawadhyayam janantukhaya avalekayantak  
 kahrdididpitaga dmona amathigga.

Ը, սրտնետես (ս ամպլիփնոս բառով) ծննդատեսի  
հանդիսն : 97 :

krīdā "kālām lalāḥ karmā śikṣayad pavanam  
gṛhām | pañcharatnagandyauktamjavitrodakapūri-  
tam || 96 ||

laṣṣopari nyaset pāṭhaṣ saṁvāryaṁ oḥ 'tā eḍja-  
 lam | tāmraṇi oḥ vāṇaṇaṇi oḥ 'pi tēḍaṇi takti-  
 nṁdralaḥ || 9 ||

սպառնում եմ ինչ ակնկալում եմ՝ թե՛ օրհասակիցս առ  
էմտրոյէ՛լ խնայարեմ՝ սպասեմ խնայեմ անխնայեմ,  
խնայեմ խնայեմ ։ ։ ։ ։ ։

pidanlita stimaloh takiravi kushatgravi jafaini  
ipridan (uovin. ' [ ilokayantam jivnand tu van-  
kham midur unahur unahur ] | 111 )

॥१॥  
 ॥२॥

[illegible]

(as K-formal), from which it uniformly recurs in all the following sentences.

5 Or, is there perhaps a reference here to the witchcraft ritual where the writing down of a formula on a jug appears to pass for a magical means of fastening? I compare Andreoli, *Chimborazo*, p. 96b, *et al.* *Act. et al.* August 1944-45.

\* Similarly before in the legend of Harischandra  
chakrapuri tadrich cha paryante sthane karm " 95



overcame, namely Pralamba, Dhenuka, Ariṣṭa, and the two wrestlers Chāndra and Muṣṭika. Indeed, whatever else, says Śa, is anyhow connected with Kṛishṇa's deeds (as a child), it is all to be painted there and worshipped devoutly.—According to B. particularly of the cowherds and the *gokulam* are also to be made, as well as, according to Dand Śa 22a, the whole history of the Hārī race and the *gokulam* to be painted. In Śb an image of Rōhini (second wife of Vasudeva) with her son Valadeva is especially required, as well as images of the milkmaids, cowherds, and cows, of the *gokulam*, of Yamunā, and of the magical girl (the incarnation of *yogamāyā*) whom Yaśodā has just given birth to; all these images are either to be made of gold, silver, copper, metal, clay, wood, stone, or only to be painted.—According to N. (Ś. Vr.) it is only the ornamenting of the walls of the *śrīkṛpā* with such paintings that is required.—Mr. says nothing directly of the material of which the images are to be made, but describes them as to be put up (*anasthāpya*).—therefore, not as paintings; it adds besides, ॥ Yaśodā (with the child), Rōhini, Nanda, Valabhadra, Vasudeva, and the cows, also Kāṣa, the *Pīṇā* (see above, p. 176), asses and such like. According to K. Vasudeva and Nanda, the milkmaids and cowherds, are to be painted on the walls (of the *śrīkṛpā*), &c.; upon another part of it Yaśodā on a couch with her child; and again, on another stand, seven more images are to be put up, namely the two pairs of parents, Kṛishṇa himself, his brother Rāma, and Chāṇḍikā. || Whoever cannot make so many images, let him at least be careful to put up the last-named seven, according to custom and

ability; the others let him contemplate devoutly.

The related texts are as follows:—In the first place OC. Śa. (33b, 35b, 36; also in K. 33b, 35a, 36b; also in R.)

Yaśodā chāpi tatvaiva prastāva varakanyakām || 33 ||

tatra deśa graha naga yakṣaṁvīpadeśa nardā\* |  
anasthāpya ivedhite prakṛānir uditaditānt || 34 ||

Varadeva pi tatvaiva śābhyacharmadharaś sthitaḥ |  
Kṛṣṇaḥ Varadeva 'yam' aditā chāpiś Deraś || 35 ||

śābhyāḥ Valabhadraḥ Yaśodā ditya jayate\*\* |  
Nandaḥ prajāpatir Dakṣa, Gargya chāpi chatur-  
mukhaḥ†† || 36 ||

anasthāpya 'paśaso hṛiṣṭe‡‡ gandharaś gītāt-  
perāḥ |

lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva Kāṣyāś Yaśodāś || 37 ||

G. inserts three more verses between 36 and 37 (40 in G.) :—

śāś 'vaidra deśadāḥ Kāṣa 'yam' Kāṣanmijah |  
tatra Kāṣanmijah yaśodāś cīvādhayudhā || 37 ||

to cā prakṛiṇas tatra supā nādrīmohitā |  
Godhena Kūjaro 'vaid cā Dāśaś tatra-  
pāśaḥ || 38 ||

Pralamba Dhenukā 'vaidra māṇa Chāndra-Muṣṭi-  
ka | ayo pi dāśaś tatra vāidpraharaṇadga-  
hā || 39 ||

Śa. has instead of it the following verses (of which 36b is in K. also) :—

gopyaś chā 'paśasoś varāś ('śāśa Śa 1) gopāś  
chā pi dīrāśaś || 34 ||

śāś 'vaidra dāśaś Kāṣa 'yam' Kāṣanmijah |  
tatra Kāṣanmijah cā mohita jayādhayudhā (Śa 1.  
vopā Śa) || 35 ||

Go-dhena-Kūjaroś cā dāśaś tatra pāśa-  
śa |

and inserts after v. 37 (= 36 in Śa.) the following verse in addition (which is also quoted in K) :

aty eva dāś yaśodāś cīvādhayudhāś cā  
mama | lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva jayādhayudhāś bāhū-  
pāśaś || 37 ||

lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva jayādhayudhāś bāhū-  
pāśaś || 37 ||

lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva jayādhayudhāś bāhū-  
pāśaś || 37 ||

|| By Chāṇḍikā here must surely be meant Baladeva's mother Rōhini, for the usual meaning of the word Chāṇḍikā does not suit at all. In R. p. 23, indeed, Rōhini and Chāṇḍikā are named beside each other (Yaśodā, Nanda, Rōhini, Chāṇḍikā, Valabhadra, prajāpatir, gārgyaś) — probably however, only by mistake, as some such occur also elsewhere in R. (see above, p. 167). Perhaps a different name than the usual one has been given here to the mother of Baladeva, because later still another rōhini, namely the star which passes for the wife of the Moon, comes in for adoration (see note p. 258, and below, p. 253).

\* prastāvaśaś cā Yaśodāś prastāvaśaś cā R. — Śa. K. read (and rightly, as a verb is wanting to govern the accusative in 33b 35): Yaśodāś tatra chaturmukhaś cā || 39 ||

†† Valabhadraś tatra Nandaś Dakṣaś Gargyaś chaturmukhaś, R. 34.

‡‡ anasthāpya O, anasthāpya C, anasthāpyaś chā 'paśasoś hṛiṣṭe C. Śa. K.

§§ lākṣmīś C. Śa. K.  
|| Gargya Dhenukā Kūjaroś K.  
• bāhūpāśaś, K.

lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva jayādhayudhāś bāhū-  
pāśaś || 37 ||

lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva jayādhayudhāś bāhū-  
pāśaś || 37 ||

lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva jayādhayudhāś bāhū-  
pāśaś || 37 ||

lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva jayādhayudhāś bāhū-  
pāśaś || 37 ||

lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva jayādhayudhāś bāhū-  
pāśaś || 37 ||

lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva jayādhayudhāś bāhū-  
pāśaś || 37 ||

lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva jayādhayudhāś bāhū-  
pāśaś || 37 ||

lākṣmīś cā tatvaiva jayādhayudhāś bāhū-  
pāśaś || 37 ||



B. *Vasudevayagat Nandasya gopāndm gokulasya cha* || 73 ||

*Yasodā chāpi† tatraiva prasūtā carakanyakā(m) |*  
*addevinyastanūdalāni sarrarakṣitāmapūtam§ || 74 ||*  
*Yamunānm¶ nicinagatā tatra pūshpāndlāibhūhī-*  
*nam |*

D. *harivandasya cha tathā gokulāni vilikḥapayai*  
|| 103 ||

Śb. *śadyahprasūtāni janānāni Vasudevāni\* cha*  
*māriham* || 57 ||

*Valadevasamāyuktāni Rohiṇīni guṇasobhantā† |*  
*Nandāni Yasodāni gopāni cha gopāni gā chāiva*  
*sarvāni* || 59 ||

*yokulāni Yamunāni chāiva yoganāyāni cha idri-*  
*kāni | Yasodāni tagāni sūptāni śadyojitāni vara-*  
*prabhāni* || 59 ||

*śānti samyajāyeta samyag nāmānāntarāni prithak*  
*prithak | sūrasaurāhyatāmdrāpīdādhīr†‡ alāni-*  
*krītā* || 60 ||

*lādhīpādādhīvarachitā chitram apy aha lekhi-*  
*tā | pratimā vīvidhā prokṣā tīsu chā nyatārā*  
*yajai§§* || 61 ||

NB. *Vr. tasya* (i.e. the sūtikāgriha) *śmāntāni bhū-*  
*tīshu sakurumāñjālā devagandharvādāni khaḍga-*  
*harmadhara Vasudeva-Devakī-Nanda-Yasodā-Nar-*  
*ga-gop-gopāni. Kāṣṇāniyuktāni Go-Dhenn,-Kūn-*  
*jorāni, Yamunāni, tannadhya Kāliyam, anyach cha*  
*tatkāḍṇāni gokulacharitāni yathāśānābhārāni li-*  
*khitā |*

*Ma. kunchit pradāsa sakanyukāni Yasodā(m) Rohi-*  
*nī(n) Nandāni Valabhadrāni gā chopatū(puy)ādā,*  
*Devakīsamāpo khaḍgahastāni Vasudevāni stuvantāni*  
*(aru' MS.) vā | Kāṣa-Pāṇāni-śāubhādāni chā-*  
*vasthāpya kaulam (?) anuśritya (?) sprityā MS.)*  
*Devakīni pūshpāñjālāni dādyat |*

*Kd. Jayantīstava tv anyā-Devakīd uttāṅga dvit-*  
*yāni śrīKṛishṇamārtīni nūhāya pargayākalā-De-*  
*vaktēharāṇasānīdhānapardāni Lakṣmīni nūhāya,*  
*bhittiyādāni khaḍgadhārāni Vasudevāni Nandāni*  
*gop-gopāni likhitāni, pradāntāni māñchake pra-*  
*śāntakanyayā aha Yasodāpratimāni, pṛthāntāni*  
*Vasudevā-Devakī-Nanda-Yasodā-śrīKṛishṇa-Rāma-*  
*Chandīkā itī sapta pratimāni śthāpayai | cīvat-*  
*pratimākaraṇādāktāni Vasudevādi-Chandīkāntāni*

† Namely, *pratimā* *hāryā* is to be suppressed from 73b (see above, p. 286).

‡ ? *Valadevāpī*, MS.

§ This hemistich is evidently transposed.

¶ A blank! For on what do these accusatives depend?

\* So *dv. 2*, "tasya" *dv.*

† So *dv. 2*, *gunasobhantā* *dv.*

‡ *śāpya*, *śrīśāntāni* *dv.*, *śāpya* *dv. 2*.

§ *vīvidhā* *dv. 2*; *prokṣā* *dv.* *māni* *cha* *noro* *yajai* *dv. 2*.

¶ By women and by *śāntāni*—that is when they prepare the festival—the prayers are omitted. According to *O* is the festival is appointed expressly for all castes, including *śāntāni* and other pious people:

*pūṣṇa janmābhīṣṇāni lokāni karmāni brāhmaṇakāyāni |*

*sapta vā yathāśakti vā kṛitā. anyāni sarvā yathā-*  
*gatham dhyayet |*

¶ 1. *matyagā* *kāma* 'tha *vardhā* *udāsiṇī* 'tha *uṣṇāni* || 125 ||

*Rāmo Itāmā cha Kṛishṇas cha Budhādīdhāni Kolkā*  
*cha te dāda | śthilpāgrā dāda rūpāni. Devakīni (an*  
*ekshara wanting) tathāiva cha* || 126 ||

*gopāntāni cha Yasodāni cha pūjāyech cha prayat-*  
*netāni |*

After the *sūtikāgriha* is put up and decorated in this manner, when night begins to come on (*Kd.* 'in the night,' *D*) the adoration of the holy family takes place in it. First of all *Devakī* is worshipped. Perfumes, incense, roasted barley, and beautiful fruits, as cucumbers, coconuts, dates, pomegranates (*O.*), and citrons, betel-nuts, oranges, bread-fruit, or as time and place afford, are offered to her, and after the (whole history of the) incarnation as above (see note on p. 288) given has been devoutly meditated upon, the following prayer, ¶¶ composed in the artificial measure *aragdhara*, is addressed to *Devakī* :—

"Hail to the goddess, mother of the god,\* to *Devakī* of the beautiful countenance and lovely form, who with her son, highly rejoiced at heart,† sits here on a couch in sweet slumber,‡ constantly surrounded by troops of singing *kinnara* who sound flutes and lutes, and taken care of by servants who carry golden jars of consecrated water,§ looking-glasses, jugs,|| and garments in their hands."

A short salutation is also to be addressed to *Śrī. Viśṇu*'s wife, whom we have to think¶ of as sitting on a lotus and diligently rubbing the feet of *Devakī*. And now follow more such short salutations to *Devakī* herself and to the other members of the holy family, namely to *Vasudeva*, *Valadeva*, *Kṛishṇa* himself, *Nanda*, and *Yasodā*; *C* adds also *Kṛishṇa*'s sister *Subhadrā*, *Cā Rohiṇī*

*lehatrīyā vaiśyājñīyāśāntāni yo 'nyo 'pi dharmāni* (so *dv.* *nyāya* *O.*, *Uṣṇāya* *O.*, *śāntāni* *cha* 'nyo 'pi dharmāni *dv.*)

\* *devadā* might also be 'mother of gods'; thus it is for example, to be understood on p. 391 as a surname of *Aditi*.

† So *O* 'with happy countenance' in the other texts.

‡ So according to *O*: the other texts have 'on a well-furnished couch.'

§ Or, according to another way of reading, 'sweet-smelling powder': *dhāryā* is, however, the *lectio doctor*, which would scarcely have been put in the place of *śāntāni* (*dh* and *c* change indeed in the MSS. frequently).

|| 'Jugs' a second time? but what to make of *śāntāni*, *śāntāni* I do not know.

¶ *Kd.* desires (see above, p. 288) a figurative representation of her also.



instead of these two *N. Kā* have *Chandikā* alone. *Thoidola* are, according to *Śr. Kā.* (where in detail), to be bathed with milk and such like, and to be anointed with sandalwood. *Mā.* knows only of a distribution of flowers to *Devakī* (with the above prayer) and to *Kṛishṇa*. *N. (S. Pr.)* adds here already the verses given at the presenting of water for bathing, &c. which follow in *O.* below (see pp. 293, 295), and *Vr.* particularly brings in sixteen such offerings of gifts (*upachāra*) to *Kṛishṇa* (see above, pp. 176, 287) inserting between them moreover the worship of the members of his body (*aṅgapūjā*). Both these latter proceedings are mentioned also in a second account in *Kā.*, which for this purpose makes special use of the 16 verses of the *puruṣasūkta*, as well as in *Śc.*\* where, however, the *aṅgapūjā* is only found in *Śu. 3.* In *Śc.* there follow then more name-prayers to some persons of the holy family, viz. *Devakī* and *Vasudava*, *Rohiṇī* and *Bāḷa*; after them similar ones to *Sātyakī*, *Uddhava*, *Ākrūra*, *Ugrasena*, and other *Yādava* heroes, further to *Nanda*, to the newly-delivered *Yaśodā*, to the cowherds and milkmaids, to *Kāḷindī*, that is *Yamunā*, and to *Kālīya* (the serpent prince). *M.* mentions quite shortly (see above, pp. 288, 290), that, along with the ten *avatāras*, images of whom are to be set up, *Devakī*, the cowherds, and *Yaśodā* shall also be worshipped. Likewise *Śb.* (see p. 290). *Vr. 2* has nothing at all relating to this, and brings in only prayers and gifts referring to *Kṛishṇa* alone.—Thus also *B.*, according to which flowers, all kinds of ointments and perfumes, tapers, and beautiful fruits are to be offered to him.—*Ud.* among a large crowd of invocations and offerings addressed partly to *Kṛishṇa* alone, partly also to the ten *avatāras* of *Vishṇu*, has at least twice a *Devakīpūjā* also, in which, among others, she is worshipped also by the names which belong to the wife of *Śiva*. A prominent rôle, on the other hand, is played by *Devakī* again in *D. Ca. J.*, where some beautiful prayers are addressed only to her and her son. And according to *Ca.*, the members of the holy

family are previously to be called on by name-prayers; *D. J.* however, have nothing about this. According to *D.*, *Harī* (that is *Vishṇu*, *Kṛishṇa*) is previously to be honoured with flowers and fruits, &c. amid reciting of the *Parushasūkta* (*Rik.* x. 90), &c.; an arbour is to be put up, singing, music and dancing to be indulged in, and all sort of legends of *Kṛishṇa* and *Vishṇu*, especially of his *avātāras*, are to be related (see above, p. 176). The prayer to *Devakī* begins with the *śraddhā* verse just translated, (p. 290) which is here described as *paurāṇika*, and then proceeds in the usual *śloka* measure thus:

Honour to thee, to Devakî, who hast borne  
Kṛishṇa to us !

The goddess blotting out sins be appeased, be  
worshipped by me ||

The mother of gods Aditi, art thou, annihilating all guilt. )

Therefore I will honour thee now,—be gracious,  
lovely-countenanced one [—]

As only the gods honour thee. Show kindness  
to me, gracious one. 1

Even as thou attainedst highest happiness when  
thou gottest H a r i for a son. ||

Just that happiness, O thou goddess, let me  
see—the beautiful son!

And now follow the prayers to Kṛiṣṇa himself:—

A thousand incarnations maketh thou indeed,  
O Madhusūdana!

No one anywhere on the earth knows the number of thy incarnations : 4

The gods themselves, Brahma at their head,  
know not thy real nature. !

Therefore will I honour thee now as thou  
restest on thy mother's lap. ||

Faithful my wishes, God ' cancel my wickedness, :  
Make purification for me, O God, blotter-out of

The following are the passages belonging to

The following are the passages belonging to this. First from O. & O. Ss.:

ramyam evameidhatai kritad Devatāḥ navaśū-  
ktaḥ tām Pitrāḥ piṇyad<sup>1</sup> bhaktyā gaurādhāt-  
vāḥkhatāḥ\* phoḥkhat<sup>2</sup> 38 ||

\* *St.*, too, has the 16 *apucchāras* see above, p. 297. These, along with the *āṅgaparājā*, probably belong to the *kāṭṭh* ritual.

† *transitus* (for is probably to be so understood here: see above, p. 210 n.).

1 40 also in *DNR Ms.* 88b, 41 in *R.* 41 also in *R.*  
2 82a. I join 88a and 38a as follows—*ruṃyḍm* (*ruṃyḍm*,  
St.) *ruṃm* *ajapadaiḥ paṣṭapamāḍāḥobhitaś* | probably

there is a blank here after ranydas etam:—396 in M,  
stands before 395.

6. pdddyaryhysaish p&j. sh. cysa aaryp&y. R n. 24, p&ja-  
n&nd& r&ish& R n. 28.

\* *gundhopyakpā* 'C 33 E. (bold type).

††<sup>o</sup> *aiḥ mha* Sv. 1, \**aiḥ jalaḥ* R p. 29.—C. adds to this:  
*kṛṣṇaṇḍair pāṇikṛṣṇaiḥ cā kṣarjūraiḥ dāḥumphaṇik* |



the same manner *dhupa*, *dipa*, *nivedya*, *achamananam* and *karadharanam*, *tumbula*, *nirijana*, *pushpajuli*.

॥ ११० ॥

mii pōja vidāditatyā Devakyaḥ iśavasya (iśāḥ P)  
 cā | mantrāḥ 'uṣa deśāḥ dādhvā nandvīṭaḥ

cho || 111 ||  
 qulqaddish . . . . . idwargod || 112 ||

Devakyaḥ te namas tūbhyaṁ Kṛishṇaḥpādanant-  
pare" | pṛakāṣaṇakāri deḥ tūbhyaḥ yataḥ mātṛ

schört draumdä tein? sarsandoverandäsi | sta

tedm pñjayichyām prasida toonī vardinane || 214 ||  
pññā 'm vāidā dēvāñ prasiddhā kura suvata |

yntd\$ ifam:ntam: labdon pndptd aka? mroymis  
 /pawd || 116 ||

Idin eva nūrvitisi dahi<sup>20</sup> suputidin dardayasa mett |  
 waiddasahagduitt<sup>21</sup> karoli madhwa<sup>22</sup> dargah<sup>23</sup> || 110 ||

ma kadeh d'avastru q'le sanikkye in j'anditob hwa? q' |  
 deru b'raim d'ava v'mi\* war hwa su v'ida t'ava

|| 117 ||

|| ॥ ११८ ॥

paritrāṇaṁ kva meṣā deṣa saṁhadrādrībhāṣyaḥ !  
 R. tat. Pārthā nāgāyā bhāṣyaḥ saṁhadrādrībhāṣyaḥ !

դիւր յիշեն իմացն անսպառ անսկզբ  
 անհաշիւ անհաշիւ ॥ 75 ॥

တစ်နေ့မှာ နတ်တို့က အလွန်အမင်း ချစ်ခင်သော အတိုင်း နတ်တို့က အလွန်အမင်း ချစ်ခင်သော အတိုင်း

|| 10 ||

|| 77 ||

Ud, Deekapōjī | śhy ehi dero (large town) Kṛtāhā-  
paryādhindasi | Vandeṣana sahitā mama sambhā-

gyoddyini || dardhanam | sarvavrttamaye dera (1)  
sarvagandhamayeti (1) cha | tayam 'nena au (1 slo)

Devakīpūt | Devakya' Varadeśya' Yāśodīya' Rā-

hīryaī' Nandayai (1)' gopillādyai (1)' śaṅkharapṛiḍḍyaī'  
pāramitācāryaī' śaṅkarāṇḍiyaī' śakṣīmyaī' yoganāḍ-

\* Ch. introduces the terms D. 115-119a in the following way (emphasis added, p. 284):

ti nyytimme pyrkivät ushitelemme palmon eluolotona  
likhitvā tammun pashio

Kristianus die Galabandien die Vasulovach die Dora.  
die | Nandagowan Ymedien die Subhadrien Robinia  
die die

ਸ੍ਵਾਸਤਯੰਕਸ਼ੰ ਪ੍ਰਤਿਕਲੰਬੰ ਪ੍ਰਾਨਿਕਾਨਾਮਿ ਭ੍ਰਾਤ੍ਰਿਕਿਮ ।  
ਸ੍ਰੀਕ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਨਾਯ ਨਮੋ ਸਤ੍ਰੰ ਸ੍ਵਾਸਤਯੰਕਸ਼ੰ ਪ੍ਰਤਿਕਲੰਬੰ ॥

so that here any mention of a figurative representation

of the holy family is entirely left out, only their spiritual presence is assumed.

\* *Krasnodarskaya* Cod., but see no. 42 above, p. 293.

The following terms are thought to have arisen, on the occasion of the rights to Devaki, in the development of the *Javanif* (= *J*) have also however at the trial and intro-

\*nūlipya pūthipīne vāstrayugāth nomaipya lēvalīm pūja.

yet *hira mantrik*. -v. 114a is wanting in Ms. 114b and 115a are blended there into one verse:

gdyai<sup>o</sup> jagannadīyaia<sup>o</sup>!) sukhadīya<sup>o</sup> ruddhāya<sup>o</sup> putr-  
atya<sup>o</sup> kīmadāya<sup>o</sup> rakmīnī<sup>o</sup>!) Garhādya<sup>o</sup> vand-  
adīya<sup>o</sup>!) Yāmunīya<sup>o</sup> sarasvabhīgya<sup>o</sup>!) Jīvakya<sup>o</sup>.  
Umdya<sup>o</sup> sararatya<sup>o</sup>!) putradīya<sup>o</sup>!) revatya<sup>o</sup> bṛgh-  
mūya<sup>o</sup> mahakīdīya<sup>o</sup>!

"Some wish here still another rite": with these words O Ṣa introduces the statement about a gift of honour (*argha*, *argham*, *arghyam*) to be addressed to the moon at its rising. It is to be preceded by a similar one to Kṛishṇa himself, in which he is first invoked by forty of the names of Viṣṇu, whereupon amid reciting of prayers prepared in a peculiarly solemn form, water for bathing, gifts of honour, sandalwood, incense, and a couch are offered to him. The prayer to the moon invokes him to accept the *argha*-gifts in company with *rohini*, and by this is meant here not Balarāma's mother, but that star, the favourite station of the moon, Aldebaran, whose coinciding with the date of the festival itself gives to the latter, as we have already seen, the *Jyanti*-form. After this Kṛishṇa himself, *rohini* and the moon, Kṛishṇa's two pairs of parents, and his brother Vāṇdava—that is, probably, images of all them,—are to be put up on a place prepared and suitable for offerings (see above, p. 174), and to be worshipped.

What is put down here as only the opinion of some is, according to *Al* (I, 838: *atra janyantiḥ chandraghyani 'evajyākartavyate*) necessary; and the rest of the text also, as far as they mention at all this gift of honour to the moon (*Ca*, 86. *V* 1. *V* 2. *U* 1. *J* have nothing regarding it), bring it in as an integral part of the celebration. They differ, however, from *O* *O* *Sa*, first of all in this, that as far as they at all recognize the birth-ritual (see immo-

śijitā trāṣṭi ('ai J.) gathā dayāḥ pramāṇāstrāṇi varāḥśijitā  
 tu mayā (metath. J.) bhaktiḥ prastāra kuru svrato. In  
 J. however, the half-verse after 'śajjayishyāmi' ends (3)  
 āhāvāśāyāṁ (1) as goes before.

*I adito sarraceniae* Trsch., J.  
§ 115b, 115c, also in K.

— So also K. deus Mt. J. Ca.

†† *myzobolus*, K. Cav.—Mr. adds to this name *deoxy*, (i) dà (1) *montana* *Deoxybolus guadalupensis* *montana*; and *J.*

II 116b-116c in Kd.

68 toroki Madhurāṇa, Ma. J. Co. Nd.  
na te waihi hōrangiwhānāh (! Co J. Nd., "wairangiwhānāh")

Ms.) Կաթոնից յնձմեռնային ճիւղով (Կաթնառնի ԿՃ.) Մթ. Դ. ՇՁ. ԿՃ.  
 \* ԿԵ ՇՁ. ԿՃ.

† *apam dathicari* Ca. *gavasinam* Rd.  
‡ *duhkriradi* vāṇi Na. (brooks off) *duhkrilo* nāṇa rd.

$\delta$   $\epsilon$   $\pi r i y a n$   $C \alpha$ .  $\epsilon \pi r i y a n$   $\pi e$   $d a y d a J$ .



diately; *D. Ca. Sc. Vi 1. 172, J. Kā.* leave it quite out of view) they make it precede this celebration addressed to the moon (*Ms. Ul.* take up a peculiar position in regard to this); and also distribute somewhat differently the prayers given by *O C Śa.* giving them not here, but at an earlier stage (see p. 292), and introduce other prayers instead of them.

According to *D.* a coconut in a shell is first of all to be offered as *argha*-gift to *Kṛishṇa* in company with *Devakī*, with the following prayer:—

Hail to thee, O son of *Devakī*, who givest desired fruits. |

'Thou wast born for *Kāṇsa's* death, for the lightning of the earth's burden, |

For the destruction of the *Kauravas*, for the annihilation also of the *Dāityas*,

And for the good (welfare) of the *Pāṇḍavas*, for the re-establishing of the right, |

For the destruction of the *Dānavas*, thou scion of *Vasudeva's* stem! |

Take, *Hari*, thou with *Devakī*, the gift offered thee by me. |

After this, water is poured into the shell, they put flowers, roasted barley, and sandalwood into it, kneel down on the earth, and offer this as *argha* to the moon. Also according to *B.* (quite briefly) the *argha*-gift to *Kṛishṇa* precedes that to the moon. According to *R N K Ms. Kā.* however, the *argha*-gift (water in the shell, &c.) to the moon is offered first. Moreover *K.* makes a similar one to *Devakī* alone to come after this one, with the prayer (see p. 291), "Even as thou attainest highest happiness . . ."; and her worship is repeated at each watch through the night. According to *Ms.* the *argha*-gift to the moon, which is to be solemnized outside, is to be followed directly by a birth-celebration, (see immediately below) inside (that is, in the house), after that an *argha*-gift to *Kṛishṇa* with the prayers, "Thou wast born for *Kāṇsa's* death . . .", then offerings of perfumes and such-like to *Devakī* with the same prayer as *K.* and then now prayers to *Kṛishṇa* con-

clude, "A thousand incarnations indeed . . ." (see p. 291, *D. 116b*). In *Kā.* after the *argha*-gift to the moon a similar one follows to *Kṛishṇa* with the prayers, "Thou wast born . . ." (as above), and thereafter an ardent prayer to him for deliverance from sin and need. Lastly, *R N* do not make any more such gifts follow the *argha*-gift to the moon, but only prayers to *Kṛishṇa*,—in the first place, namely, those prayers with the forty names of *Vishṇu* (along with a finale specially belonging to it), and then the same beautiful prayer, as *Kā.* It runs thus:

Save me, Lord of all the worlds! *Hari!*  
(from) out of the *samsāra*-sea! |

Snatch me away, blotter-out of all guilt, from the flood of pain and grief, O Lord! |

Lord of all worlds! save me, who fell into the stream of life, |

O son of *Devakī!* Lord of salvation! *Hari!*  
out of the *samsāra*-sea! |

Snatch me away, blotting out all pain, from the flood of sickness and trouble, *Hari!* |

Thou *Vishṇu*, helpest the miserable if they think only of thee. |

I, God, am very miserable. Save me out of the sea of trouble! |

Lotos-eyed one! I am sunk in the sea of delusion and folly. |

Save me, God, Lord of gods! Besides thee there is indeed no protector! |

As child, ¶ as young man, or as old man, what good (deed) |

I may have done, bring it to perfection now  
Blot out my faults, *Harītyandha!* |

The texts belonging to this are as follows first in *O. C.\* Śa.*

*vidhyantaram† apchaṇi kucīd atra dvijottamāḥ* || 43 ||

*chandrodaye tādāntya argṇāni dadyād dharmī smaraṇḥ | anagṇāni‡ ¶ padmanābha dāyini\*\*aikṣṇan puruṣottamam* || 44 ||

*viśvadevāḥ kṛishṇeṣṭam mūlhaṣam madhusūdanam | varidham†† puruṣarīkṣṇāni prajāṇāni dāityaśūdanam* || 45 ||

*dharmadaram†† padmanābhaḥ ketanam garuḷadāra jamḥḥ* |

¶ This verse is, according to *R.* from the *Śrīmadhārṇava*; *M.* has a similar one from the *Vishṇudharmottara* (see above, p. 163).

\* Where, however, 43-52 are wanting; they are found again in *Ca.* 40-51, with important variant readings. In *D.* are also found further 45-47, 52; in *R.* (pp. 28, 29) 44-52. *N.*, 52 in *Sc. K. Bhā.*

† *vidhyantaram* *O.*

† *Bo O\*tiamaḥ* 1) *L.*, "tiama *O* 2, atraivo dīnyam; *Śa.* 5 *Bo O* 2a *N.*, smaret *O.*

¶ *anagṇam* *O* 2, *anagṇāni* *O* 1, *anagṇāni* *Bo* 1.

\*\* *sameṣa.*

†† *vidāḥ* *O* 2a *D.*; this hemistich wanting in *Ca.*

‡ *P.* 46 is wanting in *Bo.*

ḥ *trā* "dyanī, *D.*







not mention anything about this; for them this watching through the night, with its accompaniment of dancing and singing, is probably just an integral part of the birth-ritual; still their complete silence regarding this point is somewhat surprising, inasmuch as there are added here some special peculiarities (see immediately below). The more specially all this is treated of in the other texts. In the first place *M.* himself (see f. 80b, p. 163 above) mentions the *jāgaranam* as an integral part of the celebration; he also brings in a special passage regarding it (see p. 164) from the *Nāradyasamhitā*: *upashya janmashikṇāṇiṣṭ kuryāj jāgaranam tu yah.*—*R* too, quotes similar passages from the *Gāruḍa*- and *Brahmasaivara-Purāṇas* (see p. 167b above), as well as from an unnamed work of the same kind (see p. 298 below) according to which *Vāṇdeva* is now to be praised with all sorts of songs of praise,\* and then the night to be further spent in singing, music and dancing. *N* says shortly the listening to old legends, &c. as belonging to it. Thus also *Sd*, in bringing into prominence the festive character of the whole celebration. *B* appoints that, in particular, legends of *Kṛishṇa*'s nativity shall be listened to, and shell-music accompany the dancing; also now at midnight rich presents, among others, a cow with her calf, are to be given. The remaining texts leave the birth-ritual quite out of view, but they dwell the more specially on the festive watching through the night. Only *Vi 1, C* have nothing at all about it. *Ms.* likewise; but this probably only because the manuscript lying before us breaks off in the middle; if we are allowed to supply the omission from *J*—and this appears quite allowable. The *jāgaranam* takes place also according to *Ms.*, and it does so with listening to the description "of the games of young *Kṛishṇa*." Hereby probably the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* is specially to be thought of, as *Ms.* indeed desires, also in the

immediately preceding phase of the festival (see p. 296 above), that walking within (in the house) amid shouts of victory and sound of bells, one "should imagine to himself mentally *Kṛishṇa*'s birth while reciting of the following verses referring to it:—*am adbhutam bālakam.*" Now these verses are described in *Ud* as borrowed directly from the *Bhāgavata*, where in fact they are really found (*X*, 3, 9-13); according to *Ud*, they are to be recited at the very moment at which the birth of *Kṛishṇa* is fixed; and the watch through the night is to be spent in reciting hymns against the *Rākshasas*, &c.—*D* too denotes the reciting of legends about *Kṛishṇa*'s life, as they are found in the *Bhāgavata* and in the *Harivamśa*, as forming an integral part of the festive watching through the night, and extols with full tones the merit of such recitals for readers and hearers. To singing, music, and dancing, which, along with the listening to legends, also *Śc. Vi 2*, bring into special prominence, are to be added according to *D* also other amusements, incense, lamps, selected meats, &c.—In *Kā*, first a passage from the *Āgṇiparvṇa* is produced, which adds other pretty tales ("in the local dialects," *Kā*, explains), as well as spectacles in general ("dancing and such-like" explains *Kā*.) to the *Purāṇa* legends, singing, and music as the enjoyments of the night. After listening to the legends of the nativity and childhood, those who take part in the festival shall pour milk on each other, and sprinkle each other with it, for which pastime a passage from the *Bhāgavata* (which I cannot verify) is quoted. In this form the festival is said to bear now in the *Marāṭhā* country the name of *Gopālakāṭa* (*ḡlāṭ*).

The texts belonging to this are as follows, first of all in *O C Śa*. (also in *R* p. 26. *K*.) :—

*ardharātre varadādrām kuryād vai tatra carpiṣāḥ* 1  
|| 54 ||

\* Are the astrological characteristics of the nativity, or is it the ritual itself, that is meant by this?

† After the arghya-gift to the moon which *R. N. K. Ms.* differing from *O C Śa* (see p. 298 above) place after the birth-ritual. These "songs of praise" follow here immediately after the prayer given above, p. 294.

• To this probably refer also the quotations *rahigyaṁ ardharātre . . . abhyarohanak śaurāḥ* from the *Viṣṇu-raḥasya* in *M.* (p. 167 above), and *ardharātre 'rchanam ādāḥ* from the *Gāruḍa* in *R.* above (p. 164).

† In another place (f. 13a), also, *Ms.* speaks directly to

the *Bhāgavata*, places it before the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhārata* (the *Kṛishṇa-śālistā* is, however, brought forward there along with these three works as a separate text). The passage runs thus: *devapūjām samāhya . . . carodhyah parādya svayam prāvopaviṣya maharājanādāmi stotrāni japtvā śālistāgavata-Rāmāyaṇa-Bhārataśathāni Kṛishṇa-vālmīkīn dharmacharitrāni cha śrutvā, nālikāśilāni mahāghṛāṇi datvā svayam gītāpīṭhāni kuryāt | anadhyāni cha paśyet, ut to (ta na to *MS.*) mīkṛāyad upahāṣed vā | evam vānim ativāṇya prabhūta kṛmāḥ(?) gṛhyet |*

‡ *pāṭayed guḍacarpiṣā O. R. K.*, *pāṭayed dravyam. piṣā Śa.*







*Rāmanarāmyekāśāyddyamasakṛ apy 'āhyā, pājā-jdgarādirīśākratośarandmyāt, Mahārdsākrtyakā tathā "chārdak cā |*

Now then, when the morning breaks, a festival, as great as that which has (just) been held to Kṛishṇa is to be consecrated to Devakī. At it the Brāhmaṇas are feasted, and rich rewards are given to them in gold, possessions in land, cattle, clothes, flowers, and whatever each most desires, in order to please Kṛishṇa thereby. He then dismisses them with the salutation—

"Hail to him, the god whom the goddess Devakī has begotten of Vāsudeva!

For the protection of the earthly Brāhmaṇ- hood (hail to him!) the Brahman-souled!!

Good luck be to Vāsudeva, for the good of cows and Brāhmaṇas!!

Peace be! Promise of happiness be!"—

Thus *O C Śa.*, with addition of all sorts of promises of reward for those who thus celebrate the high festival of the goddess Devakī every year. In *Śa.* there is another addition found, according to which the relatives, as also the miserable and helpless, are to be feasted, before he (the master of the house) may eat anything himself. *R N* give also a formula for this *pūṣṭam*, breakfast, and *N* contains the important direction that previously the image (of the god) shall also be presented to a Brāhmaṇa. It is surprising that this direction should be wanting in *O C Śa.*, for *M.* recognizes it also (see above, p. 163) as an integral part of the *Jaysati* celebration. According to *Vi 2, J.* it is the *āchārya*, 'teacher,' to whom the image, along with numerous other presents, regarding which particularly *Vi 2.* treats very much in detail, is to be given. The accounts in *Ms.* on occasion of the *Rāmanarāmi* etc. show, too, that a similar giving away of the image of the gods worshipped at the festival to the teacher, is in fact a universal custom of the *Vaiśaṇya*, as we find it again throughout the *Varāha-purāṇa* also, on occasion of the ten or eleven *avatāra*-festivals.—According to *D.* too, in the morning, when the sun has driven all the darkness away, in the first place the necessary

morning-ritual is to be accomplished: thereupon the god, in company with Devakī, is to be worshipped once more, quite as before, and then, "all this" (obviously all that had been made use of at the festival, the images included) is to be given to a Brāhmaṇa who is an inmate of the house; after this only the other Brāhmaṇas too—are to be fed, and to have presents given them, and then may he, the giver of the feast, himself eat too. *N (C. Vr.)* does not in this case make any special mention at all of Devakī, but appoints quite generally that "the worship"—or if we prefer *C. Vr.*'s way of reading, specially only "the worship of the god," that is of Kṛishṇa, shall take place "as before." *R.* makes the *bhagavan!* (by which obviously Kṛishṇa is meant) be worshipped first of all in the regular way, and after that, by a misunderstanding, as we saw already, (see p. 167) makes a festival to Durgā follow!—*Śa.* has nothing about a festival to Devakī; but gives several specialities regarding the worship of the 'Lord of the Universe,' with various distributions and prayers, among them a hundred and eight distributions of ghee, along with reciting of the *purnashukta*. Quite like this, only more in detail, *Vi 2. J. K. Kā.* leave the worship of Kṛishṇa or of Devakī quite out of view, only making mention of the feasting and giving presents to the Brāhmaṇas; but *K. Kā.* also say on this occasion that the festival could be celebrated for a whole year every month during the second quarter, for which arrangement *K.* refers to two passages of the *Vakṇipurāṇa*, which he cites (see above, p. 169) from the *Mādhavarūpa*. Lastly, *B. Vi 1. Ud.* have nothing at all about what has to be done on the morning after the festival.

The texts belonging to this are as follows, first of all in *O C Śa.*

... *prabhāte namāśīlā || 55 ||*

*gatkā mama tatkaḥ kīryoḥ bhagavatyā mahatvāḥ\* |*  
*brāhmaṇāḥ bhagavateḥ kīryoḥ teḥyo dāyitā sūta-  
rkiṇḍaḥ || 56 ||*

*kīryaṇāḥ kīryaṇāḥ\*\* gdroṭṭ vādāni kāmāni  
cha†† | gād yad iśātanāni tat tatḥ Kṛishṇo me pri-  
yatām aḥ || 57 ||*

*gād devāni Devakī devī Varādevāḥ††† ajānāt | bhā-*

\* "yat paichit *D.*" yad bhaktiḥ *C Śa. M R Śa.*

†† *tato dadyāḥ cha dakṣhiṇām C M.*, *teḥyo d. cha d. Śa. D R Śa.*

††† *ajānāt C.*, *vādāni Śa. M.* and in *R* quoted as *pāṭha*.

†† *gād cha. R. Śa. II vridhāni C. Ś. Līk C. R. Śa.*

††† *devāni Varādevāḥ. D.* Compare *M. Śa.*: *yoge 'amin Varādevāḥ dhi Devakī mām ajānāt |*

† *O. 60.* *Bhagavati* in *O. 54* what *R.* erroneously understands as *Durgā*; see above, p. 167 (236, 246).

§ v. 53-61. *60.* also in *R. Śa.* 56, 57 in *M (Śa.)*, 52, 59 in *N.*, 50, 54, 59 in *D.*, 60 in *K.*

¶ *kīryo.* *Śa. I. R. Śa.*, *kīryam O C Śa.*

• *Varādevā.* *O Śa.*

† *brāhmaṇāni.* *O Śa.*



jupet parasharaktam in amared devam anantakam |  
... arghaparakshapradanena dehadryam tu prapadyet  
|| 50 ||

... xapuzkardih cha pratimam dehadrya niva-  
dayet || 63 ||

Krishnadyat 'nastarapya dodani pratimam imam |

... || 64 || iti pratimadduam |

Acharyadrham | tato bhaktya brahmanya vivivadayet |  
brahmanebhya (sic! 'bhya') tadantaham cha bhaktya  
tebhya nivadayet || 65 ||

... brahmanam bhajayet paichid vati vidhava-  
adratam || 66 ||

mishannam phyanaddim cha dehadryam cha sadakshi-  
nam | itadandishavannagatim brahmanam cha vi-  
dehatam || 70 ||

bhaktiya vadyata bhakti mishannam so tu bhajayet |

dehadrya (cha) bhakti bhakti chintayet tadima  
harim || 71 || ...

J. pritar nityakarma nirvartya dehadrya devani  
anantaryam vatrakamvacham (kamdalo?)-shaktiamudri-  
kadi bhaktya dakshinam cha dattva brahmanam bhaja-  
yitva pūstavad eratam sandpayet | iti Jayanti-  
nandaddakkeratam |

Kd. tato naranyam brahmanam bhajanadakhind-  
dih samitshyaktapdrantirigite kate bhajanam ka-  
ryat | asyoca Jayantirataraya samit rannaddhaya  
pranyogah brahmanakshidhantam drakhya prati-  
madra(n) krishnakshidhantam uktaviddim pūstidratam  
pūstidratam uktah tatrodyannandidhar granthadu-  
taro jneyah |

[For § 3 see Ind. Ant. vol. III. pp. 216, 476.]

(To be continued.)

## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

### PROF. WEBER ON THE MAHABHARATA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

I have read with intense interest Professor Kielhorn's article on the Mahabharata in vol. V. pp. 241 et seq. But, with all respect for the scholarship which we are wont to find in Professor Kielhorn's writings, I am sorry to say that I felt rather disappointed with the result of my perusal of this deduction of his. For instead of giving us positive proofs for his decided opinion that "we are bound to regard the text of the Mahabharata as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about two thousand years ago," he has not even tried to do so, but proceeds merely in a negative way, and his exertions only tend to show (1) that the statements in the Vakyapadiya and the Kujataranginī are not to be interpreted in such a way as to impeach the authenticity of that text, (2) that the external evidence brought forward against it is not sufficient to impeach it. Now, even if he had succeeded thus far (as in my opinion he has not), what would he win for the position he himself maintains? Two thousand years is rather a long time, and to warrant for such a period the accuracy of a Sanskrit text which has meanwhile had to undergo so many ordinary vicissitudes, if it were only the constant change of the copies, and of the characters in which they were written, is really a piece of some boldness and audacity. But in this instance we know also of some extraordinary vicissitudes. For, whatever interpretation Professor Kielhorn may give to the statements of Hari (or as he is also called Bhartṛhari) and Kalhana,—whether he refers the vyākaraṇagāna of the former not to the text of the Mahabharata, but only to the traditional knowledge of its meaning, or whether he explains his nipāṭita by 'perverted' instead of 'devastated,' and Kalhana's vyākaraṇagāna by 'interpreter' in-

stead of 'reeling,' 'knowing by heart,' as well as his vichitra by vichitracamparādya instead of 'split into pieces, incomplete,'—even under adoption of all that, two facts remain:—(1) that Hari testifies to hostilities practised against the "dharma grantha," as well as to a break in its traditional interpretation for a certain indeterminate space of time during which its text existed only in Dehaka MSS., and it was only by the (superhuman!) see Ind. Stud. vol. V. pp. 165-166) intermeddiation of Parvata that "Chandrabharya and others" regained that "traditional knowledge;" and (2) that Kalhana testifies to two introductions of the Mahabharata into Kashmir,—the one by the said "Chandrabharya and others" under Abhimanyu, the second, after it had been meanwhile vichitram under Jayapala. It is seldom enough in India that we have satisfactory critical criteria for the history of a literary work at hand. Are we really entitled, in the face of them, to cling to the unchanged condition of a text which would be a wonder in itself, even if we did not know anything of these its various fates?

Of course, I am far from swearing to the exact correctness of these dates as given by both authors (the presence of Parvata alone, if he is to be taken as the helper of Nārada, at once forbids such a proceeding); but, on the other hand, such particulars as those given by Hari must have some real foundation, cannot well be wholly snatched out of the fingers. Now, it is true Professor Kielhorn too does not deny this, but he certainly, on the one hand, does not take them into full account, and he tries on the other to explain away their critical purport. If there should have been (and I will not deny that there may be some truth in that) some exaggeration of this purport on the part of those who have previously treated on

§ Sic! evidently the half of that which the dehadrya has received.



this subject, in my opinion Professor Kielhorn on his part goes very much too far in the opposite direction. Nor do I think that his very ingenious interpretation of *richinnam* by *vichinnasampradāyā* (1) and Panyarāja's explanation of *vipdāṣita* by *abhidāṣita*, 'perverted,' are really acceptable, or that *विवक्षित* is restricted to the meaning of 'interpreter.' But I shall not enter here more particularly into these details, for, as I have remarked already, even under the direct adoption of these and all the other explanations, partly offered already by Professor Stenzler, the aspect of the whole case is not materially altered. A book of which even Hindu tradition affirms that it had been *vipdāṣita*—let us say 'perverted'—by its adversaries, that its traditional interpretation had been *bhrashta*, 'lost' to the pupils of its author, that it had ceased for some time to be handed down orally, and remained only in written form in the *Deśhan*,—a book which, moreover, had to be introduced twice into Kāśmīr on account of its having become *vichinnam* after its first introduction, dating about six or eight centuries earlier than the second one (which of course must have been made from a country where it had been kept meanwhile: *avichinnam*),—such a book has, in my opinion, no *claim whatever* to our regarding its text as "unchanged and the very same during two thousand years."

Nor do I think that Professor Kielhorn has been more successful in his polemic against the *internal* evidence brought forward broadly by Dr. Burnell, and before him, but more diffidently, by myself, as to the (so to speak) conglomerate character of the *Bhāṣya*. It is a pity that he had not been able, at the time he wrote, to weigh also the arguments of a third scholar going nearly in the same line with us, viz. of Böhtlingk, who in the second of his two papers on this subject (*Journ. Germ. Or. Soc.* vol. XXIX. pp. 185 ff. 483 ff.) arrives at the following conclusion (p. 400):—"The form of the dialogue brings us again close to the supposition that the redaction of the *Mahābhāṣya* does not come at all from Patañjali himself (*gar nicht von Patañjali selbst herrührt*). The question as to the different component parts of the *Bhāṣya* is indeed a very intricate one. Professor Kielhorn has devoted to it great care and study, and his opinions are entitled to all consideration and respect, but I may be allowed to state here my impression that he appears to me rather too much inclined in favour of the entire *oneness* of the work; and, in order to put your readers into a position to judge more freely on the merits of the case, I beg to subjoin a translation of what I have said on this part of the question in my paper on the *Bhāṣya* in vol.

XIII. of the *Ind. Stud.* pp. 314-330. But before I proceed to do so I have to examine some statements made by Professor Kielhorn, in the course of his deduction, which require some rectification.

(1) Professor Kielhorn accuses me of "two slight inaccuracies" in my remarks concerning the history of the *Bhāṣya*, in so far as, firstly, I had spoken repeatedly of *three* different occasions on which it had received the epithets *vipdāṣita*, *bhrashta*, and *vichinnam*, whereas in reality there were but two; and as, secondly, the epithet *bhrashta* had been applied in the *Vākyapadīya* not to the text of the *Bhāṣya*, as maintained by me, but to the *vyākaraṇadharma*—the traditional knowledge of grammar. I do not think that the word 'inaccuracies' has been well chosen by Professor Kielhorn in this instance, as it would be correct only under the condition that I interpreted the passage in the *Vākyapadīya* in the same way as he does. But the fact is that our interpretations differ, and what he calls 'inaccuracies' is simply to be laid to the account of this difference. Of course he is fully entitled to criticize and rectify my interpretation, but not to charge me with 'inaccuracy' for drawing conclusions in harmony with my conception of the sense of the passage. Now in my translation of it the word *vyākaraṇadharma* is given by 'Grammatik-Text' as referring to Patañjali's work itself, and I have also explained in *notes* this my translation of *dharma* by 'text, doctrinal system (*Lehrsystem*), doctrine (*Lehre*),' as in opposition to that given by Professor Goldstücker, who takes it as 'document or manuscript of the *Mahābhāṣya*': see *Ind. Stud.* vol. V. pp. 162-163. Moreover, the word *pratikāśchuka*, purposely omitted by Professor Kielhorn on account of its reading and meaning being as yet uncertain, is not left out by me, as the dots in Professor Kielhorn's quotation on p. 244 would seem to imply, but is translated (in harmony with Panyarāja) by 'adversary' (*Widersacher*). In consequence of both these differences in my translation of the two verses in question, the words *vipdāṣita* and *bhrashta* in them, though relating to the same work, still do not relate to one fact, but to two:—*firstly*, to its *degradation* ('destruction, destroyed,'—*zerstört*, as Professor Kielhorn has, is rather too strong; 'perverted' is my expression) by the adversaries of its author; *secondly*, to its having been lost to his pupils, very probably indeed on account of these assailments. If we now add to these two facts the statement of Kāṭhapa about the *vichinnatva* of the *Bhāṣya* in Kāśmīr in Jayāpīḍa's time, I think I was right when I spoke of "three different occasions....." But I am at present quite willing to reconsider my translation itself; and I concede,



before all, that Professor Kielhorn's explanation of *cyakaragāṇa* as not relating to the very text of the *Bhāṣya*, but only to its traditional interpretation, deserves as full attention as the one given by myself.

(2) Professor Kielhorn states (p. 246) that the views of Dr. Burnell on the *Bhāṣya* have been somewhat misrepresented by myself in my review of his work. Now here the simple fact is—that in my short quotation from Dr. Burnell's essay the final *s* of the word *works* has been dropped, it may be by a clerical blunder, or perhaps (!) only by a misprint overlooked by me in my revision of the proofs. What I there say on this subject is (see *Jenzer Literatur Zeitung*, 1876, p. 205), "In Burnell's opinion this work is indeed 'rather a skilful compilation of the views of Pāṇini's critics, and of their refutation by Patanjali, than the real text of the original work,' not *works*, as Dr. Burnell has. It was not my intention to enter there more fully on his particular views on the subject, and I hope he himself will acquit me of having really 'misrepresented' them by that unlucky oversight with regard to the end of the last word in the sentence.—On the other hand, I cannot acknowledge it as a quite correct representation of my views on the *Bhāṣya* when Professor Kielhorn says, "According to Professor Weber, some such work as the *Uddhāṣya* which we possess was actually composed by Patanjali." For, as your readers will see below (and I beg to refer them also to the earlier statements of my views contained in vol. II. of the *Ind. Ant.* pp. 64, 209), my opinions as to this very point are not yet settled in quite distinct form, for there are to be weighed and put aside before such a decision several items which speak rather forcibly for a composition of the work rather by the school of Patanjali than by Patanjali himself.

(3) With regard to my statement that "the South-Indian MSS. of the text, according to Burnell's testimony (see preface to the *Yamabr.* p. xxii. note), appear to differ considerably," Professor Kielhorn remarks (p. 43) that all he finds Dr. Burnell to have stated regarding such differences is this, that in the introductory *śāntika* "the South-Indian MSS. omit the quotation from the *Atharvaveda*; whereas in one of his later works Dr. Burnell too states it." "The Northern and Southern MSS. of the *Bhāṣya* differ to no great extent, though various readings occur"; and Professor Kielhorn himself, moreover, can add, from his own perusal of such MSS., that he has "not been able to discover any traces of the existence of several recensions of the work". Of course, both these latter (and later) testimonies are of great value; but on the other hand I think

I was fully justified at that time in my supposition, as given above: for the omission in the South-Indian MSS. of the quotation from the *Atharvaveda* in the introductory *śāntika* is indeed a matter of some importance. The *Atharvaveda* is quoted twice (fol. 36 and fol. 10a), and both times in a very peculiar position, viz. at the head of the four Vedas and as their chief representation: see *Ind. Stud.* vol. XIII. p. 431. If such passages are omitted in one group of MSS., I think we have a right to say that the MSS. appear to differ considerably. (It would be interesting to know how the matter really stands in this case.)

(4) Professor Kielhorn is very desirous (p. 42) to exculpate Nāgārja from having made a wrong statement as to the meaning of the word *dehārya* in the *Bhāṣya*. And after having examined for himself the remark in question, he found indeed that it admitted of a very different interpretation: for according to him the sentence *नागार्जे भट्टेय भाषावर्षेण पातञ्जल्येनोक्तं नागार्जे विवक्षितः* would relate only to that particular passage of the *Bhāṣya* to which Nāgārja has attached it, and which begins *नेह एव विवक्षितम्*, and it would imply that in this passage alone "*dehārya* denotes exceptionally the author of the *Bhāṣya* himself, and not those whom it denotes generally (Pāṇini or Kātyāyana)." But I am afraid such an interpretation cannot well be grafted on the words as they stand above: for, in order to convey that meaning, which Professor Kielhorn intimates them to convey, they ought to be *नागार्जे भट्टेय भाषावर्षेण पातञ्जल्येनोक्तं नागार्जे विवक्षितम्*: but there is no *भट्टेय*, or even only *अतो*, in the text, and the *एव* stands distinctly after *नागार्जेन*, so that the sentence cannot well, according to common usage, be translated otherwise than by "in the *Bhāṣya* by the word *dehārya* is meant only the author of the *Bhāṣya*, the teacher of the *पातञ्जल* (compare Ballantyne's translation, p. 35). Moreover, the very addition of this otherwise somewhat superfluous epithet *पातञ्जल्येनोक्तं* appears to imply that Nāgārja wished to give a general and formal rule; it contains at the same time his own explanation for the fact he states—because Patanjali is the teacher of the *śāntika*, therefore is he called in it by the title *dehārya*, see *ibidem*. Finally also the phrase *नागार्जेः सुहृत्पातञ्जल्येनोक्तं* is not restricted to this particular passage, of which it forms a part, but is a solemn one, which recurs rather frequently in the course of the work: see below.

I proceed now to the promised translation:—

"... On account of all this, we must be content at present to lay the time of the composition of the *Bhāṣya* between the two limits;

Menandros-Pushyamitra on one side, Abhimanyu on the other,—or, in round numbers, between 140 A.C. and 60 A.D. The statements about Pushyamitra's sacrifices would lead us nearer to the first term, whereas those on the 'Yavana'—if Kanishka is to be understood—nearer to the second; or if, after all, a Greek prince is to be sought under the 'Yavana,' we are drawn of course quite near to the first term. But all this only under one condition, viz. that these statements are certainly not to be subjected to the possibility that they also represent examples found by Patanjali in previous works. Even in this very indistinctness this result is still a very important one, if we consider the unhappy state of the chronology of Indian literature in general; and the other statements contained in the various examples thus acquire also a prominent value."

"It is true that here also the critic must still for the present raise his warning voice and ask, What guarantee have we that the work, as we now have it, is really still the same as that which, according to the *Vidyapauliya*, was reconstructed (*wieder hergestellt*) by the efforts of "Chandracharya and others," after misfortune of some duration by which it was *verloren*,—what happened, according to the *Bhāṭarāṅgī*, just under king Abhimanyu (see *Ind. Studien*, vol. V. pp. 159-160)? And if the assumption is decidedly not to be denied that already at this reconstruction there may have crept into the work secondary additions, originally foreign to it,\* how is it further with regard to that second statement of the *Bhāṭarāṅgī*, according to which in Jayāpala's time, the end of the eighth century, the work was, in Kaśmīr, again *viśhinna*, and was introduced there anew by skilled men, whom the king ordered to come from another country? Already, in treating of this question for the first time (*Ind. Studien*, vol. V. pp. 168-169), I have pointed out these difficulties, and called it "audacious to judge on the thorough authenticity of the present text of the *Bhāṭya* already at this time, when we have before us only so small a piece of it." But even now, though we have the whole work before us, I must abide by the same opinion, and I feel obliged to single out the possibility that one or the other statement, which in the sequel we will draw out of the context of the work, does not testify for Patanjali's time, nor for that of Abhimanyu, but merely for that of Jayāpala. On the other hand, we are allowed at present to speak also of an impression founded on the totality of the work, and that is decidedly favourable to its originality. As Goldstücker has already stated it, and was the first to do so, the red thread going through the

whole work is the polemic against the *vārttikakāra*. Now one may ask indeed, Was this really so also originally? or may not rather the fact that we have in it, after all, not so much a commentary on Pāṇini, as one to the *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana, be simply the consequence of the work being preserved to us only partially, in such fragments as were still procurable in the eighth century, when it was *viśhinna* again? Such a question could not, indeed, be negatived directly, still there is one point against it which appears of considerable importance. And this is just the special restriction of the work essentially to those *sūtras* which had been assailed by Kātyāyana. Its deductions thus attain a unitary character, viz. that of *selection*. In case the present text was really only a text of fragments, collected in the eighth century, of a commentary on the whole work of Pāṇini, such a restriction would be very difficult to explain; we ought then to miss some books and chapters wholly, and have others complete, but we should not have something out of all of them, and moreover not those parts only which relate to the *vārttikas*. Truly one may object here,—Well, how do we know that Kātyāyana did not write *vārttikas* to the other rules of Pāṇini also? should he not rather have written such to all rules which gave anyhow occasion for it? and when there are preserved only those we have, should this not be simply explained by the *Bhāṭya*'s having been preserved to us only in fragments? Now all this might really happen to us; but the unitary character of the work would not suffer on account of that, as it would continue even then just in that special relation to Kātyāyana; and it is this very restriction, after all, that appears to testify for its composition by one author, and thus also for its authenticity and originality.

"Truly, it might even then, in its present form, be "more the work of his pupils than of Patanjali himself." Though one of the arguments which I brought forward in this respect (*Ind. Studien*, vol. V. pp. 155, 168), viz. that in the body of the work "Patanjali is spoken of only in the third person, and his opinion is introduced several times by *यु. ततः*, that is, by *यद्वति तावदिति*," no longer holds good. For on one hand we now find in it also many statements expressed in the first person, in the singular or the plural form, in the present or relating to the sequel in the future: thus for instance *ज्ञात्वा* IV. 66b, *दृष्ट्वा* VII. 13b, VIII. 7b, *वक्ष्यामि* very often, for 'I.' I. 84a, 122a, 150a; III. 7a; IV. 20a; V. 3b; VI. 4 f. 11a; VIII. 2b; *अनुकल्प्यामः* I. 113a; *सुखविद्यामः* VII. 49b,

\* They would argue, after all, though not for Patanjali himself, still for the time of Abhimanyu.

1186; VIII. 37b; इच्छामः I 1126, निगमयामः VIII. 40b; पदयामः very often, e.g. III. 9a, VII. 50a, VIII. 34a; विज्ञास्यामः I. 2a विशेषविद्यमानः I. 33x, 67a, 140a, IV. 22a, VI. 5a; VI. 4f. 31a; स्वायत्त्यामः I. 239b, प्रविश्यामहे I 144a; वन्द्यामहे I 169i; नैकहितवान्हे I 134b; सपर्येदिष्यामहे I. 144a; and, on the other hand, according to Bâdhayâkara, in such sentences as पदयामि स्वाचार्यः we are to understand by स्वाचार्ये *not* Patañjali at all, but Pârśini! And in a great number of passages he is undoubtedly in the right, though certainly not throughout. For on one hand this would be, after all, rather too glaring a contrast to Nâgârja's distinct assertion to the contrary (Bâdhayâkara, p. 38), viz that by *śâkyas* in the *Bâdhya* only Patañjali is to be understood: नाम्ने भाषार्थपरेन शाक्याचार्यो मन्वकाश्चैव विवक्षितः, and on the other hand in many of such cases the relation to the text, not of Pârśini's *ekena*, but to the very deduction of the *Bâdhya*, is quite manifest and apparent. The real state of things in this respect wants at present a special inquiry still. But, in spite of these two corrections, this much certainly remains of my previous assertion, that on the whole those cases where the opinions of the *Bâdhayâkara* are presented to us in the first person are *relatively* rare, and that generally his assertions are given in the third person. Sometimes in such cases he is called over by *name* directly, though not as Patañjali,—a name which, as far as I can see, is not mentioned at all in the work,—but (and this four times) as lionnârdaya, explained by Kaṣyapa as '*Bâdhayâkara*,' and once, according to Nâgârja, as Goldstuecker informs us, also under the metonymic name *Gopikâputra* (see I. 4. 51f. 200), against which latter identification, however, I have some real doubts (see these *Studies*, vol. V. p. 156).† Whether now this quotation of the author in the third person should be taken in a similar way as with Caesar, or whether, like other self-quotations in Sanskrit texts, it should rather be ascribed to the tradition of the work by the school he founded,‡ see my *Academic Lectures on Indian Literature*, p. 216 (2nd ed. p. 253),—even by the latter supposition the *unlucky* character

of the work is not disparaged so far that it would not still serve us as a warrant for its authenticity as being in its *essential* context the work of our author,—with all reserve, of course, for any modifications of this assumption which may possibly still become necessary on the basis of a more special study of the work than I have yet been able to devote to it. With regard, for instance, to the rather numerous cases where we find a sort of self-commentary following a sentence just quoted before, I refer to my remarks in *Iad. Studien*, vol. V, p. 169; there we might indeed be induced, before all, to seek secondary glosses of the school; here we may adduce, for instance, also the case mentioned above, at p. 335 (viz. the gloss to *व्यासकीकनैर्दिकैक्यु*). On the other hand, we must still, however, emphasize that, even from the mere formal view, the very manner and style of proceeding in the *Uttaratantra*, the connection and connection of all those manifold corrections, objections, explanations, etc., (*śāṅkhya*) *memoranda*, etc., appears as of necessity. And this principally on account of a merely external element, viz. of the very frequent repetition throughout the whole work of some, as it were, fixed expressions as well as stock examples; whether consisting of single words, or of short or lengthy sentences. In the first respect, for example, the way in which the *भाषा* is mentioned (whether in a given case we have by him to understand Patanjali or Pāṇini) is characteristic. Thus, for instance, the formula *तस्य भाषाः मण्डूकन्यासे* ... इति I. 143b, 271b, II. 310a, 401b, 141. *am.* 97a, IV. 700a, V. 123, 196, 55a, 57a, or, as we read in the introduction, *मण्डूक भाषायां इह साखन्यासे* I. 10a, 15 further the partly very frequent colama phrases—*भाषायां मण्डूकभाषायां* ... इति । *शापकाभाषायाः* । *वदित्वानि भाषायाः* । *पञ्चानि भाषायाः* । *एव येन हि कृतस्य भाषायां मण्डूकं वदितं* । *न वेदादीनां भाषायाः सुखाणि कृत्वा विवर्ते कृतिः* । *एवं ह्यार । भयस्त्वार । वया लौकिकनैर्दिकैक्यु । विषय उपन्यास । मण्डूकिक भाषायां ... मण्डूकदीनि हि पाञ्चानि अपरा मण्डूकन्यासे भिक्ताः* । *नराया । मण्डूका उद्युक्तोद्युक्त मण्डूकनि महद्* I. 51b, II. 402b, V. 322, VI. 169, 232, VII 109a, *महदां अपि धामनो भवन्ति* । (in long passages). *उपाय-बोऽप्युपायानि प्रातिपदिकानि*. Solitary examples are:

It is here that the Nigra remarks that under *विशेष्यं* always the *śādhyaśāra* is to be understood, and indeed here this explanation suits remarkably, for though *इदं शास्त्रं* alone might very well refer also to grammar in general, that is in Pāṇini there still follow here after *विशेष्यं* the words *इत्येवं प्रयोगानां सर्वेषां व्युत्क्रममिति*, which go back to the words in the beginning of the deduction (cf. *तानि च मूलं कान्दानुसारेण प्रयोगानि*). And similarly also with a great number of the other passages where this formula occurs.

† To my remarks on both names in this passage I add here that Wallis has quoted in his edition of *Amos* VII. 96 (see Stenley's note on his edition) a passage from the *Ass. Monks of Chaucer*.

I Rather odd in the mouth of the author, but quite in order, indeed, in the mouth of his school, is the fact that we find in several passages in the Bhāṣya the word itself quoted by this very name, whether it refer to a passage in the foregoing *vishāda*, or to one in the sequel, as for instance कर्मा वाक्येदे माय्ये III. 4. 671. 1062 (सर्ववा-  
गुके वसिष्ठाय वाक्यान्तरकोटीनवोक्तिर्गोप्यते इति, Kaigala  
—see III. 1. 671. 466 et seq.).







the literature immediately connected, and in which the authority for the single words,—that is to say, if they are taken from Pāṇini, from the *śāstrikas*, from the *Bhāṣya*, from the *Garapādha*, &c.,—ought to be signalized by certain marks. For such a task there are indeed still required some previous operations of wide extent, viz. besides an exact working through of the whole *Bhāṣya* generally, also special inquiries on the *ganas*. According to Böttlingk (Introd. p. xxxix.) the *ganas* of the *Kāśikā* differ from those of the Calcutta edition to such a degree (and both the MSS. at his disposal were, moreover, sometimes so incorrect) that he preferred not to give the various readings at all. Still undoubtedly just in this case such a comparison and verification is very particularly desirable. I venture therefore to express here in all humility the pious wish—*L'appelil client en mariage*—that the two learned and highly-gifted professors of the Banāras College, to whom we owe the present edition of the *Bhāṣya*, may publish also the *Kāśikā*, which takes its name from their celebrated ancient city, if not on the model of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini, which of course would be preferable, yet at least in the same way as they have published the *Bhāṣya*. According to Colebrooke's testimony (*Miscell. Essays*, vol. II. pp. 9, 40) the *Kāśikā* is "a perpetual commentary, and explains in perspicuous language the meaning and application of each rule," adding examples, and quoting in their proper places the necessary emendations from the *śāstrikas* and the *Bhāṣya*. He calls it, *disertis verbis*, the best of all extant commentaries on Pāṇini, a judgment in which Böttlingk also (p. liv.) concurs. An additional advantage is its relatively great age, as it may eventually belong (*Ind. Stud.* V. 67) to the very time when, according to the *Bajabringiā*, the *Mahābhāṣya* was re-introduced into Kashmir, after being for a while *stichnannam* there (*ib.* V. 167)."

Berlin. A. WIENER.

#### THE BARISĀL GUNS (*ante*, p. 214).

While at one time a resident of Barisāl, I shared the general curiosity on the subject of the singular gun-reports heard there, and frequently took occasion to make inquiries of the natives concerning them. Though they professed ignorance as to the cause of the more distant explosions, they invariably attributed the nearer ones to the firing of guns at native weddings, which they said was a custom of the district, and they could sometimes supply the name of the person in whose honour the firing in question was proceeding. There seems no reason to doubt that the same explanation applies to the more distant sounds also.

The statement in your last number that the sounds are heard not only from the southerly and south-westerly directions, but also from the north, corresponds with the statement I have met with, that the sounds are heard even as far north as Dhākd. I never myself, however, heard them from any other directions than the south and south-west.

I do not remember to have heard the sounds at any period of the year excepting at the beginning of the rainy season. During the whole of the rainy season a very large extent of the low-lying country there is under water, and the people pass from village to village in boats over the flooded rice-fields,—the southern portion of the district being the portion more especially inundated. Now, we have on record some most remarkable instances of the sound-conducting power of large surfaces of water; as, for example, the mysterious sounds of guns, and other noises, heard sometimes by men becalmed at sea when far away from the ordinary possibilities of hearing.

Now, what the *Shabī-barāt* is to Muhammadans the month *Āshāḍha* is to Hindus—the period when marriages are most frequent. This month is the first month of the rainy season, and the weddings are celebrated chiefly during the *Krishnapakṣa*, half of the month. Not only in Eastern Bengal, but also in other parts of Hindūstān, gun-firing is quite common at Hindū weddings at this season of the year. No mystery appears to exist in connexion with the reports excepting in that part of India which is so generally submerged at this season.

*Query*.—Is it not at least possible that 'the Barisāl guns' may be simply the reports of guns fired on the occasion of weddings in distant parts, conveyed to hearing by means of the vast expanse of water which floods the entire Sundarbans at the period mentioned?

Could not some of the enlightened Bangālī gentlemen, whose minds are unfettered by fables about the gigantic gates of Rāvaṇa's palace, help us in our endeavours to trace the phenomenon to some rational cause?

Allahabad.

J. D. BAYE.

#### HINDU SACRIFICE.

"Sacrifice is described as a ship, boat, or ark, pretty much in the same way as 'the Church' in the baptismal service,—that they, being delivered from Thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's Church, and may so pass the waves of this troublesome world, that they may finally come to the land of everlasting life," &c. In *Rig-veda* x. 113, 10, there is a mantra to this effect:

— Give us, O Indra, multitudes of good horses, with which we may offer our oblations by the reposition of the proper sentences—by the prospering of which we may escape all sins. Do thou now accept our service with much regard.' 'Do thou lead us safe through all sins by the way of sacrifice.' And we have, in viii. 42, 3, 'O illustrious Varuṇa, do thou quicken our understanding—we that are practising this ceremony—that we may embark on the good ferrying boat by which we may escape all sins.' On this the *Āitaraya Brāhmaṇa* remarks:—'Sacrifice is the good ferrying boat. The black skin is the good ferrying boat. The Word is the good ferrying boat. Having embarked on the Word, one crosses over to the heavenly world.' *Āitaraya Brāhmaṇa*, p. 10. The commentator of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* remarks thus on the same passage:—'May we also embark on that safe and good ferrying boat of black skin, by which we may at once get over all sins that beset us.' It was not unusual in those days for ferry boats to be made of leather. . . .

"Another reason for assimilating the saving boat with 'the Word' is that there was actually a hymn which was called *plava*, 'raft' or 'boat,' and it was to be used daily. 'The *plava* is used daily. Those who complete the *śraṅkṣara* sacrifice have to dip in the Sea [so called from the "excessive depth" of the sacrifice, according to the commentator]. He who dips in the sea without a *plava* or raft never gets out of it. Where there is the *plava*, it leads to the attainment of the celestial world.'—*Tandīśa Mahā Brāhmaṇa*, p. 293. Sacrifice has accordingly been held in all Vedic treatises as the great remedy for sins and trespasses. It is at the same time both a satisfaction for heinous and moral offences, and an atonement for trivial mistakes and transgressions. Kāṭyāyana says that sacrifice procures heaven, and 'heaven' is a word which stands for the highest happiness. The commentator of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* tells us that it is Nirriti, or the Sin deity, that is a disturber of sacrifices. . . .

"It is manifest that the sacrificial ritual did not tranquillize the Brāhmaṇical mind. It still brooded over theories of many kinds; it betook itself to philosophy, and even submitted to accept lessons from its hated rival, Buddhism, but without any tranquillizing result. They seem to have had an idea that there must be a really saving sacrifice, and that their own ritual was but its distant reflection. We repeat an expression we have already cited above, that 'Prajapati, or the Lord of creatures, is Sacrifice, for he made it a reflection (prati-*mad*) of himself. And he is further called 'ātmanā,' or giver of self, whose shadow, whose death, is immortality (to us)."—Bauverjee's *Aryan Witness*.

#### NĀMAVALĪ AND PĀLI GRAMMARS.

Subhūti Unāṇasa, the Buddhist priest of Waskaduwa, in Ceylon, is already well known as the careful editor of the *Abhidhānappadīpaṇi*, a native Pāli glossary, which, until the appearance of Childers's great work, was the only lexicographical help available to Pāli students. He has now published a work entitled *Nāmavalī*, or "The Garland of Nouns," a treatise in Sinhalese on the grammar of Pāli nouns and adverbs. The introduction—extending to more than a hundred pages—contains a most valuable summary of all that is known to the native paṇḍits concerning the history of Pāli grammar, and gives the author's name and date, the length in stanzas or cantos, and quotations of the first and last verses of no less than sixty-four Pāli grammars still known in Ceylon.—*The Academy*.

Prof. F. Wüstenfeld has completed his autolithographic edition of El-Bekry's *Geographical Dictionary*, in 864 pages. The work of writing it for the lithographic press must have been a severe labour, and it must be admitted that the edition is a marvel of clearness, and far pleasanter to the eye than a printed Arabic book. Prof. Wüstenfeld has added an excellent index, which will obviate the trouble caused by the author having arranged the articles in the order of the Maghribi alphabet.—*The Academy*.

#### NOTES.

The Spanish Government has founded a Chair for Sanskrit in the University of Madrid, to which the first Professor appointed is Francisco Maria Rivera, a gentleman who has studied Sanskrit in Germany, France, and England, and is at present engaged in preparing a Sanskrit Grammar for his Spanish pupils, and is editing the *Hitopadeśa*, with Spanish notes and a Glossary for the same.

Mr. Redhouse has issued a pamphlet in "Vindication of the Ottoman Sultan's title of 'Khalif,' showing its antiquity, validity, and universal acceptance." In it the author holds recent assertions to the contrary to be erroneous, "from the title being no new assumption, but dating from A.D. 1517, and gradually and generally admitted by the orthodox world of Islam since; and finally, even were the legal argument solid, because, after 300 years of possession, it would be too late to question the right." (*Vide note*, p. 231.)

Mr. A. Giles, of H. M. China Consular Service, has published at Shanghai a translation from the Chinese, entitled *Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms*.

## BOOK NOTICES.

THE RĀMĀYANA of TULSI DĀS. Translated by F. B. Growse, M.A., B.C.S., Fellow of the Calcutta University. Book I.—Chândood. (Altababad: N. W. Provinces Press, 1877.)

Last year the author of this volume contributed a specimen episode of his translation of the *Rāmāyana* of Tulsi Dās to the pages of this journal (see vol. V. pp. 218-231), with a few introductory remarks, and we gladly welcome this first instalment of an excellent version of the most popular of Hindi poems. A handsome edition of the text, we are told, was issued by the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta many years ago, but it has long been out of print, and the original is now only to be read in lithograph or *lithé* type. Though the subject is the same as that of the great epic of Vālmiki, it is, as Mr. Growse remarks, "in no sense a translation of the earlier work; the general plan and the management of the incidents are necessarily much the same, but there is a difference in the touch in every detail; and the two poems vary as widely as any two dramas on the same mythological subject by two different Greek tragedians. Even the coincidence of name is an accident; for Tulsi Dās himself called his poem the *Rām-charit-māhā*, and the shorter name, corresponding in form to the *Iliad* or *Æneid*, was only substituted by his admirers as a handier designation for a popular favourite." Further, "in both, the first book brings the narrative precisely to the same point, viz., the marriage of Rāma and Sītā. But with Tulsi Dās it is much the longest book of the seven, and forms all but a third of the complete work, while in the Sanskrit it is the shortest but one." (Introd. pp. i. ii.) The two "agree only in the broadest outline. The episodes so freely introduced by both poets are for the most part entirely dissimilar; and even in the main narrative some of the most important incidents, such as the breaking of the bow and the contention with Parashurām, are differently placed and assume a very altered complexion." (p. iv.) Of Tulsi Dās himself little is known, but what information is available has been collected by Mr. Growse in his introduction. The earliest notice of him is in the *Bhakt-mālā*, usually ascribed to Nābhā Jī, "himself one of the leaders of the [Vaishnav] reform, which had its centre at Brindāban; but the poem as we now have it, was awkwardly edited, if not entirely written, by one of his disciples named Nārāyaṇ Dās, who lived during the reign of Shāhjahān. A single stanza is all that is ordinarily devoted to each personage, who is panegyricized with reference to his most salient characteristics in a style that might be described as of unparalleled obscurity, were it not that each

such separate portion of the text is followed by a *līkā* or gloss, written by one Priya Dās in the Sambat year 1760 (1713 A.D.), in which confusion is still worse confounded by a series of the most disjointed and inexplicit allusions to different legendary events in the saint's life." Mr. Growse then gives the text both of Nābhā Jī's stanza and of Priya Dās's *līkā*—the latter in 41 *ślokas*,—with translations, and Prof. H. H. Wilson's notice of Tulsi Dās, founded apparently on a prose reduction of the *Bhakt-mālā*. We quote the translation of the first of these:—

"For the redemption of mankind in this perverse Kali Yug, Vālmiki has been born again as Tulsi. The verses of the *Rāmāyana* composed in the Treta Yuga are a hundred crores in number; but a single letter has redeeming power, and would work the salvation of one who had even committed the murder of a Brāhman. Now again as a blessing to the faithful has he taken birth and published the sportive actions of the god. Intoxicated with his passion for Rāma's feet, he perseveres day and night in the accomplishment of his vow, and has supplied as it were a boat for the easy passage of the boundless ocean of existence. For the redemption of man in this perverse Kali Yug, Vālmiki has been born again as Tulsi."

From his own works and from tradition, Mr. Growse gathers that he commenced the composition of his *Rāmāyana* at Ayodhya in 1575 A.D., and that he studied for some time at Soron. He was a Kannaṇjiya Brāhman; and in the *Bhakt-Sindhu*—"a modern poem of no great authority"—it is said "that his father's name was Atmā Rām, and that he was born at Hastinapur. Others make Rājpur, near Chitrakūt, the place of his birth. The greater part of his life was certainly spent at Banāras, though he also passed some years in visits to Soron, Ayodhya, Chitrakūt, Altabād, and Brindāban. He died in the Sambat year 1680 (1624 A.D.)." Two MSS of his great work are said to exist in his own handwriting—one at Rājapur, and the other in the temple of Śrī Rāma which he founded at Banāras. Besides the *Rāmāyana* he wrote at least six other poems, all with the object of popularizing the worship of Rāma. They are the *Rāmgītavalī* (used as a textbook in the Government examinations in Hindi), *Nohvalī*, the *Kalātambavālī*, the *Binay Patrikā* (printed for the college of Fort William in 1820), the *Pad Rāmāyana*, and the *Chhandavālī*. To these are sometimes added "the following minor works, as to the genuineness of which there is considerable doubt, viz. the *Rām-Bolīkā*, the *Harām-Bolīkā*, the *Jānaki Māngal*, the *Pārcat Māngal*,



the *Karkh Chhand*, the *Rard Chhand*, and the *Jhans Chhand*." (pp. xii. xiii.)

The translation of this Hindi epic appears to be executed in a scholarly style, and is carefully edited throughout with footnotes explanatory of the mythological allusions. While thanking the translator for this instalment of so important a work, we trust he will be encouraged to hasten the completion of it.

NARRATIVES of the Mission of GEORGE BOGLE to TIBET, and of the Journey of THOMAS MANNING to LHASA. Edited with Notes, an Introduction, and Lives of Mr. Bogle and Mr. Manning, by CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, F. R. S. (Demy 8vo, pp. cxi. and 354.) London: Triphmer & Co. 1876.

The great Warren Hastings was a statesman far ahead of his age, able to appreciate heartily, and willing to encourage to the extent of his powers, whatever tended to increase the reputation and influence of his country, or add to human knowledge and comfort. When the Teshu Lama, therefore, in 1774, sent to intercede on behalf of the Bhutānese, whom he had found it necessary to chastise for their raids upon our north-eastern frontier, he lost no time in sending a return mission under George Bogle, a young Scotchman, whose energy and capacity he well knew, and, with his instructions, gave him a quantity of potatoes that he might plant a few at each favourable halting-place, in the hope of introducing the cultivation of so useful an article of food into Central Asia. We shall probably never learn whether it was from this experiment or not that the Tibetans did come to use the vegetable as they now do. Mr. Bogle resided for a considerable while with the Teshu Lama, who became warmly attached to him. Warren Hastings was greatly pleased with his success, and, had he been allowed, would have followed it up, but when Bogle returned in 1775 he found a sad change at Calcutta: the great statesman was deprived of all power by the malignant opposition of Philip Francis and the other members of Council, whom he made tools of to frustrate the designs of the Governor-General, and nothing more was done for four years. In 1779 Bogle was again appointed to proceed to Bhutān and Tibet, but the visit was postponed owing to the Teshu Lama being absent at Peking. Bogle died early in 1781. Hastings sent Captain Turner on a second mission in 1783, but afterwards had weightier matters to attend to; and the narrative of Bogle's mission to Tibet, of which Hastings had sent a copy to Dr. Johnson in 1775, was never published. Fortunately Bogle's papers were sent home to his family and preserved, and, thanks to the perseverance of Mr. Markham, they have been discovered,

and are here edited by him in the most judicious and satisfactory way.

Thomas Manning, the friend of Charles Lamb, was a somewhat eccentric character. He went first to Canton to study Chinese, and was recommended to Lord Minto as well qualified for a mission into Tibet; but "the days of small half-measures had arrived," and he received little or no aid from Government. He succeeded, however, without official recognition, in reaching Lhasa, where he stayed for several months, and had interviews with the Dalai Lama. He wrote a long and interesting account of his expedition, and sent it to Dr. Marshman, but unfortunately it seems to have been lost. Disgusted with the official treatment he received, he returned to Canton in 1812, and in 1817 joined Lord Amherst's embassy, as Chinese interpreter. He died at Bath in 1840, leaving his Chinese manuscripts to the Royal Asiatic Society. The only account of his journey is contained in the hasty and desultory jottings made from day to day in his note-book, of which Mr. Markham has made the best. "Good or bad," he remarks, "it stands alone. No other countryman of ours has ever followed Manning's footsteps. And, to those who know how to find it, there is much wheat to be gathered from amongst Mr. Manning's chaff."

The long introduction, extending over 110 pages, is not the least important part of the work: as preliminary to the narratives it gives a comprehensive geographical sketch of Tibet, Bhutān, and Nepāl, followed by accounts of the religion, tribes, Lamas, and Romish missions, the surveys of the Chinese and their interference, our relations to Bhutān and Nepāl, the explorations in Tibet made by the 'Pandits' sent out by the Great Trigonometrical Survey, and the maps, early and later, of the Himalayan countries. This is followed by well-written short biographical sketches of Bogle and Manning, occupying some 30 more pages. At the end, an Appendix of 46 pages contains—1, an account of the travels of Johann Grueber, Jesuit, 1650, from Astley's *Voyages*; 2, a letter from Father I. Desideri, 1716, from Du Halde's *Lettres Edifiantes*; and 3, an account of Tibet by Fra. F. O. della Penna di Billi, 1730, from Klaproth in the *Journal Asiatique* (IIme Sér. t. XIV. p. 177).

The work is illustrated by good maps, a portrait of Warren Hastings, and a number of woodcuts. A full index and the editing of Mr. Markham, which is a model of excellence, render the book invaluable to all requiring information connected with the commerce, government, ethnology, and religions of the countries to the north of India, and must make it a favourite with the lover of books of travel and rare adventure.



## PARSÍ FUNERAL AND INITIATORY RITES, AND THE PARSÍ RELIGION.

BY MONIER WILLIAMS, HODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSCRIT, OXFORD.

**O**BSERVANT European travellers when they first arrive at Bombay cannot fail to be struck with the interesting contrasts which everywhere meet the eye. Perhaps the most remarkable of such contrasts is that afforded by the different methods adopted by the adherents of different creeds for the disposal of their dead.

There in Bombay one may see, within a short distance of each other, the Christian cemetery, the Muhammadan graveyard, the Hindú burning-ground, and the Parsí *Dakhmas*, or Towers of Silence. The latter, five in number, with a sixth—which is square instead of circular—used for criminals, are, as most Anglo-Indians know, at the summit of Malabar Hill, in a beautiful garden, amid tropical trees swarming with vultures. I obtained leave to visit these towers in the autumn of 1875, and again shortly after my second arrival in India last year.

A correct model of the principal tower was then kindly presented to me by order of Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai, and a careful examination of its structure enables me to describe its dimensions with accuracy. Towers they have certainly no right to be called, for their height is out of all proportion to their diameter. The chief tower may be described as an upright cylindrical stone structure, in shape and solidity not unlike a gigantic millstone, about fourteen feet high and ninety feet in diameter, resting on the ground in the centre of the garden. It is built throughout of solid granite, except in the centre, where a well, ten feet deep and about fifteen across, leads down to an excavation under the masonry, containing four drains at right angles to each other, terminated by holes filled with charcoal. Round the upper and outer edge of this solid cylinder, and completely hiding the interior surface from view, is a high stone parapet. This is constructed so as to seem to form one piece with the solid stone work, and being, like it, covered with *chunam*, gives the whole erection, when viewed from the outside, the appearance of a low tower. Clearly one great object aimed at by the Parsís in the construction of these strange depositaries of their dead is solidity. We saw two or three enormous massive stones lying on the ground, which had been rejected

by the builders simply because they contained almost invisible veins of quartz, through which it was possible that impure particles might find their way, and be carried, in the course of centuries, by percolating moisture, into the soil. Earth, water, and fire are, according to Zoroaster, sacred symbols of the wisdom, goodness, and omnipotence of the Deity, and ought never, under any circumstances, to be defiled. Especially ought every effort to be made to protect Mother Earth from the pollution which would result if putrefying corpses were allowed to accumulate in the ground. (*Vandîdâd* iii. 27.) Hence the disciples of Zoroaster spare neither trouble nor expense in erecting solid and impenetrable stone platforms fourteen feet thick for the reception of their dead. The cost of erection is greatly increased by the circumstance that the towers ought always to be placed on high hills, or in the highest situations available. (*Fand*. vi. 93.) I was informed by the Secretary that the largest of the five towers was constructed at an outlay of three lakhs of rupees.

The upper surface of the massive granite column is divided into compartments by narrow grooved ridges of stone, radiating like the spokes of a wheel from the central well. These stone ridges form the sides of seventy-two shallow open receptacles or coffins, arranged in three concentric rings. The ridges are grooved—that is, they have narrow channels running down their whole length, which channels are connected by side ducts with the open coffins, so as to convey all moisture to the central well and into the lower drains. The number three is emblematical of Zoroaster's three moral precepts, 'Good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.' (*Vand*. v. 67), and the seventy-two open stone receptacles represent the seventy-two chapters of his *Yasna*, a portion of the *Zand-Avestâ*.

Each concentric circle of open stone coffins has a pathway surrounding it, the object of which is to make each receptacle accessible to the corpse-bearers. Hence there are three concentric circular pathways, the outermost of which is immediately below the parapet, and these three pathways are crossed by another conducting from the solitary door which admits

the corpse-bearers from the exterior, and which must face the east, to catch the rays of the rising sun. In the outermost circle of the stone collins, which stands for 'good deeds,' are placed the bodies of males; in the middle, symbolizing 'good words,' those of females; in the inner and smallest circle, nearest the wall, representing 'good thoughts,' those of children. Each tower is consecrated with solemn religious ceremonies, and after its consecration no one, except the corpse-bearers—not even a high-priest—is allowed to enter.

On the occasion of my second visit I was accompanied, as before, by the courteous Secretary of the Pârsi Panchâyat, and was permitted to witness the funeral of a Mobed, or one of the second order of priests, whose flowing white costumes (supposed to be emblematical of purity) are everywhere conspicuous in the Bombay streets. I may here mention parenthetically that I believe the word Mobed is merely a corruption of a Zend word equivalent to Sanskrit *Magapati*, 'chief of the Magians.' Dastur, the name of the high-priest, is a modern Persian word, the best equivalent for which would perhaps be 'chief ruler.' The lowest order of priests, named Herbad, are little better than menials, and are not allowed to officiate at ceremonies. In the *Zand-avastâ* the whole priestly class are called *Athra van* (in Pârsi *Athornan*). In the present day the rest of the community—the laymen in fact, who are neither Dasturs nor Mobeds nor Herbads—are styled *Rehadin* or *Behdin*, that is, 'followers of the best religion.'

I reached the garden surrounding the towers about half an hour before sunset. At that time the funeral procession was already winding up the hill. The deceased man had died early in the morning, and a rule of the Pârsi religion requires that no corpse shall be exposed on the platform of the towers, to be consumed by birds of prey, unless the rays of the sun can first fall on it. Foremost in the procession walked a man carrying a loaf or two of bread wrapped up in a cloth. Then came the bier, which was flat and made of iron bars,\* having the body of the deceased stretched out upon it, covered only with a white sheet, and borne by four bearers, followed by two assistants. These corpse-bearers are called *Nasranâv*. They are, of course, Pârsis, but

from the nature of their occupation are supposed to contract impurity, and are not associated with by the rest of the community. They are, however, well cared for and well paid. { }

After the bearers, at an interval of a few yards, followed a man leading a white dog, and behind him a long procession of at least a hundred priests in their long robes of spotless white, besides relations of the deceased, also in white garments, walking in pairs, each couple following closely on the other, and each man connected with his fellow by a handkerchief held between them in token of sympathy and fellow-feeling. The procession advanced to a point about thirty yards distant from the portal of the largest tower. There it stood still for a minute while the dog was brought towards the corpse, made to look at the features of the dead man, and then fed with bread. This part of the ceremony is called *sag-did*. Meanwhile all who followed the bier turned round, and walked back to the *sagri*, or house of prayer containing a fire-sanctuary, which is erected near the entrance to the garden. There they chanted prayers while the corpse-bearers entered the tower with the dead body, and exposed it naked in one of the receptacles on the stone platform. Their appointed task being then completed, they instantly quitted the tower, and were seen to repair to a reservoir of water near at hand, where they went through a process of thorough ablution, changing all their clothes, and depositing the cast-off garments in an open stone pit, almost hidden from view, on one side of the garden.

It is noteworthy that the fire-sanctuary of the *sagri* has a window or aperture so arranged that when the sacred fire is fed with sandal-wood fuel by the veiled priest, just before the corpse-bearers enter the tower, a ray from the flame may be projected over the dead body at the moment of its exposure. The theory is that the light of the sun and the light of the sacred fire ought to consecrate the mortal remains of the deceased before they are consumed by the birds. There is, at any rate, some poetical if not true religious sentiment in this hypothesis, and the benumbed relations appear to derive consolation from it; but whether the position of the sun and fire made this double consecration possible is doubtful. To us spectators on the

\* In the case of a child it is a curved metal trough.

occasion I am recording, it was evident that a beam from the setting sun and a ray from the sacred fire had barely opportunity to fall on the corpse at all; for scarcely had the bearers left the tower and closed the portal ere forty or fifty vultures, before seated motionless on the stone parapet, swooped down on their prey. In ten minutes they all flew back again—they had finished their work. The body was reduced to a skeleton before the mourners in the *sagī* had finished their prayers. It should be mentioned that in three or four weeks after the funeral the bones are removed from the open coffin and reverently placed in the central well, where the dust of the dead, whether of high or low degree, is left to commingle undisturbed for centuries.

When I inquired about the meaning of the dog, I was told that, according to the teaching of Zoroaster, dogs as well as birds are regarded as sacred animals,† and were formerly allowed to consume the dead bodies of Parsis. In the present day a representative dog kept for the purpose accompanies the corpse, and is fed with bread as a substitute for the flesh of the dead body. Moreover, dogs are supposed to possess some mysterious power in preserving the spirits of men from the attacks of demons‡; and if the funeral dog is not fed, and made to look at the corpse, the soul of the deceased will assuredly be assailed by evil spirits during the three days which intervene between death and judgment.

I should state here that in the belief of the Parsis the soul of the deceased man is supposed to hover about in a restless state for the three days immediately succeeding death, in the neighbourhood of the *Dakimas*, where also swarms of evil spirits congregate. On the morning of the fourth day the soul is taken to judgment, which is passed on it by Mithra and the angels. It has then to pass a narrow bridge called *Chinvat-peretum*, 'the bridge where decision is pronounced.' The souls of the sinful, being unable to pass this bridge, imagined to be sharp as a razor, fall into hell on endeavouring to cross over. The *Zand-Avesta* even gives the names of certain dogs believed to protect the souls of men from the assaults of evil demons

before crossing the bridge. The *Vandidd* (viii. 41, 42), moreover, states that the devil called *Nasus* is frightened away by a yellow dog with four eyes, and that such a dog is to be led along the road of a funeral procession three times.

It is on this account, as was explained to me by a learned Parsi, that the funeral dog is supposed to be four-eyed—that is to say, it is supposed to have two real eyes and two round spots like eyes, just above the actual eyes. I was told, too, that many yellowish-white dogs in India have this peculiarity, and that the Parsis try to procure such dogs, and keep them for their funeral processions. I observed nothing of the kind in the funeral dog on the occasion of the particular funeral I have here recorded; but it struck me (before I knew that the same idea had occurred to German scholars) that the singular practice of leading a white dog at the head of the procession points to the common origin of the Parsi and Hindu religions; for in the latter system the god of death, *Yama*, has two four-eyed brindled watchdogs, children of *Saramā*, who guard the road to his abode, and whose favour and protection against evil spirits are invoked every day by pious Hindus when they perform the *śrāda*, or offering of rice to crows, dogs, and animals at the end of the *śrāda* ceremony before the midday meal. The *mantra* recited is as follows:—*Deva itānu yama-śubalan Vaimasata-kutodbhavan tobhyām pīṇam mayā datto rakṣatām patni mām sadā*,—"May the two dogs, dark and brindled, born in the family of *Yama*, protect me ever on the road! To them I present an offering of food."

Having thus attempted to give some idea of the nature of a Parsi funeral, and of the unique arrangements by which the Parsis endeavour to carry out the precepts of their prophet Zoroaster in the disposal of their dead, it will not be inappropriate if I close this paper with a brief account of the initiatory ceremonies performed on admission of young Parsis to the Zoroastrian religion, and their incorporation as members of the Parsi society.

I may first mention that according to the pure form of the Zoroastrian faith—as pro-

† See *Vandidd* vii. 75, viii. 29, —Bleek's *Avesta*, vol. I. pp. 104-109; Wilson's *Parsi Religion*, pp. 325-329, 330.

‡ *Vandidd* (Bleek) xii. 25; Wilson's *Parsi Religion*, pp. 45, 352.

§ *Saramā* is the dog of Indra, and is represented in *Rig-*

*veda* X. 14. 10 as the mother of *Yama's* dogs, called in the *Madāhddata*, *Adi-parean* 672, *Devadant*. In the *Rig-veda* this dog is said to have tracked and recovered the cows stolen by the *Panis*. *Saramā* is even said to be the authoress of part of the *Rig-veda*, X. 108.



pounded by learned Pársis of the present day—Ormazd (sometimes written Hormazd, contracted from the full expression *Ahura Mazda*) is the name of the Supreme Being, to whom there is no equal, and who has no opponent. It is a mistake to suppose that Ormazd is opposed to a being called *Ahriman*, commonly regarded as the spirit of evil. The true doctrine is that Ormazd has created two forces in nature, not necessarily antagonistic, but simply alternating with each other—the one a force of creation, construction, and preservation; the other a force of decay, dissolution, and destruction. The first of these forces is named *Spenta-mainyus*, while the second or destructive power is commonly called *Ahriman*, or *Harimán*, for *Anhr-mainyus* (or *Anhr-mainyus* = Sanskrit *Anh-manyu*). It is interesting to observe the analogy between the Hindu and Zoroastrian systems, *Viṣṇu* and *Rudra* (*Siva*) in the former being equivalent to *Spenta-mainyus* and *Anhr-mainyus* in the latter, while *Brahma* (noster) corresponds to Ormazd. In later times the parity of the original doctrine became corrupted, and *Ahriman* was personified as a spirit of evil. In fact, all the evils in the world, whether moral or physical, are now attributed to *Ahriman*, while Ormazd is erroneously held to be the antagonistic principle of good. It is contended, too, that the Pársi religion is properly pure Monotheism, in spite of its apparent dualism, and that the elements and all the phenomena of Nature are merely revered as creations of the one God, and symbolical of his power.

There can be little doubt, however, that with the majority of Pársis the elements are regarded as simple manifestations or emanations of the Deity, and that which is called Monotheism is really a kind of Pantheism very similar to that of *Brāhmaṇism*. The absence of all image-worship, however, is very refreshing after the hideous idolatry of the Hindu system.

So much for the Pársi creed: and now for a few words as to the form of admission into the charmed circle of the Pársi community.

It is a controverted point whether if any outsider wished to become a Pársi it would be possible, even in theory, to entertain the question of his being admitted to membership by his making public confession of his faith in the Zoroastrian system. As a matter of fact no

one is at present allowed to become a Pársi unless he is born a Pársi. No provision seems to exist for the reception of converts, and the only form of admission is for the children of Pársis, though occasionally the children of non-Pársi mothers by Pársi fathers are permitted to become members of that community. Nevertheless it is certain, from a particular form of prayer still used by Pársi priests, that Zoroaster himself enjoined on his disciples the duty of making proselytes, and had in view a constant accession of fresh adherents, who were all to be received as converts, provided they were willing to go through certain prescribed ceremonies.

With regard to the children of Pársi parents, every boy is admitted to membership as a disciple of the Zoroastrian religion some time between the age of seven and nine, but more usually at seven years of age, in the following manner. He is first taken to one of the fire-temples, and in a room outside the sanctuary made to undergo a kind of baptism,—that is to say, he is placed nearly naked on a stone seat, and water is poured over his head from a *lohi* by a Mobed appointed to perform the rite. Next, the child is taken out into an open area, made to sit on another stone seat, and required to eat one or two leaves of the pomegranate tree—a tree held very sacred by the Pársis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (*Yasna* viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at fire-temples, and held in high estimation for its purifying properties. This completes the first portion of the ceremony. The concluding act is performed in an apartment of the fire-temple, and consists in investing the child with the sacred shirt or under-garment (called *sadara*), and sacred girdle (called *kurti*). Several Mobeds, presided over by a Dastur, are necessary to the due celebration of this part of the rite (which is very like the Hindu *upanayana*, or induction into the condition of a twice-born man by means of the *yajnopastu*). They sit on the ground in a group, and the child is placed in the midst of them nearly naked. The sacred shirt is then put on, and the white woollen girdle fastened on around it, while the boy is made to repeat word by word the form of prayer which he is required to say over after-



wards whenever the girdle is taken off or put on again. (*Kurduh-Arestâ* :v.) The sacred shirt and girdle are the two most important outward signs and symbols of Pârsism, and an impostor laying claim to the privileges of the Zoroastrian religion would be instantly detected by the absence of these signs, or by his wrong use of them. But they are far more than outward signs,—they are supposed to serve as a kind of spiritual panoply. Unprotected by this armour a man would be perpetually exposed to the assaults of evil spirits and demons, and even be liable to become a demon himself. The shirt is made of the finest white linen or cambric. It has a peculiar form at the neck, and has a little empty bag in front to show that the wearer holds the faith of Zoroaster, which is supposed to be entirely spiritual, and to have nothing material about it. The second shirt has also two stripes at the bottom, one on each side, and each of these stripes is separated into three, to represent the six divisions of each half-year.

It has also a heart, symbolical of true faith, embroidered in front. The *kusti* or girdle is made of seventy-two interwoven woollen threads, to denote the seventy-two chapters of the *Yâna*,

but has the appearance of a long flat cord of pure white wool, which is wound round the body in three coils. Each end of the girdle is divided into three, and these three ends again into two parts. Every Pârsi ought to take off this girdle and restore it to its proper position round the body at least five times a day. He has to hold it in a particular manner with both hands; and touching his forehead with it to repeat a prayer in Zand invoking the aid of Ormazd (*Ahura-Mazda*) for the destruction of all evil beings, evil doers, especially tyrannical rulers, and imploring pardon for evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds. The girdle must then be coiled round the body three times and fastened with two particular knots (said to represent the sun and moon), which none but a Pârsi can tie in a proper manner. Every Pârsi boy is taught the whole process with great solemnity at his first initiation. When the ceremony is concluded the high-priest pronounces a benediction, and the young Pârsi is from that moment admitted to all the rights and privileges of perhaps one of the most flourishing and united communities in the world.

Oxford, June 1877.

## ON THE QUESTION WHETHER POLYANDRY EVER EXISTED IN NORTHERN HINDUSTÂN.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., EDINBURGH

In reference to the conclusion which in a former article\* I have drawn from the story of *Uru-upadî*, that, though polyandry had died out in the plains of northern Hindustân at the period when the *Mahâbhârata* was compiled, it yet appears to have existed there at a remoter period, a learned friend has stated to me that he doubts "whether polyandry ever was an Aryan custom, and can be sanctioned by texts or inferences from the *Vedas*." I do not pretend to have examined the Vedic hymns and *Brâhmanas* with a view to discover whether they contain allusions to any practices connected with the relations of the sexes which were disapproved, or had fallen into disuse, at a later period. I am only aware of one custom which appears to have existed in the Vedic age, although under what conditions does not appear, while it is only recognized by *Manu* under cer-

tain restrictions. I allude to the practice of a widow cohabiting with a brother-in-law, which seems to be referred to in *Rigveda*, x. 40. 2. (See my *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. V. p. 459.) *Manu* allows such unions of a widow with a brother-in-law, or other relative of her deceased husband, to continue only till one, or at most two, sons have been begotten, and declares that they must then cease (ix. 59-62). In the verses which follow (64-68), he either restricts such temporary unions to classes below the twice-born, or (in contradiction with what precedes) condemns them altogether.

But the question arises whether the compilers of the *Vedas* and *Brâhmanas* would be likely to bring forward anything found among the materials at their disposal which had become obsolete, or which clashed with their own ideas of what was proper or laudable. We do,

\* In the September part of this journal, vol. p. 269a, and p. 262b.

no doubt, find a reference to a fact which the Brāhmanas of later times would perhaps have preferred to ignore, viz., that in former times men of their caste had received instruction from Kshatriyas. For Manu allows a student to learn the Veda from one who is not a Brāhman only in cases of enmity or necessity.† (See my former article, p. 252a, at the bottom.) But would they be likely to refer to antiquated practices often, and especially in the case of such as they had come decidedly to disapprove, like polyandry?

The particular question to be now settled is whether the Pāṇḍus and their relatives are represented to us in the *Mahābhārata* as altogether belonging to tribes whose entire practices were of such a character as harmonized with pure Hindu ideas of later ages.

Pāṇḍu, the father of the five brothers, is related in that poem to have had two wives, Prithā or Kuntī (*Mahābhārata*, 4415ff.), and Mādrī (*Mahāb.* i. 4429ff.). Pāṇḍu, however, having been doomed by the curse of a sage to die in the embraces of his wife (vv. 4588ff.), resolves to relinquish family life and become an ascetic (vv. 4597ff.), and goes to the forest (4615), but accompanied by his wives (4630). The two wives, however, bear sons to different gods: Kuntī three sons to Dharma, Vāyu, and Indra respectively (vv. 4765ff., 4772, and 4791), and Mādrī two sons to the Āśvins (vv. 4850ff.).‡

Mādrī was the sister of Śalya, king of the Madras. In two passages (*Saṁpatha Brāhmanas*, xiv. 6. 3. 1, and xiv. 6. 7. 1 = *Uṇhādāranyaka Upanishad*, pp. 569 and 611 of the Calcutta text, and pp. 194 and 199 of the English translation) mention is made of Kāpya Patanchala, a Brāhmanical teacher, as living in their country, and nothing is said against the manners of the people. Again, in the third book of the *Mahābhārata* (vv. 6620ff.) Āśvapati, a king of the same country, is

† Compare Kambhira Bhāṭṭa's account of Buddha, who was a Kshatriya, for assuming the office of a teacher, and thereby encroaching on the province of the Brāhmanas: *Orig. Sansk. Texts*, vol. I. pp. 505ff.

‡ See Prof. Monier Williams's *Indian Epic Poetry*, pp. 91, 560.

§ See also the translations of Prof. H. H. Wilson and Max Müller. Troyer and Fuchs referred to in a note below.

|| This line has, I find, been translated by Professor H. H. Wilson, in his *Essay on the Hindu History of Kashmir* (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. XV, p. 109), as follows:—"On this account their heirs are their sisters' children, not their own." The entire verse has been rendered by M. Troyer

praised as righteous and pious. Yet in two speeches in the eighth book (or *Karnaparvan*, vv. 1836ff. and 2028ff., addressed by Karṇa to Śalya), the Bāhikas, Madras, Gāndhāras, and other tribes of the Panjāb, are strongly censured for the dissoluteness of their manners. Some extracts on this subject have been adduced from the latter passage in *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II. pp. 482ff. §

The tribes in question are there described as the lowest of men, unfit to be associated with, as faithless to their friends, liars, dishonest, as assembling males and females and slaves promiscuously, and eating fish and the flesh of kine, drinking spirits, screaming, laughing, the women as dancing addressed and drunk, and as unrestrained in their sexual intercourse (vv. 1836-1851). An old Brāhman, who had lived in the country, gives a long account in a similar strain, depicting the people as shameless in their cohabitation, as having no Vedas, or religious knowledge, or sacrifices, &c. (vv. 2038ff.). In vv. 2081ff., we have the following important statement:—"A certain virtuous woman, having been formerly carried away from the Āraṭṭa (country), and violated by robbers, uttered this curse: 'Because ye violate me, a young female, who have relatives, the women of your tribe shall become licentious. Now, vilest of men, shall ye be freed from this dreadful sin.' Wherefore their sisters' sons, and not their (own) sons, (are) the heirs of their property." ||

"Sati parā kṛitā klehid Aratīd kito dayubhiḥ |  
adharmaṭas chopayitā sī ita abhyāyapāt tātā |  
bhidm bandhūnātis yam mām adharmaṭopagach-  
chata |  
tumula nitya bhavishyanti bandhavya vai tūlasya  
cha |  
na chaivasmāt pramokṣadhuam ghorāt pāpā nari-  
dhamāh |  
tūvidi teshām bhāgahardh bhāginyadh na sūna-  
vāh."

The last words appear clearly to refer to a line in the appendix to his *Madjatarangini*, vol. I. p. 507, thus:—"Où, vous, dursiers des hommes, parlez-vous de ce crime affreux. Si non, ce ne seront pas vos fils, mais ceux de vos sœurs, qui seront vos héritiers." The original, however, has nothing answering to *sūna*, not has it any substantive verb in the future tense. Troyer adds this note, which I translate from the French:—"This custom of succession" (i.e., of sisters' sons being a man's heirs) "is found among the Nairs, and other tribes in which polyandry reigns." In M. Fuchs's translation of the verse, which runs as follows:—"Ne veuillez pas expier ce crime abominable; et pour cette impénitence n'ayez ni fils, ni neveu qui soient les héritiers de vos biens," the concluding words do express the true sense.

rule which prevails where polyandry exists, that sisters' sons, and not sons of his own, are a man's heirs, because, of course, in the peculiar circumstances, it cannot be determined by whom the latter were really begotten. On this subject I quote a passage from Mr. Walter Hamilton's *Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindoostan*, &c., vol. II. p. 280 (edition of 1820). "The Nairs marry before they are ten years of age, but the husband never cohabits with his wife. He allows her oil, clothing, ornaments, and food, but she remains in her mother's house, or after her parent's death with her brothers, and cohabits with any person she chooses of an equal or higher rank than her own. In consequence of this strange arrangement, no Nair knows his own father, and every man considers his sisters' children as his heirs. His mother manages the family, and after her death the oldest sister assumes the direction. A Nair's moveable property on his decease is equally divided among the sons and daughters of all his sisters." See also Mr. J. F. McLennan's *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 148f.

I do not go the length of asserting categorically that the words last quoted from the *Mahābhārata*, as to a man's sisters' sons being his heirs among the tribes referred to, prove historically the existence of polyandry in the Panjāb at, or before, the period when they were written. But it is certainly remarkable, if not indeed 'unaccountable,' that such words should be found in that book if they do not owe their existence to the fact of such a custom being actually prevalent at the time when they were penned, or not long previously.

Śalya makes (v. 2112ff.) but a brief reply to Karṇa's denunciation; is silent as to the truth of the charges made, but alleges that in *Anga*, the country of which his assailant is king, it is the custom to abandon the sick, and for men to sell their own wives and children. He says that there are everywhere Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, and virtuous and devoted women, with righteous kings, who control the wicked; and, at the same time, most vicious men. People are, he remarks, quick in detecting the faults of others, but do not observe, or delude themselves in respect of,

their own, and urges that no man is necessarily bad from being the native of a particular country, but is such in consequence of his own nature.

In regard to the differences in manners between the peoples of the Panjāb and those of Hindustān farther to the eastward, I repeat here the words of Professor Weber, freely translated in *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II. p. 354, from the *Indische Studien*, vol. I. p. 220, and said by him to be founded on data furnished by Pāṇini:—"The north-western tribes retained their ancient customs, which the other tribes who migrated to the east had at one time shared. The former kept themselves free from the influences of the hierarchy and of caste, which arose among the latter as a necessary consequence of their residence among people of alien origin (the aborigines). But the later orthodox feelings of the more eastern Aryans obliterated the recollection of their own earlier freedom, and caused them to detest the kindred tribes to the westward as renegades, instead of looking on themselves as men who had abandoned their own original institutions."<sup>4</sup>

P.S.—The learned friend who is referred to at the commencement of this paper has, after becoming acquainted with its contents, stated to me his opinion that, although the passage which I have quoted in it from the *Karṇaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* goes far to prove that polyandry existed among the tribes of the Panjāb, yet that this is a different thing from admitting it to have ever been an established institution; and remarks that the polyandry alluded to in that passage was of a purely licentious character. As this custom is not known to have been practised in the Panjāb for a long time past, it will perhaps be the safest conclusion to draw provisionally from the premises furnished in this and in my preceding paper, that though polyandry, or a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, may have prevailed more or less there in early times, yet that the former practice could not have been widely spread or recognized as a national institution. I shall be glad, however, if any student of Indian antiquity is able to throw further light on the subject.

<sup>4</sup> In my former article, p. 351a, last line, I observe an error, *vāḍa* for *vajra*. In regard to note 5, page 352, I am informed by Dr. Böhtlingk that he would understand

*upadrava* there in the usual sense of 'calamity,' and would render the line in which it occurs thus: "a man without Rich, Yajna, or Sāman is a calamity created by Prajāpati."



# REPORT UPON INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE AND THE HAMBANTOTA DISTRICT OF CEYLON.

BY THE LATE P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Ph.D.

I have until lately confined my examinations to the rich mines of the North-Central Province: and even there only the numerous inscriptions at Anurādhapura, Mihintala, Polonnaruwa, and at some other places, as Dambulla, Nimeri, Maradankajūwana, have been photographed. In the month of June I have been travelling through the Hambantota District of the Southern Province, with a view of taking first a general survey of the material to be found there.\*

I propose to open my report with an account of the most ancient inscriptions belonging to a time anterior to the Christian era, and mostly found in caves.

## I.—From the Introduction of Buddhism to the beginning of the Christian Era.

The caves of Vasaṅgiri, near Anurādhapura, have yielded an additional number of six short inscriptions to those two I had copied previously. I have met with several cave inscriptions, hitherto unknown to me, at Mihintala, both on the hill now alone inhabited by priests, and in a cave called Rājagiriya loma on the opposite hill, which abounds in ruins indicative of former habitations. Other inscriptions of the same kind were found on Dammappālakanda, at Gintalarihāra (three miles from Galkulam, Central road), on Elagamuṅkanda, on Maradankajūwana lakanda, at Dambulla (here also a great number of them on the bare rock close to the famous temple), on the rock at Panikkankulam (two miles from Kekirāwa on the Western minor road), on the rock at Mōragallawa (near Elagamuwa), in a cave at Murugakipikanda (between Elagamuwa and Dambulla), and several in the district of Hambantota, viz., at the ancient rikra of Mulgirigala and in the jungle between Kirindē and Palatupāna. Reference is made in the Government archaeological returns to an inscription at Mōdawaḥera, a very ancient temple in the jungle three miles beyond Palatupāna, but I failed to find anything in the extensive ruins of it.

The inscriptions of this period, a considerable number of which is now collected by me, furnish little new information, after having seen the first

important specimens: their contents are essentially the same throughout, viz., brief dedications to the priesthood, if they are not merely indicative of the ownership of the cave. They are written, as I have formerly stated, in the well-known Southern alphabet of the Indian emperor Dharmadoka, with slight modifications, and in some cases already in more recent forms, not very different from those of king Gaṇabāhu's time (2nd century A.D.). The proper names of the donors or proprietors often are not without interest, and there are some ancient words, as *paramata* or *ḍammaka*, 'Brahman' (in later times assumed as a title by kings), *jita*, 'daughter,' and a few besides, which will prove of value to the student of the Sinhalese language.

There is one very important grammatical form (which, however, we find to be in existence even at a later period), the nominative singular masculine and neuter in *o*, inasmuch as this is generally looked upon by European Orientalists as peculiar to the different dialects of Māgadhī; and if so, we would meet here with a significant corroboration of the Sinhalese historical tradition according to which a district of Māgadhī (or one bordering on this kingdom) was the native country of the early Āryan colonisers of Ceylon. There are some remarkable instances besides in which in special the Māgadhī employed in Aśoka's inscriptions and Sinhalese coincide, while both stand aloof from Pāli and all the other Prākṛita. Such are—

| Māgadhī.         | Sinhalese.   |
|------------------|--|
| सि†              | si (termination of the loc. sing.)                           |
| ममिसे            | mimisi (= 'man')   |
| तपसे             | topsi ('you' 'ye')   |
| पुलसे ('former') | peru ('former'), peru ('the light half of the lunar month'). |

(Sanskrit *pūro*, Pāli *pūbo*, Prākṛit *puwa*.)

A graphical particularity of the most ancient inscriptions is the use of two forms of *s* (one the common *s* of Aśoka's inscriptions, the other resembling in shape a Greek sigma, *σ*, a form unknown in India)‡, which it would be difficult to

had been engaged having nearly expired, he intended to return to Europe for a short time, proposing to return to Ceylon again and investigate the language of the Veddees, when he died."—Prof. B. Goldschmidt, in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

† But this also occasionally in the sacred writings of the Jaina sect.

‡ Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 140; and *Academy*, 17th February 1877, p. 139.—Ed.

\* Dr. Paul Goldschmidt, who died at Galle on May 7th, was born at Dantsig in 1860, and pursued his university studies at the universities of Heidelberg, Berlin, Tübingen, and Göttingen, at the last of which he took his degree in 1872. In 1873 and 1874 he resided in London, devoting his whole attention to the study of Prākṛit MSS., especially those relating to the Jains. At the end of 1874 he left for Ceylon, where the Colonial Government had offered him an appointment to collect all the ancient inscriptions found in that island. The term for which he



account for without the supposition that the pronunciation of *s* in Ceylon must have struck the Hindu introducers of the art of writing as somewhat different from their own, although it is true the two letters are used indiscriminately. Now, Prakrit grammarians record a peculiar pronunciation of *s* in the dialect of Māgadha, which appears in the dramatic works of the Hindus; perhaps (though of course we can assert nothing in these matters) early Sinhalese partook of the same distinction.

The following two cune inscriptions may serve as specimens of the most ancient Sinhalese preserved to us (by *s* I have transcribed the second referred to above):—

(1.) *Inscription in a cave at Vesugiri Anurādhapura*:—

Parumaka Palikadasa bariya parumaka Ticakita jita upaḥḥita Chitaya loṇa āgata chaturdiśa :

"The cave of the hy-devotee Chita (*Chitot*), wife of the Brāhman Palikada, daughter of the Brāhmaṇ Ticakita, (is given) to the priesthood of the four quarters of the world."

(2.) *Inscription near Nettunda (about fifteen miles from Mihintala, in the jungle, six miles off the Trincomalee road)*:—

Parumaka Wela putana loṇa āgata anagata chaturdiśa āgata :

"The cave of the sons of the Brāhman Wela (is given) to the priesthood in the four quarters of the world, present and absent."

II.—*From the beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourth Century A.D.*

We have in this period a fixed date to start from in the numerous inscriptions of King Guṇabāhu Gāmaṇī (113-126 A.D.), referred to in my former reports, as this king, though not generally mentioned under the distinguishing appellation of Guṇabāhu, has been mindful of preserving to posterity the names of his father (*Piṇṇa*) and his grandfather (*Varabho*). Thus he opens his inscription on the Itawawadi Dagaba, Anurādhapura (now in the Museum, Colombo):—

Walaḥa rajaha manumarakka T[ī]ssa nuha-  
rajaha puti maharaja Gayabahu Gamini Abaya:  
i.e. "King Gayabahu Gamini Abaya,  
son of king Tissa, grandson of king Walaḥa."

Manumarakka is the ancient form of the modern word *manudara*, 'grandson,' derived, by inversion of syllables, from Sanskrit *manuṣṛama*, 'mind-delighting,' as *manasa*, 'the delighter,' i.e. 'the son'.

Some smaller inscriptions of this period, formerly unknown to me, I found at Mihintala. A very well preserved inscription of considerable length is engraved on Habarana rock. Palaeographically

it differs little from the inscriptions of the second century, but occasionally the angular characters appear intermingled with the more graceful forms of a later period, which fact, in conformity with observations I have made on other inscriptions, proves that an older stage of the alphabet was for some time retained for engraving on the rock, after a more current form had come to be employed in ordinary life. The language shows some decided instances of development from the second century, but it is still very far removed from what is considered the classical form of Edo literature. The contents are rather more valuable than generally of inscriptions of the same period, as they record some particulars concerning the construction of the tank of Habarana, which was effected by utilizing two natural lakes. Like most ancient inscriptions, this also abounds in clerical errors. The following is the text of the whole, transcribed in Roman characters, to which I beg leave to annex a literal translation, as I have made it out.

*Inscription on Habarana rock.*

Siddham.

Mujita gamana keriyahi amata Olunayaha  
puta Abayaha ati | Walamani wawiyā

"kati wawiyā dakihi galapa kanna ataḥa  
wawiyā kota nwatikita eta eta gama saro

"ataḥi koṭu me Agichalamana wawiyā Mula  
sara cha Paṇḍahajira sara cha

"do karihi | mahasa cha chakka chatala kariya  
(*Kurikha*) cha Sarima parumaka maharaja  
me Aginaḥamasa

"wawiyā bojiya pati Senu puta Abalayaha  
cha uatthalaka bilataka rakka Kapakayana  
nutaumaraka cha samasaya Hamā

"ra tara (*tera*) . . . kaka ka (?) rya | dakapa-  
tiya kaka amasa da . . . rakka saga ualaha liya-  
waya bojiya pataya Karakawaya (*wawiyā*)

"Chotagiri wiharaha Abatalaha sithetaha  
tutaha akaka katu kari witaṇa Gapa chetohi  
tola buta mala koṭu cha | jina palisari kama  
karapa karapa Chopawaliya Giniya Magaha  
ch[o]ḥi Jagabaka hamānāṇaya parawatahi

"cha-ka koṭu cha bojiya patiya Karakā  
wawiyā dini (*di*) me chetohi wiḥara (?) bojiya  
patiya ri-karihi | mahasa cha witi karihi

"do pata cha | amata cha Wababayaha  
patayaga (or *pa*) ya datiya . . . pachayasa  
awapaka wnsali majimodini chada paza masi  
eta paka

"diwasa [*hi*].

*Literal Translation.*

"Hail! Concerning the inundated villages (*this*)  
is (*the saying*) of Abaya, son of the minister Cha-

saya. § He saw the Wajammi tank and the Kati (i.e. the royal) tank; having built several villages near lakes without furnishing the fields with a tank between embankments for the flowing down (of the water), he constructed Agichajammi tank out of the Mula lake and the Pachachajiva lake. And his majesty the King, after having made serve this Agichajammi tank 1,040 *kari*, ¶ having given it in charge to Abalaya, son of Sona, an aged overseer, the watch, and to the *śāro*, the monk Hamāra, grandson of Kapakaya—afterwards, for the preservation of....., having caused this to be written on a stone belonging to the priesthood, after assigning it, having constructed the Karakūṭa tank and having performed deeds not (formerly) done (even) by himself at Abulala (i.e. Ambathala) at the *vihāra* of Chaityagiri (i.e. Mithatula), having made offerings of oil and flowers at the *Gopu chaitya*, (which is) in extent a *kari* [8 acres] (?), having made reparings of the decayed (buildings) at the *chaityas* of Chupawaliya, Giniya, Magaha, he handed them over to the monks of the Lord of the world [Buddha], and having made ..... after having assigned, he gave (them) the Karakūṭa tank—after having assigned..... at the *chaitya*..... and from 1020 *kari* (?), ... and to the sons of the minister Wuhabaya..... the second..... In the Puchayasa awanaka (colourless) year, on the seventh day in the light half of the month Majjhimodini (March-April)."

I have not been able as yet to ascertain what year is meant by the designation of Puchayasa Awanaka, but I suspect the king mentioned to be Sirimoghavasaṃso (302-330) who, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, made great offerings at Ambathala.

Two inscriptions engraved on the rock at Dumanakalakaṇḍa record the construction of *chaityas*, and other grants to the priesthood; one of them is of particular interest, as it exhibits not only a mixture of ancient and modern characters, but also of forms of words.

Other rock inscriptions with the usual contents I have met with at Panikkankulam (near Kekeriāwe) and two on Elagamukanda. At Andarawwāwa (about two miles from Kekeriāwa) there is a stone slab containing a short inscription of king 'Wahaba' (Vasabho, 66-110), imperfectly preserved, which records a grant to the priesthood. But the pious munificence of the ancient kings did not stop short at endowing places situated near the principal seat of government, Anurādhapura. The district of Hambantota, Southern Province, is rich in similar dedications.

A fine stone slab found at Tissamahārāma,

at present kept in the Assistant Government Agent's compound at Hambantota, contains an enormous grant of land to the priesthood of the Tissamahārāma Vihāra (or, as it is styled in the inscription itself, "the great *vihāra* [called after the] king of Māgama"). It runs as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> Siddham || Budadasa Mahida Maha-

<sup>2</sup> sennawaka bāya Abhaya maharaja

<sup>3</sup> mi apa chudi purimanka Budadasa-ari pali

<sup>4</sup> mahānamika Jeta Tissa maharaja apaya

<sup>5</sup> ha pali Toda gamika kiri kiriyihi | ugu awani

<sup>6</sup> dīnawa sahasaka kiri abatarahi Mahāgama

<sup>7</sup> raja mahawāhirāhi tara pali mahānami Pa-

<sup>8</sup> dāna galida dinika | pacha sahasaka kiri cha mi Padana

<sup>9</sup> galida we warahata [?] pawatara [ri ?] awayata (uwayata) koṭa sa |

<sup>10</sup> padinika | chatura sahasaka ki (ka ?) ri che mo di acha.

<sup>11</sup> nani | nawa sahasaka kiri yaha ugu wa san (?) . . .

<sup>12</sup> charita niyatoina | rajakolihi bhā (?) nana . .

<sup>13</sup> mini | mowa baka kari (?) di-i | cha (?) tara [?] amāna wa (?) da (ga ?) . . .

<sup>14</sup> baka chu-awika . . . tawa na . . .

<sup>15</sup> Padana gūhihi baka waga hamiyana cha [ta]

<sup>16</sup> m pachayada uwayutu karawani koṭa | apa chu

<sup>17</sup> di purimukaha dina niyamani | mo cha nāli

<sup>18</sup> hi liyawaya dinamāna.

I have attempted a *literal translation*, which, however, I am aware, may be open to many objections:—

"Hail! Budhadāsa, Mahinda, Mahāsena, three brothers, his majesty king Abhaya, and our uncle (?) the Brahman Buddhadasa, a venerable, revered thro' [these are the persons concerned]: King Jettā Tissa, our sire, bought the *kiriyas* (of land) belonging to the village Toda; having remitted the taxes (?), as much as 9000 *kiriyas* (about 90,000 acres) (beginning) from Padanagala were given to the reverend, the venerable thro' in the great *vihāra* 'king of Māgama,' and 5000 *kiriyas* (beginning) from this Padanagala, furnished with....., have been given over, and 4000 *kiriyas* shall be.....; the taxes (?) of the 9000 *kiriyas* shall be remitted (?); the rules shall be kept; in the royal family preaching (?) shall be.....; this portion of the *kiriyas* now is given (?) four (?) *amānas*.....; and the remaining portion.....; the

§ Probably a mistake of the engraver for Wuhabaya.

¶ i.e. *kiriyas*, equal to about 16,400 acres.

lord of the Bhikkhu congregation shall be caused to be furnished with the four *peṇṇeyas*, having done this\* in order that what is given to our noble (F) the Bhikkhu may be kept, causing it to be written on this stone slab, we have it given."

It is difficult to ascertain who were the kings here alluded to, for neither of the two kings mentioned in the *Makirama* under the name of *Jettha Tissa* was succeeded by a son of the name of *Aśoka*; besides we do not know if these are kings of Ceylon or only of Māgama. Judging, however, from the characters as well as from the language, I have no doubt that this inscription is to be attributed to the fourth century A.D. It is worth noticing that even at that remote period some difference between the northern and southern dialects appears to have existed. The king of Māgama here alluded to as the eponymous person of the order was king *Kakkavāso* Tissa, the father of *Dattagāmaṇi*, who, according to the *Makirama* (pp. 131, 150 in Turnour's edition), founded the *Tissamahāvihāro* or *Tissamahārāma* (about 180 A.D.).

An inscription engraved on a high rock at *Kirundā*, though not remarkable for its contents, is peculiarly interesting by its language. The whole is a grant to the priesthood as usual, and the signs of sun and moon cut in the rock indicate that this donation shall last as long as sun and moon endure; but it opens with a praise of *Buddha* in which we find a great many Pāli words, apparently in a semi-Sinhalese guise:—

\*Siddham | Aparimitalokamhi Buddha-same natthi |  
athāne parimandale

\*savyantopeto santaro satho (satho) mahasavayo loki-chako Buddha-nimi

\*savyambhū.

Put into classical Pāli:

Aparimitalokamhi Buddhassame natthi | atthāno parimandalo.....savyantopeto santaro satho mahasavayam lokachakkam Buddha-nimi savyambhū.

"i.e. Hail! In the boundless world there is no equal to *Buddha*; spaceless, all-extending, endowed with omniscience, incomparable, the Teacher, the great Refuge, the wheel of prosperity—is *Buddha*, the self-produced one."

It is very unfortunate that we are not able to determine the exact date of this inscription. The characters are essentially the same as in the inscriptions of king *Gajabāhu* (second century A.D.) and his grandfather *Vasabha* (66-110 A.D.) (see above). There is no doubt that it is subsequent

to *Dattagāmaṇi* (161-137 A.D.); for in an inscription at *Tonigalat* in which this king is referred to as reigning, we find only slight modifications of the earliest characters.† Again, the alphabet here employed so closely resembles the one used in the Indian carra, which has been attributed to the first century A.D. and the first and second centuries A.D., that we cannot doubt it was introduced from India. The earliest date, therefore, assignable to this inscription would be the first century before the Christian era. Now it was in 90 A.D., under the reign of king *Vatthagāmaṇi*, that, according to Sinhalese tradition, the doctrines of Buddhism were first reduced to writing in Pāli. It is possible that this inscription belongs to a time prior to the year 90 A.D., though not very probable. I am rather inclined to attribute it to the first century of the Christian era; at any rate there is an instance of another inscription in the same characters belonging necessarily to the pre-Christian time. If, however, we are to suppose the Pāli language at that time to have been fixed by writing in the same grammatical and lexical forms in which we find it now, and which it certainly has exhibited since the time of *Buddhaghoṣa*, we should expect Pāli words occurring in inscriptions subsequent to *Vatthagāmaṇi* to wear their genuine shape, provided they are not thoroughly transformed into Sinhalese. Here we have, except in the word *sat* (for *sati* is Sinhalese), the Pāli aspirates, as well as a compound sign for *nd* in *parimandale*, and an *Ananta* or *Bhā* in *savyambhū*—all letters unknown to ancient Sinhalese. On the other hand, double consonants are expressed by single ones, as likewise in the case of the Pāli word *bhikkhu*, which several times in inscriptions of the same period appears in the form *bhikā* alongside of its Sinhalese transformations *bika*, *bili*, *bika*. The word *siddham*, usually the first word in these inscriptions, which apparently had been borrowed from Sanskrit, here as elsewhere is written with *ddā* (in one compound letter); nevertheless the same well-known sign is not used in the name of *Buddha*, which occurs twice in this inscription. It may be out of deference to Sinhalese grammar that the *son. sig.*, *same.*, and *sem.* (also used in crude form) was made to terminate in *ya*, though this *e* is already employed sparingly in *Dattagāmaṇi*'s inscription. It is interesting that the syllable *sa* (in *savaya-savyambhū*) is not expressed by its proper sign, but by *n* with a small *ya* below the line ( *ⁿya* ), conformably to the pronunciation still heard in Ceylon (and in some parts of India). Still more remarkable is the use of *c* instead of

\* Literally, 'having done, i.e. ordered the keeping of the rules,' &c.

† Published in the *Journ. As. Soc.* for 1833, p. 81.



Pāli & in the word *śaṣṣayutopete*, as we can perceive here no influence of Sinhalese, the latter language having changed the original (Sanskrit) word *śaṣṣa* (Pāli *saḍḍa*) into *śaṣṣa* (*ma*), contracted *sa* (*ma*), 'all.' *lokaki* is a good Pāli form, but not here applicable; it is probably a mistake of the engraver for *lokehi*, the regular loc. sing. in Sinhalese. The words *anti* and *nisi* are Sinhalese.

Leaving it undecided whether the Kirindī inscription is subsequent to the time when the sacred Buddhist canon is supposed to have been committed to writing, or prior to it,—in which case of course some of the peculiarities here noticed could be more easily accounted for,—there still remains enough in this passage, I believe, to throw doubt on the alleged antiquity of the Pāli language in its present form.

The remaining inscriptions of this period contain nothing remarkable, except occasionally interesting words. A number of fragments are found on the rock at *Kahagalvihāra* (between Rannā and Wimalakīya); other rock inscriptions at *Nayigalvihāra*, at *Mugirigala*, one long one at *Wādīgala* (two miles from Rannā, on the road to Taungalla), one at *Angulakolavihāra* (not far from Kirindī), and two at *Wigamāna* (near Rannā). A long inscription engraved on the rock at *Baḍagiriya* (nine miles from Hambantota) by its defaced state has resisted my first effort, but may be hoped to be decipherable after a renewed examination.

### III.—Down to the Eleventh Century.

I have seen, unfortunately, very few specimens of inscriptions between the 4th and 9th centuries, although this must have been a time of vigorous development, in the course of which by degrees Sinhalese was moulded into its classical shape.

There is an inscription of about the 6th or 7th century on a pillar near *Tissa-mahārāma* (according to tradition the post to which the royal tusker was tied); some lines are pretty well preserved, the greater part is defaced; I have not, however, as yet come to examine this sufficiently.

I will mention here, first of all, an inscription in the Hambantota district, because it has been of great help to me for fixing the dates of a number of other inscriptions. The pillar I am referring to was discovered by Mr. J. H. Dawson, the Irrigation Officer at *Mayilagastota*. It is inscribed on three sides, but partly effaced. The purport of the whole is again, as so often, a grant to a *śihāra*, to which is added an enumeration of the privileges usually connected with such a donation, viz., that the land should be exempt from *rdjādriya* and the like.

The donor is *Mahinda*, *apā* or viceroy. He calls himself a son of a king *Abhā Salamawā*

and queen *śihā*. Now the identical two persons are mentioned as the parents of a king *Siri Sangboy Abahay* in the inscription on those well-known stone tablets at *Mihintala* (translated in *Turnour's Epitome*, and the beginning in J. D'Alwis's *Silathasangerāṇa*, *Sur.* pp. xxvi. xxvii.), which present such an interesting account of the well-to-do life of the priesthood in a large *śihāra*. There the king says that he had been *apā* before being made king, and as the date of the inscription he gives the 16th year of his reign.

King *Abhā Salamawā*, the father of *Mahinda*, has left us an inscription at *Āṭṭawingollawa* (N. E. P., eleven miles from *Madawachchiya*), and another one beginning almost with the same words, at *Elawāna Panāla* (s. eleven miles from *Mihintala* towards *Trinkāmal*). In the latter, however, he calls himself *Abhā Salamawā Dāpūṇ*. Both bear as their date the 10th year of his reign; in both he alludes to a victorious campaign of his father, *Abhā Siri Saṅgha*, in India against the kingdom of *Pāṇḍi*. Of king *Abhā Siri Saṅgha* a fine pillar inscription is extant in the jungle on the foot of *Mihintala* hill, in which, however, his parentage is not mentioned. (He simply begins: *Abhā Siri Saṅgha* *boṇi mā pūmāda nāmanā na* *śimāta mā / hi dāna wāḍa dāna; i. e.* "[We] king *Abhā Siri Saṅgha* *boṇi*, in the 9th year [of our reign], on the 10th day in the month *Īmanta* [November]"). Alphabet as little as language leaves any doubt about the general period to which these inscriptions belong; it must be the time between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 11th century. In all of them most of the characters used approach the forms of the present alphabet so closely as to be legible to any educated native; and as for the language, though widely distant from the present conversational, it differs little from that of the inscriptions of the 12th century. (We except the then new-fangled manner of putting back Sinhalese words into their Sanskrit originals, and the wholesale introduction of Sanskrit words besides. Again, as the name *Siri Saṅgha* *bo* had come to be used as a mere title, assumed by many kings (for instance, *Vijayabāhu I.*, *Parākramabāhu I.*, *Niśāṅka Malla*), we have to look upon *Mahinda* (*Mahinda*) as the proper name of the inscriber of *Mayilagastota* and *Mihintala*.

After these preliminary remarks, we may look in the *Mahāvamsa* for an identification of the three kings (father, son, and grandson) to whom we owe the inscriptions in question.

*Mahinda III.* (997-1013), according to the *Mahāvamsa* (ch. 64), had been made *adipāṇa* at the accession to the throne of *Sena III.* (994-997). It is recorded of him (*Mahāv.* ch. liv. 29) that he put up inscribed stone slabs "to prevent future kings



from seizing on the property of the priesthood." Kassapo VI. (954-964) sent his army to India (*Mahds. ch. li.*). He was succeeded, according to the *Mahdvaniso*, by his son Dappala IV. (who reigned six months); and he again by Dappala V. (964-974); the next was Dappala V.'s brother, Udaya III. (974-977), who was followed by several short-reigned kings. A king Udaya is said (*Mahds. ch. li. 48*) to have been the uncle of Mahinda III.

Examining the rest of Sinhalese history in this period, we have no choice but to identify the three kings met with in the inscriptions above referred to (Abhā Siri saṅg bo, Abhā Salamuwān Dāpuḷu, Mihindā or Siri saṅg boy Abahay) with Kassapo VI., Dappala V., Mahinda III., of the *Mahdvaniso*, respectively. With regard to Dappala IV., who is called a son of Kassapo VI., we must doubt the correctness of the *Mahdvaniso*.

As I have stated, Mahinda was Adipīda or apd 104-107; to this interval, therefore, the inscription at Mayilagastota is to be attributed. The Mihintala inscription is dated from the 16th year of his sovereignty, i.e. 1012 or 1013.

To the same period as those belongs the fine pillar inscription of Mahakalattawa (now in the Museum, Colombo), which in a former report I had attributed to king Siri saṅg bo III. (703-718). A king called Siri saṅg boy in it grants the usual privileges to a village belonging to a nunnery built by the Chief Secretary Sena in honour of his mother. Now a chief secretary Sena is mentioned (*Mahds. ch. li.*) as one who built and endowed viharas under the reign of king Kassapo V. (927-954), the father-in-law and immediate predecessor of Kassapo VI. or Abhā Siri saṅg bo of the inscriptions. Although the name Sena is common enough, this coincidence, I believe, is too remarkable for us to hesitate to recognize in him the same person just mentioned, provided that the language and palaeography of the inscription speak in favour of this identification, as they do indeed. As therefore Siri saṅg boy, the king referred to, cannot have lived before Kassapo V., and the successors of Kassapo V. are mentioned under different names in the inscriptions, this Siri saṅg boy must be Kassapo V. himself. It is therefore between 927 and 954 that the inscription at Maha Kalattawa (the Kalattavāpi of the *Mahdvaniso*, where the decisive battle between Dutthagamani and Elara was fought) must have been written. There are some other inscriptions of king Siri saṅg boy (or bo) at Mihintala, Anurādhapura, and Gōmekallaya near Madawachchiya, the two latter now in the Museum, Colombo, which begin with precisely the same words, but, as the characters in which they are written are of

a somewhat more ancient form, I am not confident that these kings and the inscriber of Maha Kalattawa are identical. In the inscription at Anurādhapura (see in a former report) we find the king reigning in his 19th year, while Kassapo V. according to the *Mahdvaniso*, only reigned seventeen years.

These are the names of the four kings I have spoken about, with those given to the same in the *Mahdvaniso* :—

| Inscriptions.                      | Mahdvaniso.                          |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Siri saṅg boy                   | 1. Kassapo (V.)                      |
| 2. Abhā (or Abhay) Siri saṅg bo    | 2. Kassapo (VI.)                     |
| 3. Abhā Salamuwān Dāpuḷu           | 3. Dappala (V.) (brother Udaya III.) |
| 4. Mihindā or Siri saṅg boy Abahay | 4. Mahinda (III.)                    |

The following are extracts from the inscriptions above referred to :—

I.—Inscriptions of King Siri saṅg boy (Kassapo V.) at Maha Kalattawa (complete).

A.—(First side of the Pillar) :

Siri saṅg boy ma parumukā pasalewan na anwaya parumukā wak dawwa Pāṇḍi rad Dāpuḷu wara me kapp par ha kuroḷi senim isā nawa tora saṅgim isā mahala Dāpuḷi arak samahan wara kuḷa salā dāḷ siwim isā kolpatri saṅga utala wa ap me tuwāk donamo ok sewer wadā. jeyo Sen mahā

B.

laṇan tuman mātṭiyan namin nam di kol karuna tad Nā-arom mehoṇi-warli tuman tuḥ wat aṇit/hi ne dawapath mahawehera mahaboya diy wadā wadī mehoṇi wat hemba wat sathenak haṭ sath paraw wayuta karuna kol wadāḷa karuṇa binhi ā wā Gīteḷgama gamat attāṇi parahar de rawanna ge wadnā kol isā de kamtwa no wara

C.

nā kol isā māṭṭi-giya piya-giya nu wadnā kol isā danumāṇḍi melāṭṭi rad kol kumiyān no wadnā kol isā wariyaṇ gan geṇ geṇi me gamnā kol isā gāl miwun no wadnā kol wadāḷeyin ā me kapp par ha kuroḷi senim isā me kapp par nawa tora saṅgim isā kuḷa salā dāḷ siwim isā kolpattira saṅga utala wa ap me tuwāk dona

D.

me ek sewer awad me Gīteḷgama gamat attāṇi parahar denu ladi.

Literal translation.

" His majesty Siri saṅg boy, in the 19th

year (of his reign), on the 10th day in the bright half of Nawya (February-March)—whereas he has been pleased to declare with regard to the monastery (called) 'Dāpula, king of Pāṇḍi': until in this kalpa and in subsequent ones the female birds ..... and the nine planets hide, (and) with regard to the monastery (called) 'Dāpula the First, Preservation': until a small whirlpool becomes (P) firm, for so long do we, in agreement with the Kolpatra community of priests, give—and whereat has declared: to the village Litalgamura, which is situated on the ground assigned—according to the rule which the Chief Secretary Seta himself has established in the monastery Nāḥḥa built after he had named it with the name of his mother—for daily increasing the (supply of) water at the great viḍra and at the great Ba-tro, (and) for furnishing daily the four pratyāgas to seven persons, men or novices (P) ..... a privilege, viz., that two ..... shall enter, that two bharmathidya ..... that travellers and ..... shall not enter, that the officers of the royal family shall not enter the assembly of the priests (P), that enemies shall not take cattle from the village (sic!), that the cart-buffaloes shall not enter, until in this kalpa and in subsequent ones the female birds ..... (P) ..... until in this kalpa and in subsequent ones the nine planets hide and a small whirlpool becomes (P) firm [literally, to the ending of—to the becoming firm of—], for so long do we, in agreement with the Kolpatra community of priests, give—having been pleased to come (here), to this village (Litalgamura) ..... a privilege is given.

It seems rather strange that, as appears from the inscription, the great viḍra (at Anurādhanpura) required to be supplied with water from a tank five miles off.

#### II.—Inscription of King Abhā Salamevan Dāpula (Dappula V.) at Klamawa Pansala.

Srī Si-bara kūt kula kol Okā-was-and para-puren bat lak diw p[oloyon] parapuren hīmi wā Abhā Sīri saṅg hō maharād/ha tūnd at lwīgā nāwawan hawurād/uyohi Pāṇḍi rat p[urhoro] jaya kirtā tad rupān dāu wā and masulata mahat okāna siri bhoga kula maharād/ha dara Abhā Salamevan Dāpula maharād/ha tūnd at lwīgā nāwawan hawurād/uyohi—

2 i.e. sun, moon, and the seven planets.

3 The following is an abstract of the narrative given in the Mahābhārata (ch. 10-78) of Kāṣṭhā (VI.)'s Indian campaign, which here does not appear quite so glorious and successful as in the descriptions of his son.

The king of Pāṇḍi, being defeated by the king of Chola, sought the assistance of the king of Ceylon. Kāṣṭhā

#### Literal translation.

"But! His majesty king Sīri Saṅg hō, who descended from an uninterrupted line of kings of the Ikshvāku family, which is the principle of the glorious Kshatriya caste, had become lord by (hereditary) succession on the ground of the island of Laṅkā, who, in the 2th year after he had raised the royal umbrella, ransacked the kingdom of Pāṇḍi, and, having obtained victory and glory, enjoyed his splendour ..... flowers which were the gift (tribute) of foes—the son of that king, his majesty king Abhā Salamevan Dāpula, in the 10th year after he raised the royal umbrella—"

#### III.—Inscription of the same at Klamragastawa.

Okā [—was and para-puren] bat lak diw p[oloyon] parapuren hīmi wā Abhā [Sīri saṅg] hō mahat rat/ha tūnd at [anyā] nāwawan hawurād/uyohi Pāṇḍi rat [p]urhoro jaya tad ma[ra]d/ha dara Abhā Salamevan mahat rat/ha tūnd at [anyā] dāwawan hawurād/uyohi—

#### Literal version.

"His majesty king Abhā Sīri saṅg hō, who, descended from an uninterrupted line of kings of the Ikshvāku family, had become lord on Laṅkā's ground by (hereditary) succession, who, in the 2th year after he had raised the royal umbrella, ransacked the kingdom of Pāṇḍi and obtained victory—the son of that king, his majesty king Abhā Salamevan, in the 10th year after he raised the royal umbrella—"

#### IV.—Inscription of the Abhā Salamevan (later king Mahāwā III.) at Mayitugastawa.

Okā-was para-puren bat rad paramu-wanat ng ma[ra]d/ha tūnd wā lak diw p[oloyon] parapuren hīmi wā (P) (1) nāwawan maharād/ha tūnd at lwīgā nāwawan hawurād/uyohi Pāṇḍi rat [p]urhoro jaya kirtā tad rupān dāu wā and masulata mahat okāna siri bhoga kula maharād/ha dara Abhā Salamevan Dāpula maharād/ha tūnd at lwīgā nāwawan hawurād/uyohi—

#### Literal translation.

"By the apā Mīhādā—who was born in the womb of the appointed queen (son, chief queen to his majesty the king, descended from the unbroken line of the Ikshvāku family, reigning on Laṅkā's ground by (hereditary) succession—the son of king Abhā Salamevan—the principle

and his general Sakya came to India. Not even though supported by the Simhalese army, the king of Pāṇḍi, being unable to keep the field against his adversary, took to flight. The Simhalese general nevertheless determined on fighting, but was murdered "by the wicked Pāṇḍi." Kāṣṭhā hearing of this, and learning that at the same time his army was being decimated by sickness, "not at all surprised" (as the Mahābhārata says) called them back.



mentions one of those numerous kings called Siri sañghe as the father of the reigning king (about the 11th century).

IV.—*Inscriptions at Polonnaruwa, Mineri, Dambulla.*

On the *band* of the famous tank of Mineri (Pali *Maññira*; Inscri. *Minñiriya*) there is an inscription of the 10th or 11th century on two sides of a large stone pillar, which contains a grant of privileges to the place; unfortunately about forty-four lines on both sides are completely effaced, and nine only left. Close to this pillar there are some ancient statues of Hindu deities which impress the native mind with so much awe that no inhabitant of the village can be prevailed upon to approach the spot.

Polonnaruwa (*Polastinagara*), the capital of Ceylon after the decline of Anurādhapura, contains, as might be expected, for the most part inscriptions of a comparatively modern date. Near Galvithāra, constructed by Parākramabāhu the Great, I found a few huge letters cut in the rock, the remnants of an inscription of considerable length, which, belonging to the earlier centuries of our era, owes its destruction to the mysterious charm attributed by the natives to the ancient Nāguru characters: it had been, as I was told, defaced this very year by the barbarous inhabitants of Tūpawana.

The two inscriptions coming nearest in age to the one just mentioned are to be attributed to the 9th or 10th century. The one is engraved on the four sides of a pillar close to the site of Niśāñka Malla's Audience Hall, on the spot whence that king's lion-seat was taken to Colombo. The name of a king *Agra bodhi* is legible, but a great portion of it is effaced. Another pillar I had dug out of the ground not far from Jotavānārāmo. The inscription is very well preserved, and refers to a privilege granted by a king [... *Sala*]mewa to a village (*Galutla*, which belonged to a high officer of state called *Wadurag*. The king, I suspect, is *Sana Silāmegho* (838-858), and *Wadurag*, his minister *Vajiro*, who is mentioned *Mahā*. i. 83. The natives say that the pillars near the place where the inscription was found formed part of the ancient *Lowa mahapāya*, 'the great brazen palace' (originally built in imitation of the one at Anurādhapura). The place itself is now called *Hirigā vīmānaya*, 'the palace of the deaf woman,' and some story is told about the origin of this name. I consider it far from impossible that *Aśi* is only corrupted from *Vajiro*: the recollection of the owner of the spot having been lost, the natives were as usual ready to invent an etymological story of their own.

Thatwaking whose reigns have left most marked traces in the extensive ruins of Polonnaruwa are Parākramabāhu the Great and one of his next successors, Niśāñka Malla. Yet of the former we find only one inscription, though a very long one; while the latter, who could not feel so confident as his famous predecessor, of his memory not becoming lost to posterity, has laid down all the events of his life in numerous inscriptions, some of them of stupendous length. Parākramabāhu's inscription is engraved on the wall of Galvithāra, which he had founded. Unfortunately this is not an historical inscription, but a religious one, which contains the rules given for the priesthood of the *śikhra*. It is tolerably well preserved, and belongs to the earlier part of Parākramabāhu's reign, being dated A. M. 1708—i.e. 1165 A.D. The first six of fifty-one lines run thus:—

<sup>1</sup> *Apā* śāṭṭha kalpaśatasahasrādhika chātu (P) *rasa* [in] khynparimitakālaya (yon) sūna (soma) *tien* param (*pāram*) parā Māra [ā] grāma-bhūmi wā mahābodhi pa [r] yyañkāra [d] ha wā (wā) durvāra napa.

<sup>2</sup> *rivāra* Māra parājaya kotā sarvajāpāla prāpta wā paññāsa-hawaruddak dawasa chaturthi (P) pak tanhā meghāyān soyin wada eite aro  
<sup>3</sup> *ka* kalpakotiśāntamaharāyāhi kelaśānta da sa (P) wama sili sūya (*sūyā*) yan dharmamāyā-tavaraśāyāni wama sakala Buddha-kṛtya nima-wā Kasaññā nūwara abiyas hi Ma.

<sup>4</sup> *Ua* rājyaṅga sālbandaka (P) . . . yehi (*adha* *caṇḍā* [na] *yāhi*) nirupadhiśa nirvāna dhātawen diwi niwi sārā-si ya-sapa nā-sa-hawaruddak giya kama Walaṅga Abhā maharāja dawasa paṭan ek wā-dāna-sa.

<sup>5</sup> *pa* nā-sa-hawaruddak bhāṇa-nikāya wā sāsana piwema sili kalli Mahāsammāsādi parāmaparāyāta sūryayavāśādhātarijādhārāsa nākaḍigabhivyaṭṭhānāmarichin (*marichin*) vi-rājānā.

<sup>6</sup> *na* Śrī Saṃghabodhi Parākrama-bāhu maharājāpan sakala Lañkātehi eka-rījyābhishakaya abhishikta wā vijñabhita-puṇyārddhi wā rājyasakhañabhava kotā wāṇanwan.

*Literal translation.*

<sup>1</sup> 1254 years from the time of king Walaṅga Abhā (*Vikrāntarājya*), when 454 years had elapsed since Our Buddha, having in a time limited by (*extending over*) four *asavakhyas* 100,000 kalpas fulfilled all the thirty perfections, and having, on the Māra battle-ground, mounted on the divan of (i.e. *sitting cross-legged in*) thorough enlightenment, conquered the irresistible Māra together with his retinue, at



tained the state of omniscience, and forty-five years (after that), on the 4th day, having accomplished by quenching . . . . ., as a large cloud does by rain, so he, in many hundred thousands of *brahmas* of Kalpar by the sector of the law, (having thus accomplished) all the duties of a Buddha, extinguished (his) life by means of the sacred *nerapa-dhiśaśaṃsā* near the city of Kusinagara, in the grove of all trees of the king of the Mallas—(1254 + 454 years after that time) when, the congregations being broken up, religion was fading away, his majesty king Śrī Saṅghabodhi Parākramabāhu, descended from the unbroken line of Mahāsammata and the others, born of the Solar race, the king over kings, resplendent through the rays of his glory which has penetrated many regions, anointed by the anointment of paramount dominion on Saṅkhā's ground, enjoying the delight of dominion, with the treasure of his merits made patent, he, the very wise one—

Shortly after Parākramabāhu's death (1186) Nissālika Malla ascended the throne of Ceylon and reigned for nine years (1187-1195)—a king whose reign, as exhibited in his inscriptions, appears extraordinary, even making allowance for his being an Oriental prince, and who was anxious, more than any other Sinhalese monarch, not to allow the memory of his reign to fall into oblivion. The *Mahāvamsa* has nothing to record of him but that he erected *dāgubas* and palaces, and by his zeal for Buddhism heaped up merits from day to day. He himself tells us of an expedition to India, but most of the other memorable actions he speaks of have regard to religion. His numerous inscriptions are amongst the longest in the island, carefully executed, and most of them excellently preserved. He describes his whole life—birth, parentage, his arrival in Ceylon, his dignities there, the solemnity of his installation as king, and the acts of his government. Many of the buildings of Polonnaruwa, still extant in their ruins, indeed owe their origin to his magnificence; it was he, too, who repaired and embellished the splendid cave temple at Dambulla, often referred to in his inscriptions. A fine stone slab on the Ruwanvelli Dāgaba at Anurādhapura records, besides his other actions, the costly works he executed for the embellishment of this *dāgaba*, and for the restoration of Marichavāṭṭi and the other *śikhāras*. Another long inscription of his we find engraven on the rock at Dambulla close to the cave. The remainder are to be found in his capital, Polonnaruwa.

Going out from the modern village of Tōpawawa or Tūṭṭō, we reach first his Audience Hall,

where we find two series of pillars denoting the order in which the different dignitaries were seated, when Nissālika Malla was on his throne (the identical lion-seat now kept in the Colombo Museum, and itself covered, I have been told, with an inscription of this king). Near the Dāḷadāmaṇḍirāwa (*the palace of the tooth-relief*) there is a fine stone slab inscribed on two sides (see text and translation in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* 1874). From there we proceed to Thūpārāma and the surrounding buildings, where we find the enormous Galpota (*stone bank*), an inscription in three portions like the pages of a book (each page twenty-four lines), containing the whole of Nissālika Malla's history: a number of broken pieces of stone forming a sort of frieze round the lower walls of a palace, and a stone seat, which both narrate the same events with few variations. At Rankot Dāgaba we have again a stone seat and four pillars, all four of them covered with the same inscription. At Jotavāṇḍāśima there is a third stone seat of larger size than the two before mentioned, containing two inscriptions, one of which is the identical one seen on the four pillars at Rankot Dāgaba. The walls of a Hindu temple not far from Thūpārāma are covered with a Tamil inscription, of which, however, a great portion is effaced; as Nissālika Malla mentions a Hindu temple built by him at Polonnaruwa, it is not unlikely that he is the author also of this inscription; but my want of acquaintance with ancient Tamil language and palaeography prevents me from being able to assert here anything with confidence.

The principal events of Nissālika Malla's life, as gathered from his inscriptions, are these:—Nissālika Malla was born 1700 A.D. (i.e. 1157 A.D.) at Sihhapura as the son of king Śrī Jayagopa of Kāṭṭuga and his queen Pārvatī. Having come to Ceylon, to which he claims to have had an hereditary right, he first obtained the dignity of *apā*, and afterwards was made king. As such he calls himself Śrī Saṅgabho Kāṭṭuga Parākramabāhu Virarāja Nissālika Malla Apratimalla. His general character is thus described in the *Galpota*:—

*Galpota I.*

1. ——— Uḍḍi-gal mondan pa-

2. *hiraha sō satarandara duralā bahujāyā-muwa-piyara pabudu kotā anāt rāja-sirisa Chakradevendrayā sō somi-gagen pun sandaha sō dhīra*

3. *lāyēn Merawa sē gāmbura-bāwin nīgaraya sō kāhāntigāṇa maha pāḥiwa sō lo-wāman pinin upan kap-rukak sō wāḍḍa nīṭa.*

*Literal translation.*

"—having dissipated the enemies and exhibited the faces of the multitude, as the sun, when reaching the summit of the eastern mountain, destroys darkness and expands the lotuses—like unto Śakra, the king of gods, by his infinite royal splendour—like unto the full-moon by his gentleness—like unto Mount Meru by his firmness—like the ocean by his profundity—like the great earth by his patience—like a kalpa-tree produced by the wishes of the inhabitants of the world—"

It was thought incumbent on a king who wished to show his zeal for the religion of Buddha to issue edicts forbidding people to take away life. Of course it was rather the life of birds, fish, wild beasts, &c. which was meant to be spared, as for man's life—often the most devoted of these kings had made their way to the throne through murder during their predecessors. In the second part of the *Mahāvamsa* this is usually expressed by a certain fixed formula:—

*Muccakkhānam mīṇapakkhīnam katabbhaṃ sabbam dhami*

"As for his duties towards the fish, wild beasts, and birds, he accomplished them all."

Niśānka Malla did not neglect these duties. In his inscription at Anurādhapura he says that he gave security to the fish in twelve great tanks, and commanded the Kāmbodjans not to kill birds, after having given them large presents. In his inscription on the pillars at Ankok Dāgaba some of these tanks are enumerated:—

*Itta-Vīra-Miṇihora-Gaṇḍatāḍi-Paṭṭi-mūḍa vā tva  
rajayehi na ekamā vā tva nānā prajāṇa  
abhayaṃ dā:*

"Having at the site of many great tanks, as Rājavāra Tisavā (*Tisavāra* at Anurādhapura), Miṇihoravāra (*Mineri*), Gaṇḍatāḍi (*Kandalei*), Paṭṭivāra (*Patwila*), and others in the three kingdoms, given security to all living beings."

On the other hand, the same king sent his general Lak Vijayaśiṅga Kit with an army over to India, to invade the kingdom of Pāṇḍi, and pretend to have received large tribute from his enemies. An inscription of this identical Lak Vijayaśiṅga Kit, who is frequently spoken of in connection with Niśānka Malla's victories, I have described in a former report; I shall insert it below, as it will be of interest to compare this later grant to the priesthood with the more ancient dedicatory inscriptions above quoted. The several queens of Niśānka Malla are also mentioned, as well as his son Vīrabāhu, who reigned after his father's death for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari (compare the names of other princesses of Kālīṅga—Trilokasundari, queen to Vijayabāhu I., and a

relation of hers called Sundari [*Mahāv.* ch. lix., Turnour's ed. Intr. p. lxxxviii. ff.]).

In several inscriptions the people of Ceylon are admonished to choose their kings from the royal family of Kālīṅga, as it would not become kings of Ceylon or Pāṇḍi, who were adverse to Buddhism, to reign over the island:—

*Kālīṅga-cakṣaṇa hmi Lak-dīva Buddha-śāṅga-  
yā prapākṣa ānandho Chola Pāṇḍi-rajā na  
pihītiyā gatiyā:*

or, "As it is not right to establish un-Buddhist kings, as those of Chola, Pāṇḍi, &c., who are enemies to the religion of Buddha, in the island of Lanka, which belongs to the dynasty of Kālīṅga" (*Gālopā.* 111. 21-22).

I think we are justified in inferring from this that the princes of Kālīṅga themselves were Buddhists, and it is not without interest to learn that so late as at the close of the 12th century there was a Buddhist dynasty reigning over a part of Southern India.

Of real benefit to his subjects seem to have been the changes Niśānka Malla made in the system of taxation. For five years he remitted all taxes, and some of the most obnoxious he abolished for ever.

*Inscription of Lag Vijayaśiṅga Kit* (on the three sides of a pillar found on the bank of Abhayawewa or Bhāva-kkupini, now in the Museum of Colombo) (date about 1210).

## A.

Sefinat Okā-was-mja-paraparaṇ ā Abhā Salā-mawana Līlāvatī-avāṇḍagē agrāśāṭṭya vā Lag Vijayaśiṅga Kitānawīyāntawā nā Anurādhā-purehi paṭan bhāmiye tawā kara vā ruwan-pāyehi wiccha hun wāṭṭu

## B.

ruwanā siwa-parayen wāna pāu piṇṇiye tawā la bat gāwā yawā yāṭak hā mahi rā chā-lyayā yāṭakā piṇṇageta yāṭakā bhāmi-dān kotā hira-sanda paṇṇa vā piṇṇ pāyāyē pirimāṇā me lābhaya antarāya kaṭawān

## C.

windjān nāṇkāṭi-dak dān hā mātā mātā wānā nāwāṇṭiyā lobha-dvāsa-wānā dān kotā lābhā antarāya nā kotā nāwāṇṭān (P) kaṭā anūmawānā mawānā.

*Literal translation.*

"General Lag Vijayaśiṅga Kit, chief minister to Līlāvatī's royal consort, Abhā Salāmanawān, who comes from the royal race of the glorious Ikahvāka family—in the 3rd year (of the king's reign) having made a donation of land: and yāṭa for rice..... barley (P) to the priests themselves living in the Rāwanpāya (*ratanapadda*, palace of jewels) which he

himself built on ground from Anurādhapura, for their ease, that it may serve for the four *pratyugas*, and one *yāla* to the *ekāntya* here and one *yāla* to the *imago-house*—the pain in hell, which those shall suffer who obstruct this merit acquired from the offered.....which shall last as long as sun and moon endure (literally, *sun and moon being the measure*), shall be now and in all future, (but) wise men who, having renounced covetousness, hatred, pride, and not obstructing the merit, do.....may be pleased to share (the merit)."

A grant made to the identical general Lak Vijayasingu Kit is the subject of a long inscription of king Sāhassa Malla (1200-1202), engraved on the two sides of a fine stone slab and excellently preserved; the greatest portion, however, in historical, referring to events connected with the accession of the king to the throne of Ceylon. We learn from it that Sāhassa Malla was a brother of Nissāṅka Malla, being the son of Śrī Jayagopa of Kāṭṭṭa, but by a different queen. This inscription, together with Nissāṅka Malla's inscription at Anurādhapura, has lately been published in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S. vol. VII. pp. 153ff.); but as, unfortunately, native copies only

had been procurable, the text of both abounds in blunders.

I found one short and comparatively modern inscription besides at Polonnaruwa, on a post at the staircase leading to Kiriwōthana, from which I have been unable to make out any sense.

The jungle covering the ancient streets of Polonnaruwa has been cleared to so small an extent that there is no doubt much more must be hidden than we have found as yet; new inscriptions, though probably pretty modern, will certainly be of great interest, for their language as well as, more still, on account of the historical matter they are likely to contain; as for buildings, though at Polonnaruwa they are, as a rule, very inferior imitations of the Hindu style of art, their discovery may nevertheless prove valuable from more than one point of view.

I beg leave to add regarding the inscriptions inserted in this report that I have translated them into English as literally as possible, as they contain new matter, though being aware of the insufficiency of this kind of translation. Philological explanations it would have been out of place to give here.

Akuraṇa, 11th September 1876.

## BOOK NOTICES.

THE HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST AGES. By J. Talboys Wheeler. Vol. IV. Part I.—Muhammadan Rule. (London: Tribner & Co. 1876.)

This is the fourth instalment of what Mr. Wheeler calls the "History of India from the Earliest Ages." The first volume, as most are aware, contains an analysis or abridgment of English versions of parts of the *Vedas* and the *Mahābhārata*, and the second of the story of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Justices of Manu*. To call these volumes a History, however, we hold to be quite a misnomer; they have no claim to the title. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* are neither of them the work of a single age; and the events chronicled in them, so far as they may chronicle actual events, were perhaps of little more importance in the political history of the time than the feats of Robin Hood were in England. And until these works have been analyzed in a way they are not likely to be for years to come, and the portions belonging to different epochs, if possible, distinguished and separated, the pictures they present can have no claim to historical truthfulness as reflecting the character of any particular age. And when such analysis has been made, the result will only be such 'history' as might be extracted from any good novel—not a narrative of actual events which formed or

helped to form the character of the times, but rather, conversely,—that character as illustrated by incidents not so real as those in the Waverley novels.

The third volume, on the Hindu and Buddhist periods, is a compilation from more varied materials, which, as has been noticed (*ante*, vol. IV, p. 62) the writer has often misinterpreted; and the present is a volume, or part of a volume, of 320 pages, with xvi pages of contents, which professes to give the history of Muhammadan rule from 570 to 1650 A. D. The first chapter is devoted to Islam before the conquest of India, or from 570 to 907 A. D., and is as brief a survey as it well could be, since on p. 22 begins the account of the contest between Jayapāla and Subuktigin, the assertion—crowded into the preceding short *résumé* being made with a confidence that must tempt the careful reader to ask for authorities, which are scarcely ever alluded to. Mr. Wheeler, among other things, believes the Afghāns to be the descendants of the 'Ten Tribes.\*' But unfortunately he is more fond of theories like this than of facts: here is a specimen from the preface:—"It will be seen," he says, "in the course of the present volume that the Moghuls bore a striking resemblance to the

the subject of their Hebrew descent. Jones thought there might be some basis of truth in the hypothesis, and suggested that the Arsareth (2 *Esdras* xii. 46) to which

\* It is well known that every Afghān claims to be one of the Beni-Jarāh, or Children of Israel, and Mr. H. Vansittart as long ago as 1784 addressed Sir W. Jones on



Vedic Aryans. . . In other words, it will be seen that there is reason to believe that the Vedic Aryans were Moghuls; that Asoka and Akber sprang from the same stock as the worshippers of the Vedic gods." But he does not adduce what any sober thinker would regard as a shadow of proof for this or any of his numerous other hasty conclusions.

The brief outline given of the history of India is divided by the author into "four stages of development"—"the Sani, the Shih, the Sufi, and the Sani revival;" the first found expression from the eleventh to the fourteenth century; the second from the conquest of the Dakhan in the fourteenth to the sixteenth century; the Sufi during the establishment of the Moghal empire in the 16th and 17th centuries,—during this period," he says, "Hinduism worked its strongest. It imbued Mussulman thinkers with a belief in the transmigration of the soul; in the final union of the soul with the supreme spirit. It brought the worship of Ali and his two sons, as incarnations of God, into harmony with the worship of Rama and Krishan, as incarnations of Vishnu. But the movement failed to reconcile Mussulmans and Hindus. It drifted into indifference and scepticism, and was finally swamped in a religious revival." The last epoch, that of the Sani revival, coincides with "the culmination and decadence of the Moghal empire in the 17th and 18th centuries." And the Sani reaction "was a revival of the orthodox religion in a puritanical form." Again the author calls attention to another division of Indian history; he says,— "The Mussulman period is the one properly so called. It extended from the 11th century to the 18th. Throughout this interval of five centuries the religion of Islam was dominant throughout the Mussulman empire. The Sultans were mostly staunch Mussulmans. The Moghal period has been wrongly called Mussulman. It extended from the 16th century to the middle of the 17th. Throughout this interval the Koran was neglected or ignored; many of the so called Mussulmans were Sufi heretics; many affected open infidelity. Akber, the greatest sovereign of the Moghal dynasty, threw off all pretence of being a Mussulman. He

persecuted Mussulmans; he destroyed mosques; he broke up the power of the Ulama, or Mussulman Church." Some of the statements above quoted will be so new to students of Indian history who have derived their ideas from Oriental sources, or even from Elphinstone, Orme, Dow, Mill, Marshman, and other respected writers, that we need not further challenge them. Nor, though so carefully defined in his preface, does the author himself in the work very markedly distinguish between "the Mussulman" and "the Moghal periods." The short space of 300 pages of large type, into which Mr. Wheeler compresses his account of six centuries and a half, does not give him the opportunity of entering into details either of campaigns or of policy, and the reader gets much less than is given in the compilation of Murray and other popular handbooks of the class. The whole is expressed in a series of very short sentences, all cast in one mould, and averaging from sixteen to nineteen on a page of 34 lines. The abruptness of the style may be judged from the quotations we make. Much new material for the history of India has been made available within the last few years, even to those, like Mr. Wheeler, unacquainted with any Oriental language: we need only mention the invaluable work on the Muhammadan period, embracing the translations of native histories, prepared by the late Sir H. M. Elliot and continued by Professor Dowson, filling eight octavo volumes, containing about 4500 pages of matter, which the judicious and well-merited encouragement of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India has enabled the able editor to carry through the press. But Mr. Wheeler's opinion of native historians is not high. "The historians of the Mussulman period, properly so called," he says, "generally told the truth. Occasionally they may have praised bad princes because they were good Mussulmans; otherwise they were honest and trustworthy. They were kept up to the mark by the influence of the Ulama. The Ulama comprised the collective body of doctors, lawyers, magistrates, and judges resident at the capital... Had the historians of the Mussulman period sacrificed truth to flattery, they would have exposed themselves to the scorn of

the ten tribes were said to have been removed might be Hazara, a district of Kabul (Ann. Rec. vol. 11 pp. 67-76). The Rev. Ch. Forster, in his *New Key to the Recovery of the Lost Ten Tribes* (1854), supported the theory, and held that Hazara may be derived from the Arabic *Hasar*—'expelled, banished,' and *Khal* from *Ar. Khalul*—'a tribe,' pointing out at the same time that Ptolemy places the Kalakhan on the borders of Bactria, and immediately to the south the Arakophylus, or 'inhabitants of the hills' which he thinks could only be appropriated by Israelites; while he supposes that Hazara and Hazor by the river Gossan (2 Kings xiv. 17) were in the west of Khuzistan, and the same as Ghore, from which the Afghans claim to have originally come. The same theory is supported by Major James in his *Settlement Report*, 1862, and by Dr. H. Bellow in his *Political*

*Mission to Afghanistan*, 1857. The national tradition of the Afghans may be seen in Dorn's *History of the Afghans* by Wilmot Elliot (London, 1866); but, as may be noticed by comparing this with the other versions of the tradition given by Wolff, Forster, and Bellow, there is not little accordance in its details as reported by themselves, and their histories are none of them more than three hundred years old. Dorn, Trumpp, Lowenthal, and Wolff have failed to discover a single Hebrew or Chaldean root in the Pushtu language except in purely Arabic words introduced with Muhammadanism, and most of the customs pointed out as characteristically Hebrew can be traced to the Quran. The weakness of all the arguments has been well pointed out on a paper by the Rev. J. P. Hughes in *The Indian Christian Intelligencer*, vol. 1, p. 697, to which we are chiefly indebted for the substance of this note.



the Ulamā." Ferishtah he considers "a type of the truth telling historians of the Mussulman period." Yet Ferishtah does not belong to that period at all, but to the beginning of the 17th century, the culminating point of his "Mughal period," during which, he says—"History degenerated into flattery and falsehood. European historians of India have believed in the false flattery of Persian parasites and party writers. They have ignored the authority of European contemporaries, who had no temptation to depart from the truth." Such are his somewhat startling dicta, and in proof he says—"Abul Fazl and Khān Khān are types of the flatterers who flourished during the Mughal period. This statement by no means diminishes the value of Mr. Blochmann's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl. Mr. Blochmann's work is invaluable." Very different has been the estimate previously formed by Elphinstone, Grant Duff, and Sir H. Elliot of these writers: the high character of Abul Fazl's *Akbar-nāma* is well known,† and Khān Khān's *Muntakhab-i-Lubāb* is regarded by Sir H. Elliot as "one of the best and most impartial Histories of Modern India;" and from the high and well-deserved repute of these authors among scholars‡ Mr. Wheeler's condemnation will be able to detract nothing.

Having thrown overboard the native historians, Mr. Wheeler addresses his favorite authorities, whose evidence "beyond all question" places "Mughal history" upon "a truthful footing." They are—William Hawkins, "who spent two years at Agra between 1608 and 1611"; Sir Thomas Roe, "who followed the court of Jahangir from 1616 to 1618"; Sir Thomas Herbert, "who travelled in India about 1627 and 1629"; John Albert de Mandelate, who "travelled in India between 1638 and 1640"; Francis Bernier, "who lived in India from 1656 to 1668; John Baptista Tavernier, "an intelligent jeweller who travelled through India two or three times in the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb"; Monsieur de Thvenot, "who travelled through India in the early years of Aurangzeb. Such are the authorities on which the historian has relied; they present a true picture of native rule." We do not question the value of their testimony; they were honourable men and told the truth, so far as they knew it; but the question is how much had they the opportunity of seeing and judging of for themselves, and what were their qualifications as impartial historians? But Mr. Wheeler has "other authorities!" Manouchi,

a Venetian physician, resided forty-eight years in India. "He was in the service of Shah Jehan; afterwards in that of Aurangzeb." His memoirs fell into the hands of Father Catrou, a Jesuit priest, who wrote "a history of the Mughal empire" in French, which was translated into English and published in London in 1826. "It forms," says Mr. Wheeler, "the very best authority for the history of the reign of Shah Jehan." "Catrou quotes letters which reveal the inner nature and disposition of the writers. The substance is given in the sixth chapter of the present volume" (pp. 251-320). "They impart a dramatic character to the history." But "Father Catrou's history is incomplete." He wrote a history of the reign of Aurangzeb, but it does not appear to have been published, and so Mr. Wheeler finds that his reign "is difficult and obscure," and "under these circumstances the present volume has been brought to a close with the reign of Shah Jehan."

Those who seek for history will scarcely find it among Mr. Wheeler's facts and fancies strung together in this volume, which adds nothing to our previous information, nor even utilizes to any satisfactory extent the results of recent research. We can only hope Mr. Wheeler will find better materials, and present a picture more in accordance with facts in the forthcoming Part of this volume, which is to deal with the Hindu history of the Peninsula.

*NALOPADHYAYAN, OR THE TALK OF NALA*; containing the Sanskrit text in roman characters, followed by a Vocabulary in which each word is placed under its root, with references to derived words in cognate languages, and a Sketch of Sanskrit Grammar, By the Rev. Thomas Jamrell, M.A. (Edited for the Syndics of the University Press.) London: Cambridge Warehouse, 1875.

In a short introductory note the editor states that this edition of the *Nalopadhyayan* is "intended for the benefit of those persons who are deterred from the study of Sanskrit in consequence of the complicated characters in which that language is usually printed." From the completeness of the aids and the ingenuity of their arrangement, however, the book seems well calculated to be of great use to the beginner in Sanskrit, quite independently of the character used. The text occupies 83 pages, or scarcely half the volume, and to each of the first eleven of the twenty-six sections or cantos into which the poem is divided is affixed a short list of roots alphabetically arranged and numbered. Each of these roots occurs in composition once or oftener in the section, and the numeral belonging to it in the list is written over each of these derivatives or compounds in that canto; in this way the learner is

\* Mr. Blochmann's well-known name is uniformly thus misspelt by Mr. Wheeler.

† See Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, pref. p. vi.; Sir H. Elliot's *Histories of India*, vol. VI. pp. 6-8.  
‡ Conf. *ibid.*, p. 255.

enabled at once to refer to the vocabulary, where he finds the meaning of the root and all the derivatives from it that occur in the poem, together with occasional footnotes pointing out cognate words in Pāli, Hindustānī, Gothic, German, Persian, Latin, Greek, Russian, Welsh, &c. Then, an index is prefixed to the Vocabulary, in which the words are arranged in alphabetical order, the root of each being set against it. The 'Sketch of Sanskrit Grammar' is derived from Wilson's *Grammar*, and is in the briefest form possible, consisting of eight pages of text and seven folding sheets of tables of declensions of nouns, numerals, pronouns, and conjugations of verbs,—arranged in such a form as to be most useful to the learner.

The system of transliteration differs from that commonly used in employing a dot over the letter to indicate the long sounds of *a*, *i*, and *u*, in representing the short *i* by *i*, *ē* by *ei*, *ū* by *u*, *ṛ* by *r*, *ṝ* by *r̄*, *ṝ̄* by *r̄̄*, *ṝ̄̄* by *r̄̄̄*. We hardly think the additional simplicity of this is sufficient to justify a departure from the usual system.

*Nāradya Dharmasāstra*, or the *INSTITUTES OF NĀRADA*. Translated for the first time from the unpublished Sanskrit original by Dr. Julius Jolly. With a preface, notes chiefly critical, an index of quotations from *Nāradya* in the principal Indian Digests, and a general Index. (pp. xxiv. and 144, 15mm.) London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

The title-page of this little volume very correctly describes its contents: the appendix, containing the index of quotations and critical notes, occupies 22 pages at the end of the translation. The preface is a very thoughtfully written introduction, containing, in the limited space of twenty-seven pages, a vast amount of condensed information and criticism.

The *Nāradya Dharmasāstra* or *Nārada-smṛiti*, like other works of the sort, begins with a fabulous account of itself. Abridged it runs thus:—"Manu Prajāpati composed, for the benefit of all beings, a book founded upon custom and law, which consisted of twenty-four divisions, viz. the creation of the world, a classification of beings, an enumeration of the countries assigned to them, the characterisation of a judicial assembly, &c. &c. . . . It contained a hundred thousand ślokas. Prajāpati having composed this book, delivered it to the divine sage Nārada. He then read it and thought by himself: 'This book cannot be easily studied by human beings on account of its length.' Therefore he abridged it in twelve thousand ślokas and delivered it to Sumati, the son of Bhṛigu. He too read it, and bethought himself, what human capacity had been brought to through the successive lessening of life;

wherefore he reduced it to four thousand. It is this second abridgment by Sumati which mortals read, whilst the gods, Gandharvas, &c. read the original code consisting of a hundred thousand ślokas, which begins with the śloka: 'This universe was involved in darkness and could nowhere be discovered; then the holy self-existing spirit appeared with four faces.\* From this beginning, chapter follows chapter in regular succession. There the ninth chapter is headed: 'Of Judicial Procedure.' Of this chapter Nārada, the divine sage, made a general abstract in form of short rules (*śāstras*)." And this abstract is the work now translated. But of course 'the divine sage' had nothing to do with its authorship, for even this epitome ascribed to him quotes Nārada as well as Manu as authorities; who the real author of it may have been, it is impossible to say, but in all probability, as Dr. Jolly conjectures, the metrical version we now have is the work of some learned Brāhman, who perhaps reduced some older law-book into this shape. Its age he discusses at more length, and, in agreement with Aurel Max and Stenaler, he comes to the conclusion that while the codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya must be placed among the earliest law-books, that of Nārada cannot be attributed to an earlier date than the fifth or sixth century—and perhaps it belongs even to a somewhat later age.

The *Nārada-smṛiti* is perhaps, as described by Dr. Jolly, "the most luminous, complete and systematic" of Hindu law-books, conveying "a more correct and more favourable impression of native Hindu legislation than either the code of Manu or Jugunnātha's *Digest*, the two most widely-spread works on Hindu law in general, could give," and its translation must be welcome to all connected with Indian jurisprudence in any form, as well as to Sanskrit scholars. With the exception of an occasional stiffness and want of idiomatic expression, it is clearly rendered in a scholarly fashion. We trust the reception of this little volume will be such as to encourage the author to attempt some of the mediæval law treatises.

#### ĀTITHASIKĀ ROHASYA, by Rām Dās Sen.

Babu Rām Dās Sen of Berhampur is known to some of our native scholars as the author of essays on some of the principal Indian poets. This second volume of his, which he styles *Historical Essays*, treats on a variety of subjects, such as 'The Vedas,' 'Buddhism,' 'Jainism,' the 'Pāli language and literature,' 'the *Āra* of Śālisthāna,' 'the Hindu Drama,' &c. It is to be regretted he does not issue these interesting studies in an English dress, in which they would be welcomed.

\* This verse corresponds with śloka 5 and 6 of Manu, where the opening śloka 1-4 are apparently a later addition.

## THE INDIKA OF MEGASTHENES.

TRANSLATED BY J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., GOVT. COLLEGE, PATNA.

(Continued from p. 260).

## DOUBTFUL FRAGMENTS.

## FRAGM. LII.

*Ælian, Hist. Anim. XII. 8.**Of Elephants.*

(Comp. Fragm. xxxvi. 10, xxxvii. 10.)

The elephant when feeding at large ordinarily drinks water, but when undergoing the fatigues of war is allowed wine,—not that sort, however, which comes from the grape, but another which is prepared from rice.\* The attendants even go in advance of their elephants and gather them flowers; for they are very fond of sweet perfumes, and they are accordingly taken out to the meadows, there to be trained under the influence of the sweetest fragrance. The animal selects the flowers according to their smell, and throws them as they are gathered into a basket which is held out by the trainer. This being filled, and harvest-work, so to speak, completed, he then bathes, and enjoys his bath with all the zest of a consummate voluptuary. On returning from bathing he is impatient to have his flowers, and if there is delay in bringing them he begins roaring, and will not taste a morsel of food till all the flowers he gathered are placed before him. This done, he takes the flowers out of the basket with his trunk and scatters them over the edge of his manger, and makes by this device their fine scent be, as it were, a relish to his food. He strows also a good quantity of them as litter over his stall, for he loves to have his sleep made sweet and pleasant.

The Indian elephants were nine cubits in height and five in breadth. The largest elephants in all the land were those called the Prasinæ, and next to these the Taxilæ.†

## FRAGM. LIII.

*Ælian, Hist. Anim. III. 40.**Of a White Elephant.*

(Comp. Fragm. xxxvi. 11, xxxvii. 11.)

An Indian elephant-trainer fell in with a white elephant-calf, which he brought when still quite

\* Called arak, (which, however, is also applied to *Adi* rum is now-a-days the beverage given it.

† This fragment is ascribed to Megasthenes both on account of the matter of it, and because it was undoubtedly from Megasthenes that Ælian borrowed the narrative preceding it (Fragm. xxviii.) and that following it (Fragm. xxv.).—Schwanbeck.

‡ Compare the account given in Plutarch's *Life of*

young to his home, where he reared it, and gradually made it quite tame and rode upon it. He became much attached to the creature, which loved him in return, and by its affection requited him for its maintenance. Now the king of the Indians, having heard of this elephant, wanted to take it; but the owner, jealous of the love it had for him, and grieving much, no doubt, to think that another should become its master, refused to give it away, and made off at once to the desert mounted on his favourite. The king was enraged at this, and sent men in pursuit, with orders to seize the elephant, and at the same time to bring back the Indian for punishment. Overtaking the fugitive they attempted to execute their purpose, but he resisted and attacked his assailants from the back of the elephant, which in the affray fought on the side of its injured master. Such was the state of matters at the first, but afterwards, when the Indian on being wounded slipped down to the ground, the elephant, true to his salt, bestrode him as soldiers in battle bestrode a fallen comrade, whom they cover with their shields, kills many of the assailants, and puts the rest to flight. Then twining his trunk around his center he lifted him on to his back, and carried him home to the stable and remained with him like a faithful friend with his friend, and showed him every kind attention.‡ (O men! how base are ye! ever dancing merrily when ye hear the music of the frying-pan, ever revelling in the banquet, but traitors in the hour of danger, and vainly and for nought sullying the sacred name of friendship.)

## FRAGM. LIV.

*Pseudo-Origen, Philosoph. 24. ed. Delarue, Paris.*

1783, vol. I. p. 604.

*Of the Brachmans and their Philosophy.*

(Comp. Fragm. xlii. xlii.)

*Of the Brachmans in India*

There is among the Brachmans in India a sect of philosophers who adopt an independent life.

Alexander, of the elephant of Ptolemy:—“The elephant during the whole battle gave extraordinary proofs of his sagacity and courage of the king’s person. As long as that prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants; and when he perceived him ready to sink under the multitude of darts and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off he kneeled down in the softest manner, and with his proboscis gently drew every dart out of his body.”



and abstain from animal food and all victuals cooked by fire, being content to subsist upon fruits, which they do not so much as gather from the trees, but pick up when they have dropped to the ground, and their drink is the water of the river Tāga be nā. § Throughout life they go about naked, saying that the body has been given by the Deity as a covering for the soul. ¶ They hold that God is light, ¶ but not such light as we see with the eye, nor such as the sun or fire, but God is with them the Word,—by which term they do not mean articulate speech, but the discourse of reason, whereby the hidden mysteries of knowledge are discerned by the wise. This light, however, which they call the Word, and think to be God, is, they say, known only by the Brachhmans themselves, because they alone have discarded vanity,\* which is the outermost covering of the soul. The members of this sect regard death with contemptuous indifference, and, as we have seen already, they always pronounce the name of the Deity with a tone of peculiar reverence, and adore him with hymns. They neither have wives nor beget children. Persons who desire to lead a life like theirs cross over from the other side of the river, and remain with them for good, never returning to their own country. These also are called Brachhmans, although they do not follow the same mode of life, for there are women in the country, from whom the native inhabitants are sprung, and of these women they beget offspring. With regard to the Word, which they call God, they hold that it is corporeal, and that it wears the body as its external covering, just as one wears the woollen surcoat, and that when it

divests itself of the body with which it is enveloped it becomes manifest to the eye. There is war, the Brachhmans hold, in the body wherein they are clothed, and they regard the body as being the fruitful source of wars, and, as we have already shown, fight against it like soldiers in battle contending against the enemy. They maintain, moreover, that all men are held in bondage, like prisoners of war, † to their own innate enemies, the sensual appetites, gluttony, anger, joy, grief, longing desire, and such like, while it is only the man who has triumphed over these enemies who goes to God. Danda mis accordingly, to whom Alexander the Macedonian paid a visit, is spoken of by the Brachhmans as a god because he conquered in the warfare against the body, and on the other hand they condemn Kālānos as one who had impiously apostatized from their philosophy. The Brachhmans, therefore, when they have shuffled off the body, see the pure sunlight as fish see it when they spring up out of the water into the air.

## FRAGM. LV.

Palladii, de Hæroclitibus, pp. 8, 20 et seq. ed. London. 1668.  
(Cambræ, libell. gnomolog. pp. 116, 124 et seq.)

## Of Kalanos and Mandanis.

(Cf. Fragm. vii. 10, aliv. xlv.)

They (the Brachmanes) subsist upon such fruits as they can find, and on wild herbs, which the earth spontaneously produces, and drink only water. They wander about in the woods, and sleep at night on pallets of the leaves of trees.

Kalānos, then, your false friend, held this opinion, but he is despised and trodden upon

## FRAGM. LV. B.

Verhulst, De Moribus Brachmanum, pp. 62, 63 et seq. ed. Palladii, London. 1668.

## Of Kalanos and Mandanis.

They (the Brachmanes) eat what they find on the

§ Probably the Sanskrit Tāgavāṇ, now the Tāgā-lāndra, a large affluent of the Krishna.

¶ Vide supra, vol. V. p. 185, note 1. A doctrine of the Vedānta school of philosophy, according to which the soul is increased as in a sheath, or rather a succession of sheaths. The first or inner case is the intellectual one, composed of the sheer and simple elements, uncombined, and consisting of the intellect joined with the five senses. The second is the mental sheath, in which mind is joined with the previous elements, as some hold, with the organs of action. The third comprises these organs and the vital faculties, and is called the organic or vital case. These three sheaths (kāṣa) constitute the subtle frame which attends the soul in its transmigration. The exterior case is composed of the coarse elements combined in certain proportions, and is called the gross body. See Colebrooke's Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindus, Cowell's ed. pp. 536-6.

ground, such as leaves of trees and wild herbs, like cattle.

"Kalānos is your friend, but he is despised and trodden upon by us. He, then, who was the author of many evils among you, is honoured and

¶ The affinity between God and light is the burden of the Gāyatri or holiest verse of the Veda.

\* *kevalajñā* which probably translates *akāṣāndra*, literally 'region,' and hence 'self-consciousness,' the peculiar and appropriate function of which is selfish conviction; that is, a belief in perception and meditation 'I' am concerned; that the objects of sense concern Me—in short that I AM. The knowledge, however, which comes from comprehending that Being which has self-existence completely destroys the ignorance which says 'I am.'

† Compare Plato, *Phædo*, cap. 68, where Sokrates speaks of the soul as at present confined in the body as in a species of prison. This was a doctrine of the Pythagoreans, whose philosophy, even in its most striking peculiarities, bears such a close resemblance to the Indian as greatly to favour the supposition that it was directly borrowed from it. There was even a tradition that Pythagoras had visited India.



by us. By you, however, accomplice as he was in causing many evils to you all, he is honoured and worshipped, while from our society he has been contemptuously cast out as unprofitable. And why not? when everything which we trample under foot is an object of admiration to the lucre-loving Kalanos, your worthless friend, but no friend of ours,—a miserable creature, and more to be pitied than the unhappiest wretch, for by setting his heart on lucre he wrought the perdition of his soul! Hence he seemed neither worthy of us, nor worthy of the friendship of God, and hence he neither was content to revel away life in the woods beyond all reach of care, nor was he cheered with the hope of a blessed hereafter: for by his love of money he slew the very life of his miserable soul.

"We have, however, amongst us a sage called Dandamis, whose home is the woods, where he lies on a pallet of leaves, and where he has nigh at hand the fountain of peace, whereof he drinks, sucking, as it were, the pure breast of a mother."

King Alexander, accordingly, when he heard of all this, was desirous of learning the doctrines

of the sect, and so he sent for this Dandamis, as being their teacher and president . . . . .

Onesikratida was therefore despatched to fetch him, and when he found the great sage he said, "Hail to thee, thou teacher of the Dragmares." The son of the mighty god Zeus, king Alexander, who is the sovereign lord of all men, asks you to go to him, and if you comply, he will reward you with great and splendid gifts, but if you refuse will cut off your head."

Dandamis, with a complacent smile, heard him to the end, but did not so much as lift up his head from his couch of leaves, and while still retaining his recumbent attitude returned this scornful answer:—"God, the supreme king, is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and of souls, and these he receives when death sets them free, being in no way subject to evil dears. He alone is the god of my homage, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not God, since he must taste of death; and how can such as he be the world's master, who has not yet reached the further shore of the river Tyberobos

worshipped by you; but since he is of no importance he is rejected by us, and those things we certainly do not seek, please Calanos because of his greediness for money. But he was not ours, a man such as has miserably injured and lost his soul, on which account he is plainly unworthy to be a friend either of God or of ours, nor has he deserved security among the woods in this world, nor can he hope for the glory which is promised in the future.

When the emperor Alexander came to the forests, he was not able to see Dandamis as he passed through. . . .

When, therefore, the above-mentioned messenger came to Dandamis, he addressed him thus:—"The emperor Alexander, the son of the great Jupiter, who is lord of the human race, has ordered that you should listen to him, for if you come, he will give you many gifts, but if you refuse he will behead you as a punishment for your contempt." When these words came to the ears of Dandamis, he rose not from his leaves whereon he lay, but reclining and smiling he replied in this way:—"The greatest God," he said, "can do injury, but restores again the light of life to those who have departed. Accordingly he alone is my lord who forbids murder and excites no wars. But Alexander is no God, for he himself will have to die. How, then, can he be the lord of all, who has not yet crossed the river Tyberobos, nor has made the whole world his abode, nor crossed the

zone of Gladia, nor has beheld the course of the sun in the centre of the world? Therefore many nations do not yet even know his name. If, however, the country he possesses cannot contain him, let him cross our river and he will find a soil which is able to support men. All those things Alexander promises would be useless to me if he gave them: I have leaves for a house, live on the herbs at hand and water to drink; other things collected with labour, and which perish and yield nothing but sorrow to those seeking them or possessing them,—these I despise. I therefore now rest secure and with closed eyes I care for nothing. If I wish to keep gold, I destroy my sleep; Earth supplies me with everything, as a mother does to her child. Wherever I wish to go, I proceed, and wherever I do not wish to be, no necessity of care can force me to go. And if he wish to cut off my head, he cannot take my soul; he will only take the fallen head, but the departing soul will leave the head like a portion of some garment, and will restore it to whence it received it, namely, to the earth. But when I shall have become a spirit I shall ascend to God, who has enclosed it within this flesh. When he did this he wished to try us, how, after leaving him, we would live in this world. And afterwards, when we shall have returned to him, he will demand from us an account of this life. Standing by him I shall see my injury, and shall contemplate hi-

and has not yet seated himself on a throne of universal dominion? Moreover, Alexander has neither yet entered living into Hades, nor does he know the course of the sun through the central regions of the earth, while the nations on its boundaries have not so much as heard his name. § If his present dominions are not capacious enough for his desire, let him cross the Ganges river, and he will find a region able to sustain men if the country on our side be too narrow to hold him. Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gifts he promises, are all things to me utterly useless; but the things which I prize, and find of real use and worth, are these leaves which are my house, these blooming plants which supply me with dainty food, and the water which is my drink, while all other possessions and things, which are unassured with anxious care, are wont to prove ruinous to those who amass them, and cause only sorrow and vexation, with which every poor mortal is folly fraught. But as for me, I lie upon the forest leaves, and, having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I gold to guard, that would banish sleep. The earth supplies me with everything, even as a mother her child with milk. I go wherever I please, and there are no cares with which I am forced to cumber myself, against my will. Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. I then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed us in flesh, and left us upon the

judgment on those who injured me; for the sighs and groans of the injured become the punishments of the oppressors.

"Let Alexander threaten with this them that desire riches or fear death, both of which I despise. For Brachmans neither love gold nor dread death. Go, therefore, and tell Alexander this:—

† *ὁ γὰρ ἐν ἡδναι οὐδένα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν.* The Latin version has *non tantum Godem transit,* "has not crossed the zone of God."

§ The text here is so corrupt as to be almost untranslatable. I have therefore rendered from the Latin, though not quite closely.

|| Others say Dandamis entered into no bargain with the messengers, but only asked "why Alexander had taken so long a journey?"—Plutarch's *Alexander*.

¶ This list of things has been borrowed for the most part from Megasthenes. Cf. *Schwanbeck*, p. 16 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*

\* According to the MSS. 633 or 637 miles. The places

earth to prove whether when here below we shall live obedient to his ordinances, and who also will require of us, when we depart hence to his presence, an account of our life, since he is judge of all grand wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishments of the oppressors.

"Let Alexander, then, terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and for wealth, and who dread death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since the Brachmans neither love gold nor fear death. Go, then, and tell Alexander this: 'Dandamis has no need of aught that is yours, and therefore will not go to you, but if you want anything from Dandamis come you to him.'"

Alexander, on receiving from Onesikratēs a report of the interview, felt a stronger desire than ever to see Dandamis, who, though old and naked, was the only antagonist in whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found more than his match, &c.

#### FRAGM. LVI.

*Plin. Hist. Nat.* VI. 31. 8—23. 12.

#### *List of the Indian Races.*¶

The other journeys made thence (*from the Hyphasis*) for Selenkos Nikator are as follows:—168 miles to the Hesidrus, and to the river Jomanes as many (some copies add 5 miles); from thence to the Ganges 112 miles. 119 miles to Rhodopha (others give 325 miles for this distance). To the town Kalinipaxa 167—500. Others give 265 miles. Thence to the confluence of the Jomanes and Ganges 625 miles (many add 13 miles), and to the town Palimbothra 425. To the mouth of the Ganges 738 miles.\*

The races which we may enumerate without

"Dandamis seeks nothing of yours, but if you think you need something of his, disdain not to go to him."

When Alexander heard these words through the interpreter, he wished the more to see such a man, since he, who had subdued many nations, was overcome by an old naked man, &c.

mentioned in this famous itinerary all lay on the Royal Road, which ran from the Indus to Palimbothra. They have been thus identified. The Hesidrus is now the Satlej, and the point of departure lay immediately below its junction with the Hyphasis (now the Beas). The direct route thence (via Ludhiana, Sirhind, and Ambala) conducted the traveller to the ferry of the Jomanes, now the Jamuna, in the neighbourhood of the present Bareilly, whence the road led to the Ganges at a point which, to judge from the distance given (112 miles), must have been near the site of the far-famed Hastinapura. The next stage to be reached was Rhodopha, the position of which, both its name and its

being tedious, from the chain of Emodus, of which a spur is called Imaus (meaning in the native language *snowy*), are the Isari, Cosyri,

distance from the Ganges (119 miles) continues to Sz at Nabhai, a small town about 11 miles to the south of Anupchahr. Kalinipara, the next stage, Mançari and Lacon would identify with Kacan (the Sanskrit of Sankrit); but M. de St. Martin, objecting to this that Pliny was not likely to have designated so important and so celebrated a city by so obscure an appellation, finds a site for it in the neighbourhood on the banks of the Ikshumati, a river of Panchala mentioned in the great Indian poems. This river, he remarks, must also have been called the Kahanati, as the names of it still in current use, Kalini and Kalidri, prove. Now, as 'para' transliterates the Sanskrit 'pala', a side, Kalinipara, to judge from its name, must designate a town lying near the Kalinadi.

The figures which represent the distances have given rise to much dispute, some of them being inconsistent either with others, or with the real distances. The last, accordingly, has generally been supposed to be corrupt, so far at least as the figures are concerned. M. de St. Martin, however, accepting the figures nearly as they stand, shows them to be fairly correct. The first difficulty presents itself in the words, "Others give 325 miles for this distance." By 'this distance' cannot be meant the distance between the Ganges and Rhodopis, but between the Hesidrus and Rhodopis, which the addition of the Ganges shows to be 209 miles. The shorter estimate of others (125 miles) measures the length of a more direct route by way of Pethala, Thakivara, Panipat, and Delhi. The next difficulty has probably been occasioned by a corruption of the text. It lies in the words "Ad Kalinipara oppidum CLXXVII D. Alii CCLXV. mill." The numeral D has generally been taken to mean 500 paces, or half a Roman mile, making the translation run thus:—"To Kalinipara 107½ miles. Others give 257 miles." But M. de St. Martin prefers to think that the D has, by some mangling of the text, been detached from the beginning of the second number, with which it formed the number DLXV., and been appended to the first, being led to this conclusion on finding that the number 500 came up almost to a nicety the distance from the Hesidrus to Kalinipara, as thus:—

|                                       |            |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| From the Hesidrus to the Jomanae..... | 119 miles. |
| From the Jomanae to the Ganges.....   | 119 "      |
| From the Ganges to Rhodopis.....      | 119 "      |
| From Rhodopis to Kalinipara.....      | 167 "      |

Total..... 506 miles.

Pliny's carelessness in confounding total with partial distances has created the next difficulty, which lies in his stating that the distance from Kalinipara to the confluence of the Jomanae and the Ganges is 62½ miles, while in reality it is only about 227. The figures may be corrupt, but it is much more probable that they represent the distance of some stage on the route remote from the confluence of the river than Kalinipara. This must have been the passage of the Jomanae, for the distance—

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| From the Jomanae to the Ganges is.....      | 119 miles. |
| Thence to Rhodopis.....                     | 119 "      |
| Thence to Kalinipara.....                   | 167 "      |
| Thence to the confluence of the rivers..... | 227 "      |

Total..... 625 miles.

This is exactly equal to 5000 stadia, the length of the Indian Mesopotamia or Dab, the Panchala of Sanskrit geography, and the Antarsida of lexicographers.

The foregoing conclusions M. de St. Martin has summed up in the table annexed:—

|   | Roman miles. | Stadia. |
|---|--------------|---------|
| From the Hesidrus to the Jomanae.....   | 119          | 1244    |
| From the Jomanae to the Ganges.....   | 119          | 866     |
| Thence to Rhodopis.....   | 119          | 933     |
| From the Hesidrus to Rhodopis by a more direct route.....                             | 125          | 900     |
| From Rhodopis to Kalinipara.....  | 167          | 1535    |
| Total distance from the Hesidrus to Kalinipara.....                                   | 506          | 4520    |
| From Kalinipara to the confluence of the Jomanae and Ganges.....                      | (227)        | (1816)  |
| Total distance from the passage of the Jomanae to the confluence with the Ganges..... | 635          | 5000    |

Izgi, and on the hills the Chisiotonagi,† and the Brachmanæ,‡ a name comprising many tribes, among which are the Maccocalinge:§

Pliny assigns 425 miles as the distance from the confluence of the rivers to Palibothra, but, as it is in reality only 339, the figures have probably been altered. He gives, lastly, 638 miles as the distance from Palibothra to the mouth of the Ganges, which agrees closely with the estimate of Megasthenes, who makes it 5000 stadia: if that indeed was his estimate, and not 6000 stadia as Strabo in one passage alleges it was. The distance by land from Páñā to Tataluk (Tamtalika, the old port of the Ganges' mouth) is 416 English or 430 Roman miles. The distance by the river, which is sinuous, is of course much greater. See *Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde*, par P. V. de Saint-Martin, pp. 271-278.

† These four tribes were located somewhere in Kashmir or its immediate neighbourhood. The last are unknown, but are probably the same as the Egarai previously mentioned by Pliny. The Cosyri are easily to be identified with the Khasia mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as neighbours of the Darada and Kaimira. Their name, it has been conjectured, survives in *Kashmir*, one of the three great divisions of the Kāśhī of Gujarat, who appear to have come originally from the Panjab. The Izgi are mentioned in Ptolemy, under the name of the Sisyga, as a people of Strick. This is, however, a mistake, as they inhabited the alpine region which extends above Kashmir towards the north and north-west. The Chisiotonagi or Chisiotonagi are perhaps identical with the Chikona (whom Pliny elsewhere mentions), in spite of the addition to their name of 'sagi,' which may have merely indicated them to be a branch of the Sāka—that is, the Skythians,—by whom India was overrun before the time of its conquest by the Aryans. They are mentioned in Mann X. 41 together with the Pamirata, (Kura, Devidas, Kāsh-ghas, Yoznas, Paradas, Pahlava, Chama, Kimas, Daradas, and Khasas. If Chisiotonagi be the right reading of their name, there can be little doubt of their identity with the Kimas.—See P. V. de St. Martin's work already quoted, pp. 195-197. But for the *Kash-hara*, see *Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 223.*

‡ V. L. Brachmann. Pliny at once transports his readers from the mountains of Kashmir to the lower part of the valley of the Ganges. Here he places the Brachmannæ, whom he takes to be, not what they actually were, the leading caste of the population, but a powerful race composed of many tribes—the Maccocalinge being of the number. This tribe, as well as the Gangaridæ-Kalings, and the Modogalingæ afterwards mentioned, are subdivisions of the Kalings, a widely diffused race, which spread at one time from the delta of the Ganges all along the eastern coast of the peninsula, though afterwards they did not extend southward beyond Orissa. In the *Mahābhārata* they are mentioned as occupying, along with the Vangas (from whom Bengal is named) and three other leading tribes, the region which lies between Magadha and the sea. The Maccocalings, then, are the *Mogha* of the Kalings. "Magha," says M. de St. Martin, "is the name of one of the non-Aryan tribes of greatest importance and widest diffusion in the lower Gangetic region, where it is broken up into several special groups extending from Arakan and Western Assam, where it is found under the name of *Mogh* (Anglicised *Mage*), as far as to the *Maghars* of the central valleys of Nepal, to the *Maghayas*, *Mugakia*, or *Maghyas* of Southern Bahār (the ancient Magadha), to the ancient *Magra* of Bengal, and to the *Magora* of Orissa. These last, by their position, may properly be taken to represent our Maccocalings." "The Modogalingæ," continues the same author, "and equally their representatives in the ancient *Mada*, a colony which the Book of *Mant* mentions in his enumeration of the imperial tribes of *Āryavarta*, and which he names by the side of the *Āndhra*, another people of the lower Ganges. The *Manghyr* inscriptions, which belong to the earlier part of the 8th century of our era, also name the *Mada* as a low tribe of this region (*Ar. Ry. vol. I. p. 120, Calcutta, 1785*), and, what is remarkable, their name is found joined to that of the *Āndhra* (*Āndharaka*), precisely as in the text of *Mant*. Pliny assigns for their habitation a large island of the Ganges; and the word *Calinga* (for *Kalinga*), to which this name is attached, necessarily places this island towards the sea-board—perhaps in the Delta."



The river *Prinass* and the *Cinaus* (which flows into the Ganges) are both navigable.† The tribes called *Calingæ* are nearest the sea, and higher up are the *Mandæi*, and the *Malli* in whose country is Mount *Mallus*, the boundary of all that district being the Ganges.

(22.) This river, according to some, rises from uncertain sources, like the Nile,‡ and inundates similarly the countries lying along its course; others say that it rises on the Skythian mountains, and has nineteen tributaries, of which, besides those already mentioned, the *Condochates*, *Erannobona*,§ *Cosogus*, and *Sonus* are navigable. Others again assert that it issues forth at once with loud roar from its fountain, and after tumbling down a steep and rocky channel is received immediately on reaching the level plains into a lake, whence it flows out with a gentle current, being at the narrowest eight miles, and on the average a hundred stadia, in breadth, and never of less depth than twenty paces (one hundred feet) in the final part of its course, which is through the country of the *Gangerides*. The royal city of the *Calingæ* is called *Parthalis*.† Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1000‡ horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in "prociets of war."

The *Gangarides* or *Gangarides* occupied the region corresponding roughly with that now called Lower Bengal, and consisted of various indigenous tribes, which in the course of time became more or less *Arjanæ*. A word is found in Sanskrit to which their name corresponds, it has been supposed to Greek invention. Lassen, *Ind. Alt. u. II.* p. 201, but even so, for it must have been current at the period of the Macedonian invasion. Since Alexander, in reply to inquiries regarding the south country, was informed that the region of the Ganges was inhabited by two principal nations, the *Prasæ* and the *Gigantes*. M. de M. states further that their name has been preserved almost identically in that of the *Gingids* of South India, whose traditions refer themselves to *Irish*; and he would identify their royal city *Parthalis* with *Varadana* (contraction of *Vardhanas*), now *Haridwar*. Others, however, place it, as has been elsewhere stated, on the *Mahāndī*. In Ptolemy their capital in *Gangē*, which must have been situated near where Calcutta now stands. The *Gangarides* are mentioned by Virgil, *Georg.* III. 27:—

In foribus præsum ex æuro ædificatæ plantæ  
Gangaridum faciem, victoribus arma Quirini.

"Higher the gate is elephant and gold  
The crowd shall Cæsar's Indian war behold."

(Dryden's translation.)

§ *Panas*. The *Prinass* is probably the *Panas* or *Tamas*, which in the Puranas is called the *Farnak*. The *Cinaus*, notwithstanding the objections of Nieuhoff, must be identified with the *Cina*, which is a tributary of the *Jamuk*.

† For the identification of these and other affluents of the Ganges see *Notæ on Arrian*, c. IV., *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 231.

‡ For an account of the different theories regarding the source of the Ganges see Smith's *Dict. of Class. Geog.*

§ *Condachates*, *Erannobona*,—v. l. *Candach* (*Vamach*), *Erannobona*.

† *regis*.—v. l. *regis*. The common reading, however—*Gangaridum Calingarum*. *Regis*,—*de*, makes the *Gan-*

For among the more civilized Indian communities life is spent in a great variety of separate occupations. Some till the soil, some are soldiers, some traders; the noblest and richest take part in the direction of state affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. A fifth class devotes itself to the philosophy prevalent in the country, which almost assumes the form of a religion, and the members always put an end to their life by a voluntary death, on a burning funeral pile. In addition to these classes there is one half-wild, which is constantly engaged in a task of immense labour, beyond the power of words to describe—that of hunting and taming elephants. They employ these animals in ploughing and for riding on, and regard them as forming the main part of their stock in cattle. They employ them in war and in fighting for their country. In choosing them for war, regard is had to their age, strength, and size.

There is a very large island in the Ganges which is inhabited by a single tribe called *Modogalingæ*.‡ Beyond are situated the *Modubæ*, *Molindæ*, the *Uderæ* with a handsome town of the same name, the *Galmodoroësi*, *Prethi*, *Calissæ*,§ *Sasuri*, *Pausalm*, *Coluber*, *Oranum*, *Ahali*, *Talnetæ*.¶ The king of

carries a branch of the *Kalingæ*. This is probably the correct reading, for, as Geogr. An. mentions states, *Ind. Geog.* c. 10, p. 315, 316, certain descriptions speak of *Tri-Kalingæ*, the *Tri* being probably added, as Ptolemy mentions the *Mandæi* along and the *Prasæ* as distinct, as separate peoples from the *Calingæ*, while the *Modogalingæ* named the *Kalingæ* three separate times, and each time in conjunction with different peoples. III. 11. Wilson in *Ptolemy*, *Geog.* c. 10, p. 315, 316, and 318. As *Tri-Kalingæ* does not correspond with the great province of *Kalinga*, it seems probable that the name of *Tri-Kalingæ* may be only a slightly corrupted form of *Tri-Kalingia*, or 'the Three *Kalingæ*.' *Parthalis*,—v. l. *Parthalis*, *Parthalis Videante*, p. 130, note. E.

‡ *Modogalingæ*,—v. l. *LXX* mil.

§ *Uderæ*, in his satirical poem on the death of Perseus (c. 10), refers to this province. "But what is the motive which prompts thee now (Perseus) to fling himself into the flames?" *Uderæ* is a simple name, he may show off before the world as he does the *Brachmanæ*, to whom it pleased *Thæon* to liken him, just as if India had not been a populous land and a magnificent people. But let him by all means imitate the *Brachmanæ*, for, as *Quædams* inform us, whereas the point of Alexander's fleet and the *Kalingæ* burned, they did not imitate themselves by leaping into the flames, but when the pyre is made they stand close beside it perfectly motionless, and suffer themselves to be gently heated; then suddenly leaping up they are hurled to death, and never emerge, even ever so little, from their recumbent position."

¶ *Uderæ*,—v. l. *Uderæ*, *Modogalingæ*.

‡ *Calissæ*,—v. l. *Calissæ*.

\* These tribes were chiefly located in the regions between the left bank of the Ganges and the Himalayas. Of the *Galmodoroësi*, *Prethi*, *Calissæ*, *Sasuri*, and *Oranum* nothing is known, nor can their names be identified with any to be found in Sanskrit literature. The *Modubæ* represent beyond doubt the *Modubæ*, a people mentioned in the



these keeps under arms 60,000 foot-soldiers, 4000† cavalry, and 400 elephants. Next come the Andaræ,† a still more powerful race, which possesses numerous villages, and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 3000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants. Gold is very abundant among the Dardæ, and silver among the Sætræ.‡

But the Prasii surpass in power and glory

FRAGEN. LVI. B.

Rolls. 82. 8-17.

#### Catalogue of Indian Rivers.

The greatest rivers of India are the Ganges and Indus, and of those some assert that the Ganges rises from uncertain sources and inundates the country in the manner of the Nile, while others incline to think that it rises in the Scythian mountains. [The Hypanis is also there, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars erected on its banks prove.] The least breadth of the Ganges is eight fathoms, and its greatest twenty. Its depth where it is shallowest is fully a hundred fathoms. The people who live in the furthest-off part are the Gangaridion, whose king possesses 1000 horse, 700 elephants, and 60,000 foot in apparatus of war.

Of the Indians some cultivate the soil, very many

*Ataxsps* *Brahmans* along with other non-Aryan tribes which occupied the country north of the Ganges at the time when the Brahmins established their first settlements in the country. The Mahindians mentioned in the Mahabharata in the Puranic lists, but no further trace of them is met with. The Ubers must be referred to the Ubers, a name still more spread over the central districts of the region spoken of, and extending as far as to Assam. The name is pronounced differently in different districts, and is variously written, as Ubers or Ubers, Ubersia, Ubersia and Ubersia, Ubersia, Ubersia, Ubersia, &c. The race, though formerly powerful, is now one of the lowest classes of the population. The Pansals are identified as the inhabitants of Pansals, which, as already stated, was the old name of the Dakh. The Calabes correspond to the Kaldia or Kaldia mentioned in the 4th book of the *Indica*, in the enumeration of the races of the west, also in the *Indica* *Souda* in the list of the people of the north-west, and in the Indian drama called the *Indica* *Souda*, of which the hero is the well-known Chandragupta. They were settled out far from the Upper Indus. About the middle of the 7th century they were reached by the famous Chinese traveller Hsuan-Tsang, who states their name as Kialu-to. Yule places the Pansals in the south-west of Turkestan, and the Kaldia in the Kendschak (Kandak) in the north-east of Gorkhistan and north-west of Siam. The Abali answer perhaps to the Grallas or Habats of South Bahræ and of the hills which covered the southern parts of the ancient Mesopotamia. The Taluts are the people of the kingdom of Temalut mentioned in the *Indica*. In the writings of the Buddhists of Ceylon the name appears as Tamalutis, corresponding to the Tamuk of the present day. Between these two forms of the name that given by Pline is evidently the connecting link. Tamuk lies to the south-west of Calcutta, from which it is distant in a direct line about 25 miles. It was in old times the main emporium of the trade carried on between Gangetic India and Ceylon.

every other people, not only in this quarter, but one may say in all India, their capital being Palibothra, a very large and wealthy city, after which some call the people itself the Palibothri,—nay, even the whole tract along the Ganges. Their king has in his pay a standing army of 600,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 9000 elephants: whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources.

After these, but more inland, are the Mædæ

follow war, and others trade. The noblest and richest manage public affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. There exists also a fifth class, consisting of those most eminent for their wisdom, who, when sated with life, seek death by mounting a burning funeral pile. Those, however, who have become the devotees of a sterner sect, and pass their life in the woods, hunt elephants, which, when made quite tame and docile, they use for ploughing and for riding on.

In the Ganges there is an island extremely populous, occupied by a very powerful nation whose king keeps under arms 60,000 foot and 4000 horse. In such an one invested with kingly power over keeps on foot a military force without a very great number of elephants and foot and cavalry.

The Prasian nation, which is extremely powerful, inhabits a city called Palibôtra, whence

† *Ind. M.*—v. i. 131. M.

† The Andaræ are readily identified with the Andhra of Sanskrit—a great and powerful nation settled originally in the Dekhan between the middle part of the course of the Godavari and the Krishna rivers, but which, before the time of Megasthenes, had spread their way towards the north as far as the upper course of the Narmada (Nerbudda), and, as has been already indicated, the lower districts of the Gangetic basin. *Ind. M.* v. p. 176. For a notice of Andhra (the modern Telugu) see General Cunningham's *Anc. Geog.* of Ind. pp. 627-630.

§ Pline here asserts to where he started from in his enumeration of the tribes. The Sætræ are the Sætræ or Sætræ of Sanskrit geography, which locates them in the neighbourhood of the Dardæ. According to Yule, however, they are the Sætræ Sætræ, and he places them on the banks about Juggur, south-east from Ajmer.—*Ind.*

¶ See Arrian's *Anab.* V. 25, where we read that Alexander having arranged his troops in separate divisions ordered them to build on the banks of the Hyphasis twelve altars to be of equal height with the highest tower, which surrounded them in breadth. From Ptolemy we learn that they were formed of square blocks of stone. There has been much controversy regarding their site, but it must have been near the capital of Sagittæ, whose name Lassen has identified with the Sanskrit *Aśvapati*, 'lord of horses.' These *Aśvapati* were a line of princes whose territory, according to the 12th book of the *Rāmāyana*, lay on the right or north bank of the Vipra (Hyphasis or Hiss), in the mountainous part of the Dakh comprised between that river and the Upper Iravati. Their capital is called in the poem of Vālmiki *Rājagiri*, which still exists under the name of Rājagiri. At some distance from this there is a chain of heights called *Sekandar-giri*, or 'Alexander's mountain.'—See St. Martin's *Étude*, &c. pp. 103-111.

and Suarî,¶ in whose country is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and towards the south in summer, for six months alternately.\* Bacton asserts that the north pole in these parts is seen but once in the year, and only for fifteen days; while Megasthenes says that the same thing happens in many parts of India. The south pole is called by the Indians Dramasa. The river Jomaneas flows through the Palibothri into the Ganges between the towns Methora and Carisabora.† In the parts which lie southward from the Ganges the inhabitants, already swarthy, are deeply coloured by the sun, though not scorched black like the Ethiopians. The nearer they approach the Indus the more plainly does their complexion betray the influence of the sun.

The Indus skirts the frontiers of the Prasii, whose mountain tracts are said to be inhabited by the Pygmies.‡ Artemidorus§ sets down the distance between the two rivers at 121 miles.

(23.) The Indus, called by the inhabitants

some call the nation itself the Palibûtri. Their king keeps in his pay at all times 60,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 8000 elephants.

Beyond Palibôtra is Mount Maleus,¶ on which shadows in winter fall towards the north, in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. In that region the Bears are seen but once a year, and not for more than fifteen days, as Bacton in-

\* The Monades or Mandei are placed by Yule about Gaggan, on the upper waters of the Brahmaputra, N.W. of Chitab Niggar. Lassen places them S. of the Mahanadi about Sopur, where Yule has the Sauri or Salure, the Savara of Sanskrit authors, which Lassen places between Sopur and Singhhûm. See note §, p. 127.—Ed.

† This, of course, can only occur at the equator, from which the southern extremity of India is about 500 miles distant.

‡ Palibôthri must denote here, the subjects of the realm of which Palibôtra was the capital, and not merely the inhabitants of that city, as Bœttger and others supposed, and so fixed its site at the confluence of the Ganges and Jaurand. Methora is easily identified with Mathurâ. [Carisabora—vv. H. Chrysoborâ, Cyrisoborâ. This is the Kinsabara of Arrian (*Indica*, vol. V. p. 89), which Yule places at Bâtesar, and Lassen at Agra, which he makes the Sanskrit Krishnapura. Wüster (*U. Res.* vol. V. p. 250) says: "Chisabara is now called 'Mura-Nagar' by the Mussulmans, and Kalisapura by the Hindus." Vide ante, p. 343, note 1.—Ed.]

§ Vide ante, p. 133, note 4.—Ed.

¶ A Greek geographer of Ephesus, whose date is about 100 B.C. His valuable work on geography, called a *Periplus*, was much quoted by the ancient writers, but with the exception of some fragments is now lost.

¶ The real source of the Indus was unknown to the Greeks. The principal stream rises in the north of the Kailâsa mountain (which figures in Hindu mythology as the mansion of the gods and Siva's paradise) in lat. 32°, long. 81° 30', at an elevation of about 20,000 feet.

\*\* The Chandrabhâga or Akashta, now the Chenâb.

†† For remarks on the tributaries of the Indus see Notes on Arrian, chap. iv.—*Ind. Antiq.* vol. V. pp. 331-333.

Sindus, rising on that spur of Mount Caucasus which is called Paropamisus, from sources fronting the sunrise,|| receives also itself nineteen rivers, of which the most famous are the Hydaspes, which has four tributaries; the Cantabra,¶ which has three; the Acesines and the Hyphasis, which are both navigable; but nevertheless, having no very great supply of water, it is nowhere broader than fifty stadia, or deeper than fifteen paces.\*\* It forms an extremely large island, which is called Prasiane, and a smaller one, called Patale.† Its stream, which is navigable, by the lowest estimates, for 1240 miles, turns westward as if following more or less closely the course of the sun, and then falls into the ocean. The measure of the coast line from the mouth of the Ganges to this river I shall set down as it is generally given, though none of the computations agree with each other. From the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Calington and the town of Dandagula§ 625 miles;§ to Tropina 1225;|| to the cape of Peri-

forms us, who allows that this happens in many parts of India. Those living near the river Indus in the regions that turn southward are scorched more than others by the heat, and at last the complexion of the people is visibly affected by the great power of the sun. The mountains are inhabited by the Pygmies.

But those who live near the sea have no kings

† See *Ind. Antiq.* vol. V. p. 330. Yule identifies the first of these with the area enclosed by the Nara from above Nohri to Haidarâbâd, and the delta of the Indus.—Ed.

‡ v. l. Dandagula. Cape Calington is identified by Yule as Point Goddard.—Ed.

§ "Both the distance and the name point to the great port town of Calinga, as the promontory of Coringa, which is situated on a projecting point of land at the mouth of the Godavari river. The town of Dandagula or Dandagula I take to be the Dantapura of the Buddhist chronicles, which as the capital of Kalinga may with much probability be identified with Râja Mahendâ, which is only 30 miles to the north-east of Coringa. From the great similarity of the Greek *Π* and *Δ*, I think it not improbable that the Greek name may have been Dandagula, which is almost the same as Dantapura. But in this case the *Δ* is or 'danth' of Buddha must have been enshrined in Kalinga as early as the time of Pliny, which is confirmed by the statement of the Buddhist chronicles that the 'left mine tooth' of Buddha was brought to Kalinga immediately after his death, where it was enshrined by the reigning sovereign, Brahmalatta."—*Cambridge, Geog.* p. 513.

|| Tropina answers to Tripotari or Tirapantari, opposite Kochin.—Ed. The distance given is measured from the mouth of the Ganges, and not from Cape Calington.

\*\* Possibly, as suggested by Yule, Mount Pârwanthâ, near the Damudâ, and not far from the Tropics; vide ante, p. 127, note §, and conf. vol. I. p. 468. The Malli (see above), in whose country it was, are not to be confounded with another tribe of the same name in the Panjâb, mentioned by Arrian; see vol. V. pp. 87, 96, 333.—Ed.

in a la,\* where there is the greatest emporium of trade in India, 750 miles; to the town in the island of Patala mentioned above, 620 miles.

The hill-tribes between the Indus and the Iomanes are the Cesi; the Cetriboni, who live in the woods; then the Megallæ, whose king is master of five hundred elephants and an army of horse and foot of unknown strength; the Chrysei, the Parasangæ, and the Asangæ,† where tigers abound, noted for their ferocity. The force under arms consists of 30,000 foot, 300 elephants, and 800 horse. These are shut in by the Indus, and are surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts over a space of 625 miles.‡ Below the deserts are the Dari, the Suræ, then deserts again for 187 miles,§ these deserts encircling the fertile

tracts just as the sea encircles islands.|| Below these deserts we find the Maltecoræ, Singhæ, Marohæ, Barungæ, Moruni.¶ These inhabit the hills which in an unbroken chain run parallel to the shores of the ocean. They are free and have no kings, and occupy the mountain heights, whereon they have built many cities.\*\* Next follow the Nareæ, enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitalia.† The inhabitants on the other side of this mountain work extensive mines of gold and silver. Next are the Oratæ, whose king has only ten elephants, though he has a very strong force of infantry.‡ Next again are the Varætæ,§ subject to a king, who keep no elephants, but trust entirely to their horse and foot. Then the Odomboræ; the Salabastæ;|| the Horatæ,¶ who have

The Pandman nation is governed by females, and their first queen is said to have

\* This cape is a projecting point of the island of Perimula or Perimada, now called the island of Salsette, near Bombay.

† v. l. Asangæ. The Asangæ, as placed doubtfully by Lassen about Jodhpur.—Ed.

‡ DOXXV.—v. l. DOXXVY. Pliny, having given a general account of the basins of the Indus and the Ganges, proceeds to enumerate here the tribes which peopled the north of India. The names are obscure, but Lassen has identified one or two of them, and de Saint-Martin a considerable number more. The tribes first mentioned in the list occupied the country extending from the Jamnuk to the western coast, about the mouth of the Narmadâ. The Cesi probably answer to the Khôas or Khayyas, a great tribe which from time immemorial has led a wandering life between Gujârât, the lower Indus, and the Jamnuk. The name of the Cetriboni would seem to be a transcript of Kâtrivani (for Kâtrivandya). They may therefore have been a branch of the Kâshtri (Kâshtri), one of the impure tribes of the list of Manu (l. x. 12). The Megallæ must be identified with the Mâgalla of Sanskrit books, a great tribe described as settled to the west of the Jamnuk. The Chrysei probably correspond to the Karoncha of the Purânic lists (Viçvânu Pur. pp. 177, 196, note 13, and 352, &c.). The locality occupied by these and the two tribes mentioned after them must have lain to the north of the Râv, between the lower Indus and the chain of the Arvâli mountains.

§ CLXXVIV.—v. l. CLXXVIII.

|| The Dhâra inhabit still the banks of the lower Ghara and the parts contiguous to the valley of the Indus. Hiuen Tsiang mentions, however, a land of Dars at the lower end of the gulf of Kachh, in a position which quite accords with that which Pliny assigns to them. The Suræ, Sanak, Sâra, bear their name preserved in "Saur," which designates a tribe settled along the Lower Indus—the modern representatives of the Saurabhira of the Harivamsha. They are placed with doubt by Lassen on the coast about Sindri, not Yule places the Bolingæ—Sanskrit, Bhâulingæ—there.—Ed.

¶ Moruni, &c.—v. l. Moruntee, Massæ Farungæ, Lallî.

\*\* These tribes must have been located in Kachh, a mountainous tongue of land between the gulf of that name and the Râv, where, and where only, in this region of India, a range of mountains is to be found running along the coast. The name of the Maltecoræ has attracted particular attention because of its resemblance to the name of the Martikhora (i. e. man-eater), a fabulous animal mentioned by Ktésias (*Ctesia Indica*, VII.) as found in India and subsisting upon human flesh. The Maltecoræ were consequently supposed to have been a race of cannibals.

been the daughter of Hercules. The city Nyaa is assigned to this region, as is also the moun-

tain. The identification is, however, rejected by M. de St.-Martin. The Singhs are represented at the present day by the Sâghis of Onarkot (called the Song by Mac-Murdo), descendants of an ancient Râjput tribe called the Singhâra. The Marohæ are probably the Marubas of the list of the Purâna Samhitâ, which was later than Pliny's time by four and a half centuries. In the interim they were displaced, but the displacement of tribes was nothing unusual in those days. So the Barungæ may perhaps be the ancestors of the Bonghi or Bhanga now found on the banks of the Satlej and in the neighbourhood of Dîlî.

† Capitalia is beyond doubt the sacred Arbuda, or Mount Abû, which, attaining an elevation of 6900 feet, rises far above any other summit of the Arvâli range. The name of the Nareæ recalls that of the Nâr, which the Râjput chronicles apply to the northern belt of the desert (Tod, *Râjasthân*, II. 511); so St.-Martin.

‡ v. l. Oratæ. The Oratæ and their representatives in the Râjputs, who played a great part in the history of India before the Muslimân conquest, and who, though settled in the Gangetic provinces, regard Ajmir, at the eastern point of the Arvâli, as their ancestral seat.

§ v. l. Suratratæ. The Varætæ cannot with certainty be identified.

|| The Odomboræ, with hardly a change in the form of their name, are mentioned in Sanskrit literature, for Ptolemy (IV. 2, 175, quoted by Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* 1st ed. l. p. 614) speaks of the territory of Udumbhara that which was occupied by a tribe famous in the old legend, the Salva, who perhaps correspond to the Salabastæ of Pliny, the addition which he has made to their name being explained by the Sanskrit word vasya, which means an abode or habitation. The word udumbhara means the glomerous fig-tree. The district so named lay in Kachh. The Salabastæ are located by Lassen between the mouths of the Saravati and Jodhpur, and the Horatæ at the head of the gulf of Kachh; Antomela he places at Khambhat. See *Ind. Alterth.* 2nd ed. l. 700. Yule has the Sandrabatæ about Chandravati, in northern Gujârât, but these are placed by Lassen on the banks about Tonk.—Ed.

¶ Haratæ is an incorrect transcription of Sorath, the vulgar form of the Sanskrit Saurashtra. The Horatæ were therefore the inhabitants of the region called in the *Periplus*, and in Ptolemy, Surastrene—that is, Gujârât. Orrobh ('Oppoða) is used by Kosmas as the name of a city in the west of India, which has been conjectured to be Surât, but Yule thinks it rather some place on the Parthian coast. The capital, Antomela, cannot be identified, but de St.-Martin conjectures it may have been the once famous Valabhi, which was situated in the peninsular part of Gujârât at about 34 miles' distance from the Gulf of Kachh.



a fine city, defended by marshes which serve as a ditch, wherein crocodiles are kept, which, having a great avidity for human flesh, prevent all access to the city except by a bridge. And another city of theirs is much admired, *Automelia*,\* which, being seated on the coast at the confluence of five rivers, is a noble emporium of trade. The king is master of 1600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5000 cavalry. The poorer king of the *Charmæ* has but sixty elephants, and his force otherwise is insignificant. Next come the *Pandæ*, the only race in India ruled by women.† They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities, and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Next, with 300 cities, the *Syrieni*, *Derangæ*, *Posingæ*, *Buzæ*, *Gogiareî*, *Umbrae*, *Ne-*

*reæ*, *Brancosi*, *Nobundæ*, *Cocondæ*, *Nesci*, *Pedatrive*, *Solobriasæ*, *Olostreæ*,‡ who adjoin the island *Patalæ*, from the furthest shore of which to the Caspian gates the distance is said to be 1925 miles.§

Then next to these towards the Indus come, in an order which is easy to follow, the *Amatæ*, *Bolingæ*, *Gallitalatæ*, *Dimuri*, *Megari*, *Ordabæ*,|| *Messæ*; after these the *Uri* and *Sileni*.¶ Immediately beyond come deserts extending for 250 miles. These being passed, we come to the *Organagæ*, *Abasortæ*. *Sibarmæ*, *Suertes*, and after these to deserts as extensive as the former. Then come the *Sarophages*, *Sorgæ*, *Baraomatæ*, and the *Umbritæ*,\* who consist of twelve tribes, each possessing two cities, and the *Aseni*, who possess three cities.† Their capital is *Bucephala*, built where Alexander's famous horse

lain sacred to Jupiter, *Mêros* by name, in a cave on which the ancient Indians affirm Father *Bacchos* was nourished; while the name has given rise to the well-known fantastic story that *Bacchos* was born from the thigh of his fa-

ther. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are two islands, *Chrysa* and *Argyre*, which yield such an abundant supply of metals that many writers allege their soils consist of gold and of silver.

\* v. l. *Anemula*.

† The *Charmæ* have been identified with the inhabitants of *Charnamada*, a district of the west mentioned in the *Mahabharata* and also in the *Vishnu Purana* under the form *Charnakhandia*. They are now represented by the *Charmers* or *Chamars* of *Bundelkhand* and the parts adjacent to the basin of the Ganges. The *Paulis*, who were their next neighbours, must have occupied a considerable portion of the basin of the river *Chambal*, called in Sanskrit geography the *Charnavati*. They were a branch of the famous race of *Pânîs*, which made for itself kingdoms in several different parts of India.

‡ The names in this list lead us to the desert lying between the Indus and the *Arvand* range. Most of the tribes enumerated are mentioned in the lists of the clans given in the *Rājput* chronicles, and have been identified by M. de St. Martin as follows:—The *Syrieni* are the *Saurisani*, who under that name have at all times occupied the country near the Indus in the neighbourhood of *Harar*. *Daragæ* is the Latin transcription of the name of the great race of the *Jihādîs*, a branch of the *Rājputs* which at the present day possesses *Kach*. The *Bois* represent the *Bodhis*, an ancient branch of the same *Jihādîs* (*Tod, Annals and Actg. of the Raj*, vol. I. p. 46). The *thiagari* (other readings *Gingari*, *Kigari*) are the *Koçaris*, who are now settled on the banks of the *Chara* or *Lower Sutlej*. The *Umbrae* are represented by the *Umrans*, and the *Nerei* perhaps by the *Nharanis*, who, though belonging to *Baluchistan*, had their ancestral seats in the regions to the east of the Indus. The *Nobundæ*, who figure in the old local traditions of *Sindh*, perhaps correspond to the *Nobundæ*, while the *Cocondæ* certainly are the *Kokandus* mentioned in the *Mahabharata* among the people of the north-west. (See Lassen, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenl.* I. II 1839, p. 45.) *Buchanan* mentions a tribe called *Kokand* as belonging to *Gurakhpur*.

§ There were two defiles, which went by the name of 'the *Kaspian Gates*.' One was in *Albania*, and was formed by the jutting out of a spur of the *Kakassæ* into the *Caspian Sea*. The other, to which *Pliny* here refers, was a narrow pass leading from North-Western Asia into the north-east provinces of *Persia*. According to *Arrian* (*Anab.* III. 20) the *Kaspian Gates* lay a few days' journey distant

from the Median town of *Rhagæ*, now represented by *Chermsa* called *Rha*, found a mile or two to the south of *Teherdan*. This pass was one of the most important places in ancient geography, and from it many of the meridians were measured. *Strabo*, who frequently mentions it, states that its distance from the extreme promontories of *India* (*Cape Comarin*, &c.) was 14,000 stadia.

|| v. l. *Ardeher*.  
¶ In the grammatical apophthegms of *Pîcini*, *Rhasulingi* is mentioned as a territory occupied by a branch of the great tribe of the *Sûtras* (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. p. 913, note, or 2nd ed. p. 701 n.), and from this indication M. de St. Martin has been led to place the *Bolingæ* at the western declivity of the *Arvand* mountains, where *Ptolemy* also places his *Bolingæ*. The *Madrahingia* of the *Panjâb* (see *Vishnu Pur.* p. 187) were probably a branch of this tribe. The *Gallitalatæ* are identified by the same author with the *Gabalatæ* or *Sichlats*; the *Dimuri* with the *Domurs*, who, though belonging to the *Gangotri* valley, originally came from that of the Indus; the *Megari* with the *Mekars* of the *Rājput* chronicles, whose name is perhaps preserved in that of the *Mekars* of the lower part of *Sindh*, and also in that of the *Mekars* of Eastern *Baluchistan*; the *Messæ* with the *Mazari*, a considerable tribe between *Chikarpur* and *Mitsukot* on the western bank of the Indus; and the *Uri* with the *Hauras* of the same locality—the *Hauras* who figure in the *Rājput* lists of thirty-six royal tribes. The *Silènes* of the same tribes perhaps represent the *Sileni*, whom *Pliny* mentions along with the *Uri*.

\* v. l. *Paragomata*, *Umbitæ*.—*Paragomata* *Umbitæ*.

† The tribes here enumerated must have occupied a tract of country lying above the confluence of the Indus with the stream of the combined rivers of the *Panjâb*. They are obscure, and their names cannot with any certainty be identified if we except that of the *Sibarmæ*, who are undoubtedly the *Saurisani* of the *Mahabharata*, and who, as their name is almost invariably combined with that of the Indus, must have dwelt not far from its banks. The *Alabian* tribe of the *Afrids* may perhaps represent the *Abasortæ*, and the *Sarabân* or *Saravans*, of the same stock, the *Sarophages*. The *Umbritæ* and the *Aseni* take us to



of that name was buried.‡ Hillmen follow next, inhabiting the base of Caucasus, the S o l e a d m, and the S o n d r m; and if we cross to the other side of the Indus and follow its course downward we meet the Samarabrim, Sambraceni, Bisambrita,§ Osii, Antixeni, and the Taxillæ|| with a famous city. Then succeeds a level tract of country known by the general name of A m a n d a,¶ whereof the tribes are four in number—the P e n c o l a i t m,\* A r a g a l i t m, G e r e t m, A s o i.

Many writers, however, do not give the river

the east of the river. The former are perhaps identical with the Ambastae of the historians of Alexander, and the Ambasthae of Sanskrit writings, who dwell in the neighbourhood of the lower Alexander.

‡ Alexander, after the great battle on the banks of the Hydaspes in which he defeated Porus, founded two cities—Bakophanta or Bakophalia, so named in honour of his celebrated charger, and Nikaea, so named in honour of his victory. Nikaea, it is known for certain, was built on the left side of the Hydaspes, and its position was therefore on the left side of the Hydaspes; probably about where Monguora stands. The site of Bakophanta it is not so easy to determine. According to Plutarch and Ptolemy it was near the Hydaspes, in the place where Bakophanta was buried, and if that be so it must have been on the same side of the river as the sister city; whereas Strabo and all the other ancient authorities place it on the opposite side. Strabo again places it at the point where Alexander crossed the river, whereas Arrian states that it was built on the site of his camp. General Cunningham says that at Jalalpur, rather than at Jhelum, 30 miles higher up the river, the site which is favoured by Burnes and General Court and General Abbott. Jalalpur is about ten miles distant from Dikkar, where, according to Cunningham, the crossing of the river was most probably effected.

§ v. l. Bisambrita.

|| The S o l e a d m and the S o n d r m cannot be identified, and of the tribes which were seated to the east of the Indus only the Taxillæ are known. Their capital was the famous Taxila, which was visited by Alexander the Great. "The position of this city," says Cunningham, "has hitherto remained unknown, partly owing to the enormous distance recorded by Ptolemy, and partly to the want of information regarding the vast tracts which still exist in the vicinity of Shikhar-dheri. All the copies of Ptolemy agree in stating that Taxila was only 60 Roman miles (30 miles) distant from Peshawar or Bactanagar, which would fix its site somewhere on the Harir river to the west of Hasan Abdal, or just two days' march from the Indus. But the discovery of the Chinese pilgrims agree in placing it at three days' journey to the east of the Indus, or in the immediate neighbourhood of Kalin-kut-Sarh. He therefore fixes its site near Shikhar-dheri (which is a mile to the north-east of that Sarh), in the extensive ruins of a fortified city abounding with stupas, monasteries, and temples. From this place to Bactanagar the distance is 74 miles English, or 19 in excess of Ptolemy's estimate. Taxila represents the Sanskrit Takshashila, of which the Pahlavi form is Takshashila, whence the Greek form was taken. The word means either 'cut rock' or 'sacred head.'—*Ann. Geog.* of Ind., pp. 104-121.

¶ As the name A m a n d a is entirely unknown, M. de St.-Martin proposes without hesitation the correction Gandhara, on the ground that the territory assigned to the A m a n d a corresponds exactly to Gandhara, of which the territory occupied by the Pencilites (Pencilites), as we know from other writers, formed a part. The Goretæ are beyond doubt no others than the Gouretæ of Arrian; and the Asoi may perhaps be identical with the Aspati, or, as Strabo gives the name, Hiposia or Paria. The Aragalites are only mentioned by Ptolemy. Two tribes settled in the same locality are perhaps indicated by the name—the Aras, mentioned by Ptolemy, answering to the Sanskrit Urasa; and the Ghilt or Ghilghit, the fish-eaters of Sanskrit, formerly mentioned.

Indus as the western boundary of India, but include within it four satrapies,—the Gedrosi, Arachotæ, Arii, Paropamisadae,† making the river Cophes its furthest limit; though others prefer to consider all these as belonging to the Arii.

Many writers further include in India even the city Nysa and Mount Merua, sacred to Father Bacchus, whence the origin of the fable that he sprang from the thigh of Jupiter. They include also the Astacani,‡ in whose country the vine grows abundantly, and the laurel and boxwood,

\* v. l. Pencilites.

† Gedrosia comprehended probably nearly the same district which is now known by the name of Mekran. Alexander marched through it on returning from his Indian expedition. Arachosia extended from the chain of mountains called the Sulaiman to the southward as Gedrosia. Its capital, Arachotæ, was situated somewhere in the direction of Kandahar, the name of which, it has been thought, preserves that of Gandhara. According to Colonel Rawlinson the name of Arachosia is derived from Harakhvati (Sanskrit Arachati), and is preserved in the Arabic Rakhoj. It is, as has already been noticed, the Haraxvates of the Kharoshti inscription. Aria, denoted the country lying between Meshed and Herat; Arakhs, of which it formed a part, and of which it is sometimes used as the equivalent, was a native district, which comprehended nearly the whole of ancient Persia. In the Persian part of the Bactrian inscriptions Aria appears as Hariva, in the Babylonian part as Arakhs. Regarding Paropamisadae and the Cophes see ante, vol. V, pp. 329 and 330.

‡ Other readings of the name are Arpagani and Apepagani. M. de St.-Martin, whose work has so often been referred to, says:—"We have seen already that in an extract from old Hekataios preserved in Stephen of Byzantium the city of Kasapytos is called a Gandaric city, and that in Herodotus the same place is attributed to the Paktyi, and we have added that in our opinion there is only an apparent contradiction, because the district of Paktyi and Gandaric may very well be but one and the same country. It is not difficult, in fact, to recognise in the designation mentioned by Herodotus the indigenous name of the Afghan people, Pakhto (in the plural Pakht), the name which the greater part of the tribes use among themselves, and the only one they apply to their national habit. We have seen, then, as Lassen has noticed, historical proof of the presence of the Afghans in their actual fatherland five centuries at least before the Christian era. Now, as the seat of the Afghan or Pakhti nationality is chiefly in the basin of the Kophes, to the west of the Indus, which forms its eastern boundary, the further evidence which we have already seen, that it is to the west of the great river we must seek for the site of the city of Kasapytos or Kasapapura, and consequently of the Gandaric or Hekataios. The employment of two different names to designate the very same country is easily explained by the double fact, that one of the names was the Indian designation of the land, whilst the other was the indigenous name applied to it by its inhabitants. There was yet another name, of Sanskrit origin, used as a territorial appellation of Gandhara—that of Arakhs. This word, derived from aras, a horse, signified merely the cavaliers; it was less an ethnic, in the rigorous acceptance of the word, than a general appellation applied by the Indians of the Panjab to the tribes of the region of the Kophes, renowned from antiquity for the excellence of its horses. In the popular dialects the Sanskrit word took the usual form Asaka, which reappears scarcely modified in Asakani (Asakani or Asakani) Asakani in the Greek historians of the expedition of Alexander and subsequent writers. It is impossible not to recognise here the name of Arakhs or Afghans, which is very evidently nothing else than a contracted form of Asakani. . . . Neither the Gandaric of Hekataios nor the Paktyi of Herodotus are known to them [Arrian and other Greek and Latin writers of the history

and every kind of fruit-tree found in Greece. The remarkable and almost fabulous accounts which are current regarding the fertility of its soil, and the nature of its fruits and trees, its beasts and birds and other animals, will be set down each in its own place in other parts of this work. A little further on I shall speak of the satrapies, but the island of Taprobane§ requires my immediate attention.

But before we come to this island there are others, one being Patale, which, as we have indicated, lies at the mouth of the Indus, triangular in shape, and 220|| miles in breadth. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are Chryse and Argyre,† rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe, what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver. At a distance of twenty miles from these lies Crocala,\* from which, at a distance of twelve miles, is Ribaga, which abounds with oysters and other shell-fish.† Next comes Toralliba,‡ nine miles distant from the last-named island, beside many others unworthy of note.

#### FRAGM. LVII.

*Polyæn. Strateg. I. 1. 1-3.*

##### *Of Dionusos.*

(*Cl. Epit. 25. et seq.*)

Dionusos, in his expedition against the Indians, in order that the cities might receive him willingly, disguised the arms with which he had equipped his troops, and made them wear soft raiment and fawn-skins. The spears were wrapped round with ivy, and the thyrsus had a sharp point. He gave the signal for battle by cymbals and drums instead of the trumpet, and by regaling the enemy with wine diverted their thoughts from war to dancing. These and all other Bacchic orgies were employed in the system of warfare by which he subjugated the Indians and all the rest of Asia.

Dionusos, in the course of his Indian campaign, seeing that his army could not endure the fiery heat of the air, took forcible possession of the three-peaked mountain of India. Of these peaks one is called Krasibið, another Kondaskð,

but to the third he himself gave the name of Meron, in remembrance of his birth. Thereon were many fountains of water sweet to drink, game in great plenty, tree-fruits in unsparing profusion, and snows which gave new vigour to the frame. The troops quartered there made a sudden descent upon the barbarians of the plain, whom they easily routed, since they attacked them with missiles from a commanding position on the heights above.

[Dionusos, after conquering the Indians, invaded Baktria, taking with him as auxiliaries the Indians and Amazons. That country has for its boundary the river Sarangða.§ The Baktrians seized the mountains overhanging that river with a view to attack Dionusos, in crossing it, from a post of advantage. He, however, having encamped along the river, ordered the Amazons and the Baktrians to cross it, in order that the Baktrians, in their contempt for women, might be induced to come down from the heights. The women then assayed to cross the stream, and the enemy came downhill, and advancing to the river endeavoured to beat them back. The women then retreated, and the Baktrians pursued them as far as the bank; then Dionusos, coming to the rescue with his men, slew the Baktrians, who were impeded from fighting by the current, and he crossed the river in safety.]

#### FRAGM. LVIII.

*Polyæn. Strateg. I. 5. 4.*

##### *Of Hercules and Pandæa.*

(*Cl. Fragm. I. 15.*)

Herkles begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandæa. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments.

of Alexander], but as it is the same territory [as that of the Assakan], and as in actual usage the names Afghans and Pakhtûn are still synonymous, their identity is not a matter of doubt."—*Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde*, pp. 376-8. The name of the Gandhîra, it may here be added, remounts to the highest antiquity; it is mentioned in one of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, as old perhaps as the 15th century B.C.—*Id.* p. 381.

§ *Ide ante*, p. 129.

|| CXXX.—v. L OXXX.

¶ Burma and Arakan respectively, according to Yule.—*En.*

\* In the bay of Karachi. See *Ind. Ant. Notes to Arrian*, vol. V. p. 335.

† This is called Bibakta by Arrian, *Indika*, cap. xxi.

‡ v. L Coralliba.

§ See *ante*, Notes to Arrian in vol. V. p. 332.

## FRAGM. LIX.

*Of the Beasts of India.*

*Ælian, Hist. Anim. XVI. 2-22.*

(2) In India I learn that there are to be found the birds called parrots: and though I have, no doubt, already mentioned them, yet what I omitted to state previously regarding them may now with great propriety be here set down. There are, I am informed, three species of them, and all these, if taught to speak, as children are taught, become as talkative as children, and speak with a human voice; but in the woods they utter a bird-like scream, and neither send out any distinct and musical notes, nor being wild and untaught are able to talk. There are also peacocks in India, the largest anywhere met with, and pale-green ringdoves. One who is not well-versed in bird-lore, seeing these for the first time, would take them to be parrots, and not pigeons. In the colour of the bill and legs they resemble Greek partridges. There are also cocks, which are of extraordinary size, and have their crests not red as elsewhere, or at least in our country, but have the flower-like coronals of which the crest is formed variously coloured. Their rump feathers, again, are neither curved nor wreathed, but are of great breadth, and they trail them in the way peacocks trail their tails, when they neither straighten nor erect them: the feathers of these Indian cocks are in colour golden, and also dark-blue like the smargadus.

(3) There is found in India also another remarkable bird. This is of the size of a starling and is parti-coloured, and is trained to utter the sounds of human speech. It is even more talkative than the parrot, and of greater natural cleverness. So far is it from submitting with pleasure to be fed by man, that it rather has such a pining for freedom, and such a longing to warble at will in the society of its mates, that it prefers starvation to slavery with sumptuous fare. It is called by the Macedonians who settled among the Indians in the city of Bounephalia and its neighbourhood, and in the city called Kuropolis and others which Alexander the son of Philip built, the *Kerkûn*. This name had, I believe, its ori-

gin in the fact that the bird wags its tail in the same way as the water-ouzel (*ol alyador*).

(4) I learn further that in India there is a bird called the *K&las*, which is thrice the size of the bustard, and has a bill of prodigious size and long legs. It is furnished also with an immense crop resembling a leather pouch. The cry which it utters is peculiarly discordant. The plumage is ash-coloured, except that the feathers at their tips are tinted with a pale yellow.

(5) I hear also that the Indian hoopoe (*corvus*) is double the size of ours, and more beautiful in appearance, and Homer says that while the bridle and trappings of a horse are the delight of a Hellenic king, this hoopoe is the favourite plaything of the king of the Indians, who carries it on his hand, and toys with it, and never tires gazing in ecstasy on its splendour, and the beauty with which Nature has adorned it. The Brachmanes, therefore, even make this particular bird the subject of a mythic story, and the tale told of it runs thus:—To the king of the Indians there was born a son. The child had elder brothers, who when they came to man's estate turned out to be very unjust and the greatest of reprobates. They despised their brother because he was the youngest: and they scoffed also at their father and their mother, whom they despised because they were very old and grey-haired. The boy, accordingly, and his aged parents could at last no longer live with these wicked men, and away they fled from home, all three together. In the course of the protracted journey which they had then to undergo, the old people succumbed to fatigue and died, and the boy showed them no light regard, but buried them in himself, having cut off his head with a sword. Then, as the Brachmanes tell us, the all-seeing son, in admiration of this surpassing act of piety, transformed the boy into a bird which is most beautiful to behold, and which lives to a very advanced age. So on his head there grew up a crest which was, as it were, a memorial of what he had done at the time of his flight. The Athenians have also related, in a fable, marvels somewhat similar of the crested lark; and this fable Aristophanes, the comic poet, appears to me to have followed when he says in the *Firds*, "For thou

"In this extract not a few passages occur which appear to have been borrowed from Megasthenes. This conjecture, though it cannot by any means be placed beyond doubt by conclusive proofs, seems nevertheless, for various reasons, to attain a certain degree of probability. For in the first place the author knows with unusual accuracy the interior parts of India. Then again he makes

very frequent mention of the Fræd and the Brâhmanas. And lastly one can hardly doubt that some chapters occurring in the middle of this part have been extracted from Megasthenes. I have, therefore, in this opportunity taken care that the whole of this part should be printed at the end of the fragments of Megasthenes."—Schwartz.



were ignorant, and not always bustling, nor always thumbing *Æsop*, who spoke of the created lark, calling it the first of all birds, born before ever the earth was; and telling how afterwards her father became sick and died, and how that, as the earth did not then exist, he lay unburied till the fifth day, when his daughter, unable to find a grave elsewhere, dug one for him in her own head."<sup>4</sup>

It seems, accordingly, probable that the fable, though with a different bird for its subject, emanated from the Indians, and spread onward even to the Greeks. For the *Brachmanes* say that a prodigious time has elapsed since the Indian hoopoe, then in human form and young in years, performed that act of piety to its parents.

(6.) In India there is an animal closely resembling in appearance the land crocodile, and somewhere about the size of a little Maltese dog. It is covered all over with a scaly skin so rough altogether and compact that when flayed off it is used by the Indians as a file. It cuts through brass and eats iron. They call it the *pantlogos* (paugolin or scaly ant-eater).

(8.) The Indian sea breeds sea-snakes which have broad tails, and the lakes breed hydras of immense size, but these sea-snakes appear to inflict a bite more sharp than poisonous.

(9.) In India there are herds of wild horses, and also of wild asses. They say that the mares submit to be covered by the asses, and enjoy such coition, and breed mules, which are of a reddish colour and very fleet, but impatient of the yoke and otherwise skittish. They say that they catch these mules with foot-traps, and then take them to the king of the *Prasians*, and that if they are caught when two years old they do refuse to be broken in, but if caught when that age they differ in no respect from tamed and carnivorous animals.

<sup>4</sup> *Fragm. XII. B follows here.*

is found in India a graminivorous double the size of a horse, and bushy tail purely black in his tail is finer than human is a point on which for therewith they

make a charming coiffure, by binding and braiding it with the locks of their own natural hair. The length of a hair is two cubits, and from a single root there sprout out, in the form of a fringe, somewhere about thirty hairs. The animal itself is the most timid that is known, for should it perceive that any one is looking at it, it starts off at its utmost speed, and runs right forward,—but its eagerness to escape is greater than the rapidity of its pace. It is hunted with horses and hounds good to run. When it sees that it is on the point of being caught, it hides its tail in some near thicket, while it stands at bay facing its pursuers, whom it watches narrowly. It even plucks up courage in a way, and thinks that since its tail is hid from view the hunters will not care to capture it, for it knows that its tail is the great object of attraction. But it finds this to be, of course, a vain delusion, for some one hits it with a poisoned dart, who then flays off the entire skin (for this is of value) and throws away the carcase, as the Indians make no use of any part of its flesh.

(12.) But further: whales are to be found in the Indian Sea, and these five times larger than the largest elephant. A rib of this monstrous fish measures as much as twenty cubits, and its lip fifteen cubits. The fins near the gills are each of them so much as seven cubits in breadth. The shell-fish called *Nirukta* are also met with, and the purple-fish of a size that would admit it easily into a gailion measure, while on the other hand the shell of the sea-urchin is large enough to cover completely a measure of that size. But fish in India attain enormous dimensions, especially the sea-wolves, the thunnies, and the golden-eyebrows. I hear also that at the season when the rivers are swollen, and with their full and boisterous flood deluge all the land, the fish are carried into the fields, where they swim and wander to and fro, even in shallow water, and that when the rains which flood the rivers cease, and the waters retiring from the land resume their natural channels, then in the low-lying tracts and in flat and marshy grounds, where we may be sure the so-called *Nine* are wont to have some watery recesses (*colonus*), fish even of eight cubits' length

Earth was not: five days lay the old bird untomb'd: at last the son buried the father in his head, since other grave was none."

*Dr. Kennedy's translation.*

<sup>5</sup> *Æsop's love, his feathered*

<sup>6</sup> his size;



are found, which the husbandmen themselves catch as they swim about languidly on the surface of the water, which is no longer of a depth they can freely move in, but in fact so very shallow that it is with the utmost difficulty they can live in it at all.

(13.) The following fish are also indigenous to India:—prickly roaches, which are never in any respect smaller than the asps of Argolis; and shrimps, which in India are even larger than crabs. These, I must mention, finding their way from the sea up the Ganges, have claws which are very large, and which feel rough to the touch. I have ascertained that those shrimps which pass from the Persian Gulf into the river Indus have their prickles smooth, and the feelers with which they are furnished elongated and curling, but this species has no claws.

(14.) The tortoise is found in India, where it lives in the rivers. It is of immense size, and it has a shell not smaller than a full-sized skiff (*κρίσθη*), and which is capable of holding ten *medimni* (120 gallons) of pulse. There are, however, also land-tortoises which may be about as big as the largest clouds turned up in a rich soil where the glebe is very yielding, and the plough sinks deep, and, clearing the furrows with ease, piles the clouds up high. These are said to cast their shell. Husbandmen, and all the hands engaged in field labour, turn them up with their mattocks, and take them out just in the way one extracts wood-worms from the plants they have eaten into. They are fat things and their flesh is sweet, having nothing of the sharp flavour of the sea-tortoise.

(15.) Intelligent animals are to be met with among ourselves, but they are few, and not at all so common as they are in India. For there we find the elephant, which answers to this character, and the parrot, and apes of the sphinx kind, and the creatures called satyrs. Nor must we forget the Indian ant, which is so noted for its wisdom. The ants of our own country do, no doubt, dig for themselves subterranean holes and burrows, and by boring provide themselves with lurking-places, and wear out all their strength in what may be called mining operations, which are indubitably toilsome and conducted with secrecy; but the Indian ants construct for themselves a cluster of tiny dwelling-houses, seated not on sloping or level grounds where they could easily be inundated, but on steep and lofty

eminences. And in these, by boring out with untold skill certain circuitous passages which remind one of the Egyptian burial-vaults or Cretan labyrinths, they so contrive the structure of their houses that none of the lines run straight, and it is difficult for anything to enter them or flow into them, the windings and perforations being so tortuous. On the outside they leave only a single aperture to admit themselves and the grain which they collect and carry to their store-chambers. Their object in selecting lofty sites for their mansions is, of course, to escape the high floods and inundations of the rivers; and they derive this advantage from their foresight, that they live as it were in so many watch-towers or islands when the parts around the heights become all a lake. Moreover, the mounds they live in, though placed in contiguity, so far from being loosened and torn asunder by the deluge, are rather strengthened, especially by the morning dew: for they put on, so to speak, a coat of ice formed from this dew—thin, no doubt, but still of strength; while at the same time they are made more compact at their base by weeds and bark of trees adhering, which the silt of the river has carried down. Let so much about Indian ants be said by me now, as it was said by Jobas long ago.

(16) In the country of the Indian *Acætan* there is a subterranean chasm down which there are mysterious vaults, concealed ways, and through passages invisible to men. These are deep withal and stretch to a very great distance. How they came to exist, and how they were excavated, the Indians do not say, nor do I concern myself to inquire. Hither the Indians bring more than thrice ten thousand head of cattle of different kinds, sheep and goats, and oxen and horses; and every person who has been terrified by an ominous dream, or a warning sound or prophetic voice, or who has seen a bird of evil augury, as a substitute for his life casts into the chasm such a victim as his private means can afford, giving the animal as a ransom to save his soul alive. The victims conducted thither are not led in chains nor otherwise coerced, but they go along this road willingly, as if urged forward by some mysterious spell; and as soon as they find themselves on the verge of the chasm they voluntarily leap in, and disappear for ever from human sight so soon as they fall into this mysterious and viewless cavern of the earth. But above there are heard the

bellows of oxen, the bleating of sheep, the neighing of horses, and the plaintive cries of goats, and if any one goes near enough to the edge and closely applies his ear he will hear afar off the sounds just mentioned. This commingled sound is one that never ceases, for every day that passes men bring new victims to be their substitutes. Whether the cries of the animals last brought only are heard, or the cries also of those brought before, I know not,—all I know is that the cries are heard.

(17) In the sea which has been mentioned they say there is a very large island, of which, as I hear, the name is Taprobane. From what I can learn, it appears to be a very long and mountainous island having a length of 7000 stadia and a breadth of 5000.\* It has not, however, any cities, but only villages, of which the number amounts to 750. The houses in which the inhabitants lodge themselves are made of wood, and sometimes also of reeds.

(18.) In the sea which surrounds the islands, tortoises are bred of so vast a size that their shells are employed to make roofs for the houses: for a shell being fifteen cubits in length, can hold a good many people under it, screening them from the scorching heat of the sun, besides affording them a welcome shade. But, more than this, it is a protection against the violence of storms of rain far more effective than tiles, for it at once shakes off the rain that dashes against it, while those under its shelter hear the rain rattling as on the roof of a house. At all events they do not require to shift their abode, like those whose tiling is shattered, for the shell is hard and like a hollowed rock and the vaulted roof of a natural cavern.

The island, then, in the great sea, which they call Taprobane, has palm-groves, where the trees are planted with wonderful regularity all in a row, in the way we see the keepers of pleasure-parks plant out shady trees in the choicest spots. It has also herds of elephants, which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct for the purpose of this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose

of their cargoes to the king of the Kalingai. On account of the great size of the island, the inhabitants of the interior have never seen the sea, but pass their lives as if resident on a continent, though no doubt they learn from others that they are all around enclosed by the sea. The inhabitants, again, of the coast have no practical acquaintance with elephant-catching, and know of it only by report. All their energy is devoted to catching fish and the monsters of the deep; for the sea encircling the island is reported to breed an incredible number of fish, both of the smaller fry and of the monstrous sort, among the latter being some which have the heads of lions and of panthers and of other wild beasts, and also of crabs, and, what is still a greater marvel, there are monsters which in all points of their shape resemble antyrs. Others are in appearance like women, but, instead of having locks of hair, are furnished with prickles. It is even solemnly alleged that this sea contains certain strangely formed creatures, to represent which in a picture would baffle all the skill of the artists of the country, even though, with a view to make a profound sensation, they are wont to paint monsters which consist of different parts of different animals pieced together. These have their tails and the parts which are wreathed of great length, and have for feet either claws or fins. I learn further that they are amphibious, and by night graze on the pasture-fields; for they eat grass like cattle and birds that pick up seeds. They have also a great liking for the date when ripe enough to drop from the palms, and accordingly they twist their coils, which are supple, and large enough for the purpose, around these trees, and shake them so violently that the dates come tumbling down, and afford them a welcome repast. Thereafter when the night begins gradually to wane, but before there is yet clear daylight, they disappear by plunging into the sea just as the first flush of morning faintly illumines its surface. They say whales also frequent this sea, though it is not true that they come near the shore lying in wait for thunnies. The dolphins are reported to be of two sorts—one fierce and armed with sharp-pointed teeth, which gives endless trouble to the fisherman, and is of a remorselessly cruel disposition, while the other kind is naturally mild and

\* In the classical writers the size of this island is always greatly exaggerated. Its actual length from north to

south is 321½ miles, and its breadth from east to west 187½, and its circuit about 660 miles.

Indian Antiquary,



KRISHNA CONVEYED ACROSS THE YAMUNA BY VASUDEVA.

W. W. P.



*From Harb. Ind. Pen. N. 100*

*W. Griggs photo. (18)*

**KRISHNA NURSED BY DEVAKI.**

**FROM A HIGHLY FINISHED PICTURE.**



tame, swims about in the friskiest way, and is quite like a sawing dog. It does not run away when any one tries to stroke it, and it takes with pleasure any food it is offered.

(19.) The sea-hare, by which I now mean the kind found in the great sea (for of the kind found in the other sea I have already spoken), resembles in every particular the land hare except only the fur, which in the case of the land animal is soft and lies smoothly down, and does not resist the touch, whereas its brother of the sea has bristling hair which is prickly, and inflicts a wound on any one who touches it. It is said to swim atop of the sea-ripple without ever diving below, and to be very rapid in its movements. To catch it alive is no easy matter, as it never falls into the net, nor goes near the line and bait of the fishing-rod. When it suffers, however, from disease, and, being in consequence hardly able to swim, is cast out on shore, then if any one touches it with his hand death ensues if he is not attended to,—nay, should one, were it only

with a staff, touch this dead hare, he is affected in the same way as those who have touched a basilisk. But a root, it is said, grows along the coast of the island, well known to every one, which is a remedy for the swooning which ensues. It is brought close to the nostrils of the person who has fainted, who thereupon recovers consciousness. But should the remedy not be applied the injury proves fatal to life, such power for evil does this hare possess.

FRAG. XV. B. follows here.)

(22.) There is also a race called the *Skiratai*,<sup>‡</sup> whose country is beyond India. They are snub-nosed, either because in the tender years of infancy their nostrils are pressed down, and continue to be so throughout their after-life, or because such is the natural shape of the organ. Serpents of enormous size are bred in their country, of which some kinds seize the cattle when at pasture and devour them, while other kinds only suck the blood, as do the *digitakai* in Greece, of which I have already spoken in the proper place.

## ON THE KRISHNAJANMĀSHĒTAMĪ, OR KRISHNA'S BIRTH-FESTIVAL.

BY PROF. A. WEBER, BERLIN.

Translated by Miss M. Theodice.

(Concluded from p. 301, vol. III. p. 12.)

### § 4.

We have still to glance also at the actual representations which the birth of Krishna, especially the god drinking at his mother's breast, has found in Indian art, or, to speak more accurately, at those specimens of these last which lie before us. Unfortunately, only a few pictures of the kind are known to me, and these obviously of quite modern origin, belonging, in all probability, to the century previous to that in which they come down to us—either precisely to that or to the times immediately preceding. No representations of the kind in any religious building, in temple-paintings or sculptures, are known to me. Great ignorance of the documents of Indian art must, unfortunately, be expected here in Europe,

especially on the Continent. Still, it should not, without further evidence, be concluded, from the temporary want of other pictures and figures of the kind, that these do not exist. Rather may the existence of more such representations be inferred with certainty from the fact that the ritual of the *Krishnajanamāshētamī* itself puts them down as an integral element in the festival. In any case, however, the specimens before us suffice to divide them into two groups—namely, those which indicate a certain, even high, rank of artistic cultivation, and those which rather seem, so to speak, to be the products of uncultivated handicraft.

The latter group is soon disposed of: it consists of two pictures only. The first belonging to this group is the figure represented in front and

African Oryx, the Indian Ass, and what is specially called the Unicorn.

<sup>‡</sup> *Vide ante*, FRAG. I. x. 3, p. 133, and p. 133 note, where they are identified with the Kiritas. In the *Pāṇḍya* there is a passage quoted by Lassen (*Erzähl. f. Kunde d. Morgenl.* II. 40) where are mentioned "the Kiritas, some of whom dwell in Mount Mandara, others use their ears as a covering; they are horrible, black-faced, with but one foot but very fleet, who cannot be exterminated, are brave men, and cannibals." (Schwanbeck, p. 63.) (Lassen places one branch of them on the south bank of the Kanak in Nipal, and another in Tipark.—Ed.)

† This is the fragment in which *Ælian* describes the one-horned animal which he calls the *Kartagin*. Rosenmüller, who has treated at large of the unicorn, which he identifies with the Indian rhinoceros, thinks that *Ælian* probably borrowed his account of it from *Ktēsiās*, who when in Persia may have heard exaggerated accounts of it, or may have seen it represented in sculpture with variations from its actual appearance. *Tychsen* derives its name from *Kerd*, an old name, he says, of the rhinoceros itself, and *lagon*, i.e., *cucurbo velox, irruens*. Three animals were spoken of by the ancients as having a single horn—the

back view in Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* (London, 1810) on plate 9, figs. 2, 3 (see the third plate to this, fig. 6, at p. 351), marked, it is true, as *Lakshmi*,\* but better referred to *Devaki* and *Krishna*: for, as Moor himself does, p. 30, we must consider what the mother holds in her hand as a lotus-flower, and recognize in it a symbol of *Lakshmi*; then, ought the child to be regarded as her son *Krishna*, the god of love? Moreover, the question is not of a child actually drinking at its mother's breast, but only of a child stretching out towards it in its mother's arms. Similar figures in wood or metal are used even for purposes of domestic worship. Secondly, to this class belongs the painting on plate 58 in Moor (see accompanying plate I.), which represents *Krishna's* birth, and "the miraculous escape of the infant over the Yamuna, conveyed by his father, and protected by *Susha*,† or immortality; the guards placed by *Kabisa* over his pregnant sister having failed in their vigilance." (Moor, p. 197—see before in § I, p. 175.)

The other group will detain us much longer. It is true it also consists of only two pictures, but these furnish abundant material for questions of all kinds. The first of these pictures, which certainly represents to us *Krishna* drinking at the breast of *Devaki*, is found in Nicolas Müller's curious book *Glauben Kunst und Wissenschaft der alten Hindu* (Mainz, 1822), plate I. fig. 10 (see the plate at p. 351, fig. 3). According to him, p. 553, it is a gift made "from the hand of a friend, a faithful copy, but in half-size, and must have come to Marseilles as an enamelled box-lid, the property of a French merchant's clerk." Nicolas Müller, on his part, agreeably to the French inscription which the picture bore, "*La Nourriture de l'Enfant Canadeux, fils de Maya*," refers the representation to the god of love and his mother *Mâyâ* or *Lakshmi* (compare Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 134, 417), who is here seated on the bosom of a lotus "like a Byzantine Madonna

with the infant Christ." However, on one hand the special emblems of both‡ are wanting in part,—as, for example, we find on fig. 75 of the same plate in N. Müller (see our third plate, fig. 4) the bow with the line of bees as a string, the fish on the banner, the parrot as an animal for riding; then, too, the god of love is not given anywhere else as an infant at his mother's breast (and in fig. 7 he is not represented as such at all—rather as a youth rejoicing over the beauty of his mother). It is much better to take it as *Krishna* at the breast of *Devaki*, a conception that must have been copied numberless times at the yearly festival of *Krishna's* birth. The position of the child, too, corresponds here exactly with the statement of the text of the ritual (see above, p. 236), for, if it does not itself "press the point of the breast," it still "looks up lovingly to its mother," with one hand stroking her face, while the other is occupied with her other breast.

Far more important, however, is the second of these pictures, namely, the one given by Moor in his *Hindu Pantheon*, plate 59||—a beautiful painting (see the second plate) of "*Krishna* nursed by *Devaki*," from a highly finished picture, copied, like all the other plates of that costly work, by "Mr. Haughton of the Royal Academy," and taken from a collection of "pictures and images" made in India by Moor towards the end of last century. Unfortunately, more particular accounts of the origin of the painting are wanting. In every respect it is a true work of art, and we could even imagine that we were occupied not with the work of an Indian but of a European artist¶ if we had not in our possession other Indian pictures which indicate a similar master-hand: see, for example, in Moor himself, plates 17, 18, 22, 62, 63, 67, 84, 95. No direct reference to the special accounts of the manner in which the infant *Krishna* is represented at the festival of the *Krishnajanmashtomî* is found in it: he is neither represented as "asleep drinking at the breast,"

\* Compare plate II, figs. 1, 2, 3, in Moor, where *Lakshmi*, as *Nârâyana's* wife, is resting in his arms, looking meanwhile more like a child than a woman. (See Moor, p. 51).

† See Wilson, *Vishnupur.* (2nd ed.) p. 503.

‡ We must, then, recognize an attribute of *Lakshmi* in the lotus-flower which the mother holds in her hand: compare the remark just made above to Moor's plate 9, figs. 2, 3.

§ This, according to p. 553, is "a miniature done in copy by the hand of a friend (Herr Mallet) from the portfolio of an Indian artist, the legacy of a French officer of marine (one Herr Darnis)."

|| According also to Cremona's *Symbolik*, vol. I.

2nd ed. plate xxvi.; 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1837), plate vi.; and in Guignaut's translation (*Paris*, 1835), vol. II, plate xii No. 61.

¶ Mr. Haughton may indeed have helped it, as appears from Moor's words (p. 197):—"The plate is an exact outline of the picture, without any addition or alteration whatever, save perhaps some portion of ease and elegance in the position of the female." The following, from Moor's description, is perhaps of importance:—"The glory that encircles her head as well as that of the infant is of green edged with gold. . . . *Krishna* in the picture is of a dark brown colour, and not, as his name indicates, and as he is generally seen painted, dark azure" (see further on this subject the notes made below, p. 352).

Fig 5.



W. Griggs photo-lith.

Fig 3.



Fig 4.



Fig 6.



महामा

Fig 7



Fig 9.





(see p. 285), nor "pressing the point of the breast with his hand, and looking up lovingly into the face of Devakī" (see p. 286); she, rather, is looking down lovingly on him, and, on her part, presses her breast, to make drinking easier for him. She appears, too, far past the condition of a confined woman, as Kṛishṇa does past that of a newly-born child. An immediate reference to the festival of the *Janmāshṭamī* is not contained, then, in the picture. Of the identity of the persons, however, there can be no reasonable doubt. Niclas Müller, indeed, on p. 608, explains the picture as a "Bhavanī laying an infant to her nourishing breast in her paradise, as universal mother of earth, and source of life" (†). Others have also recognized in it "Buddha suckled by Māyā," see Creuzer's *Symbolik* (3rd ed. Leipzig, 1837), I. 572: so especially Guignaut, in his translation of Creuzer's work (Paris, 1825), I. 293. Nowhere, however, in Buddhist literature or elsewhere, do we there see such representation of Buddha mentioned, which, moreover, would be inconsistent with his whole character (see § 3 in *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 21). That the child we have here is to be considered as an incarnation of the Lord and Creator of the world, is testified by the shell\* as a symbol, lying underneath on the ground at the right hand, with figures of animals (elephant, lion, bull, horse, &c.), which likewise are repeated elsewhere, namely, in N. Müller, on plate IV. fig. 64, in a group representing Śiva with his wife Pārvatī. Under the seat of the latter there is a similar basket, a "dish of models of beings" *Wesenmodellenschaßel*, as N. Müller expresses himself,—in which an elephant, a cow, a horse, a gazelle, a bird, and two men are visible, so that the common interpretation of the symbols as denoting creative power is sufficiently apparent.

\* M.-or remarks on this, especially on the remaining shells, &c. "The tray and stand bearing fruits, animals, &c. one would imagine to be simply what they represent: but with enthusiastic Hindus everything is supernatural, and they will affirm, that the dominion of Kṛishṇa over the animal and vegetable worlds is here typified; nor are legends wanting in the fabulous history of this extraordinary person, applicable to, and accounting for, each of the animals that are seen in the shell. The lotus in the right of the image is similarly said to hold food, poison, and amrita, symbolical of life, death, and immortality: advertising off course to Kṛishṇa's potency, while the triangular disc, denoting trinity in unity, marks his coequality with the grand powers of the Triad supposed."

† Niclas Müller had this sketched along with others of the copies of Indian miniatures in the old Louvre, done by him in Paris, in the year 1794, at the request of G. Fontaine.

‡ This representation is, in fact, exceedingly frequent

And in fact it is to this idea, in all probability, as its source, that the Christian legend related in the two *Gospels of the Infancy of Jesus*, the Greek (Fabricius, p. 160) and the Arabic (cap. 36, 46, Fabricius, pp. 198, 206) is to be traced,—the legend of the making of animals out of clay and imparting life to them, as apes, oxen, birds, &c., especially sparrows, alluded to also in the *Qurʾān* (Sūra iii. 43). In India this is ascribed sometimes to Kṛishṇa: compare, for example, *Bhāgavata-Parāṇa* X. 14, p. 59 of Pavie's translation from the Hindi (Paris, 1852), where it is only flocks and shepherds, as in the case of Christ,—not, as here, elephants,—that are dealt with; partly also to king Śālīvāhana, who belonged, as is asserted, to the first century of our era, who made elephants, horses, and riders out of clay, and imparted life to them (see Lassen, *Ind. Ant.* II. 882-4). Consequently this symbol is exactly in its right place here, inasmuch as it is joined to an analogous circle of representations, springing from the same source. What further occurs to us here as specially worthy of attention among the representations lying before us, is the striking similarity which they show to the Egyptian type, Isis nourishing Horus (see before, § 3 in *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 49), particularly as regards the attitude and upper part of the group, in so special a degree that a closer reference is superfluous—a comparative glance at the two pictures suffices (see the third plate, fig. 5). The explanation of this would be very easily found if Raoul Rochette's or Mrs. Jameson's opinion, that the type of Byzantine Madonnas rests upon this Egyptian group,† could be clearly proved by Byzantine pictures of the kind. We should then have to consider these last as the medium which had served as a model for the Indian picture.

in Egypt, from ancient times even down to the time of the Ptolemies and the Romans: compare, for example, for the latter age, the great work of Lepsius, *Ägyptische Denkmäler*, Part IV., plate 49, 50, 61, 64, 71. This last is the picture we have on our plate. The opinion which Mrs. Jameson gives on page 200 (Horus nursing Horus) is evidently borrowed from Sir J. G. Wilkinson's second series of *Monuments and Customs of Ancient Egypt*: London, 1841. Plate 35A. Greek art also has representations of Horus giving the breast to Anubis, or by mistake to Horus: see Preller's *Herakleische Mythologie*, 1854, pp. 113, 114, but thoroughly spurious of the kind accessible to me in Wieseler's edition of C. G. Müller's *Antiquitäten der alten Kunst* (Göttingen, 1856), tom. II. p. 6, plate v. No 42—does not show the smallest reference to the Egyptian type. It is an *en face* statue in the Vatican Museum (Mus. Pio Clementino). Here, it is true, offers her left breast to Anubis, holds it with her right hand, while the left encircles the child, but the attitude and the rest of the arrangement differ entirely.

That such a Byzantine Madonna type should still be preserved so faithfully in India, while with us it belonged as a type to a departed age, would not be surprising: in similar cases the same thing often appears in the travelling of ideas to foreign lands. To show that the Indians keep firmly to a model of this kind when it has been once accepted, a remarkable analogue is found in the remarks made by me (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft* XVIII, 507) regarding the complete identity of the Manjuśrī of the fourteenth century in Java with the one presently used in Tibet. Moreover in the pictures of the old cave-temples of Ajanta, § fourteen of which were recently in the library of the India House, actual traces of Byzantine models are found along with a decided advance upon them, in so far, namely, as some of these, in architectonic reference, at least, already show a striving after perspective representation. || This becomes clear from the following report on them in the *Athenæum* of February 3rd, 1849 (I borrow the passage from Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 205):—"In many of these, certain striking coincidences with Siennese and Pisan art under the influence of Byzantine taste are to be remarked. There are the same diagrammatic manifestations of the human form and the human countenance: similar conventions of actions and of feature; a like constraint in the choice of action and the delineation of form, in consequence of a like deficiency in knowledge of the human subject; and a like earnestness of intention and predominance of dramatic display. . . . Assigning the date of the pictures to the period suggested . . . it is at least remarkable that evidence of perspective should be found so very much earlier than the date of any existing specimens known in Southern Europe. The earliest examples of perspective principles in Italian art date somewhere about the middle of the fourteenth century."

Hitherto I have almost entirely proceeded on the supposition that in this picture we have the retention of a type transmitted from an earlier

time. But we have now to look, secondly, at the other possibility, intimated already, that it is rather direct intercourse between India and Europe, established through the arrival of the Portuguese (1498), that brought pictures of the Madonna of modern times to India, and that it is such modern pictures of the Renaissance that have served the painters of them as models. We know that besides the Christian, chiefly Jesuit, missionaries, other European adventurers of all kinds sought their fortune at the court of the Great Mogul, especially of the great Akbar (1556-1605), as well as at the small Indian courts. Might not, perhaps, some such Italian or Spanish-Portuguese genius in the service of an Indian rāja have painted the picture? In this connection it might next be shown that, according to Moor's account, the figure of Kṛishṇa in it is "dark brown," not "dark azure" as naturally ought to be the case, and as is directly required by the texts which speak of the pictures and paintings prepared for the festival of the *Janmdakṣaṇī* (see before, pp. 285, 286). Unquestionably the subject was one very much loved and very frequently handled, especially at the yearly return of the festival: so that Indian artists could of course easily acquire a certain readiness and artistic finish in their representations, while, on the other hand, it might well appear congenial also to any European talent that wished to attempt it. The fineness of the perspective in the landscape background of the picture, visible through the window, deserves special attention. As for the rest, the attitude of it, in the minutest details, is certainly Indian (compare, for example, the position of the kneeling female servant's fingers), and, according to the account just mentioned, perspective arrangements show themselves pretty early in India. Consequently, in the complete uncertainty which exists in regard to the age and origin of the pictures on the Indian side, it might be a task rather for the historian of art or the Christian archaeologist\* to investigate and prove their connection with any European models.†

§ On these see *Ind. Ant.* vol. II, pp. 152-3; vol. III, pp. 26-29.—Ed.

|| Compare also Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, vol. I, pp. 513, 514.

† Regarding the special glory, see § 3, ante, vol. III, p. 62. Does not this form of the glory, perhaps, present a fixed point in the chronology of art? Indian pictures have in other cases properly only a golden ring encircling the whole head from above to below—see, for example, the Miniature Plate annexed to the *Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts* in the Royal Library here.

\* Rev. J. H. Board says, indeed, p. 168 of his various work on the Trinity,—already quoted, *I. A.* vol. III, p. 50,

—as follows:—"This represents a singular subject, whence also Christian idolatry received countenance—namely Krishna, the eighth avatar or incarnation of Vishnu, suckled by his mother, Devaki." In this case, however, rather the exact opposite seems to hold.

† Fig. 7 in the accompanying plate is from De Sassi's *Imagines Selectæ Imperatoris Pargana*, referred to in § 3 of this paper, *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, p. 206.

Fig. 8 is from Hansen, *Die Basiliken des alten Rom*, pl. xlv: see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, p. 48a.

Fig. 9 is from the *chreia* of Karysis on Mount Athos, referred to *ut sup.* p. 38a.





*Iskhatan Keśavadāsa chitrakara*, that is, "May His Highness Jellāl-ed-din Akbar Pādīshāh live long! Samvat 1646 (=A.D. 1590) on the ninth of the light half of Pausa, written by Keśavadāsa, the painter." Thus, by order of the emperor Akbar, this beautiful work was executed by a native artist, called Keśavadāsa. In this statement there is nothing surprising. On the one hand it is known how indulgent that truly great emperor was, how much he promoted the mingling of religious systems, how very warmly he interested himself in the Christian religion among others, so that for a long time the Jesuits reckoned confidently on his conversion. On the

other hand, however, we know further from the statement of his like-minded great minister Faizi, in the excellent work called the *Ayn-i-Akbari*, that the emperor warmly favoured painting also, that he even founded a kind of academy of painting, whose members, among other things, had to illustrate Persian books with paintings (*Humayun's History* contains not fewer than fourteen hundred of them); drawing portraits, too, of the chief officials of the court formed part of their business,—see Gladwin's *Ayn-i-Akbari*, vol. I. p. 115, and the *Petersburg Catalogue des Manuscrits* . . . p. 423.

### ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AT BĀDĀMI, IN THE DEKHAṆ.

Bādāmi is a moderate-sized town in the Kālāḍgi collectorate, about twenty-three miles south-east from the town of Kālāḍgi, and nearly three from the Malprabha river. It is the chief town of the tālukā of the same name. A little to the south of it is Hanuānkarī; among the hills to the east is Mahākūta; eight miles to the east and on the river Pāṭāḍkal; and another eight miles down the river is Aihole—all noted for their ancient temples and inscriptions. As pointed out by Mr. Fleet, there seems little doubt but that Bādāmi was the ancient Vātāpipuri or Vātāpinagari of the Chālukya kings of the Kanarese country, and made the capital by Pulikēśi I. in the sixth century of the Christian era. Early in the seventh century it is mentioned by the name also of Bādāvi; Paṭṭadakī is the old Paṭṭadakisevoḷaḷi, the capital of the Sindavarāṇa chiefs about 1162 A.D.; and Aihole may be the Ayyāvoḷe mentioned in a grant of the reign of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya the Great, 1003 A.D.\*

Bādāmi is situated at the outlet between two rocky hills on its north and south sides, a dam on the east of the town between the bases of the hills forming a large tank for the supply of water to the town. All along the north side of this small lake are old temples, most of them built of very large blocks of hard stone, while the hill behind them is a ruined fort, taken by a British detachment under Sir Thomas

Munro in 1818. It must have been a place of great strength in early times; the passages through it are cut to great depths in the rock and are narrow, long, and winding, so that if the gate were stormed the besieged had their enemies far below them, and from above they could easily hurl destruction on the heads of all that could enter the pathways before any of them could reach a place of vantage. In and about this rock-fort are some temples also. But it is in the scarp of the hill to the south-east that the cave temples are excavated. They are four in number: the lowest, on the west end of the hill, is a Śivālaya or Śaiva cave; the next is a Vaiṣṇava temple considerably higher up in the rock and to the north-east of the Śivālaya; the largest, also Vaiṣṇava, is still further to the east on the north face of the hill; and the last is a little beyond it, but is a Jaina cave and of much smaller dimensions than the preceding three Brāhmanical ones. All four are still in unusually excellent preservation, and are very rich in mythological sculpture.

The Great Cave is by far the finest of the series, and one of the most interesting Brāhmanical temples in India; it is also the only cave-temple of which we know the age, for it is on a pilaster in it that the inscription of Maṅgalīśa, the son of Pulikēśi I., the Chālukya king who made Bādāmi his capital, is found. Though it cannot compare in size with Elephanta or some of the larger caves at Elurā,

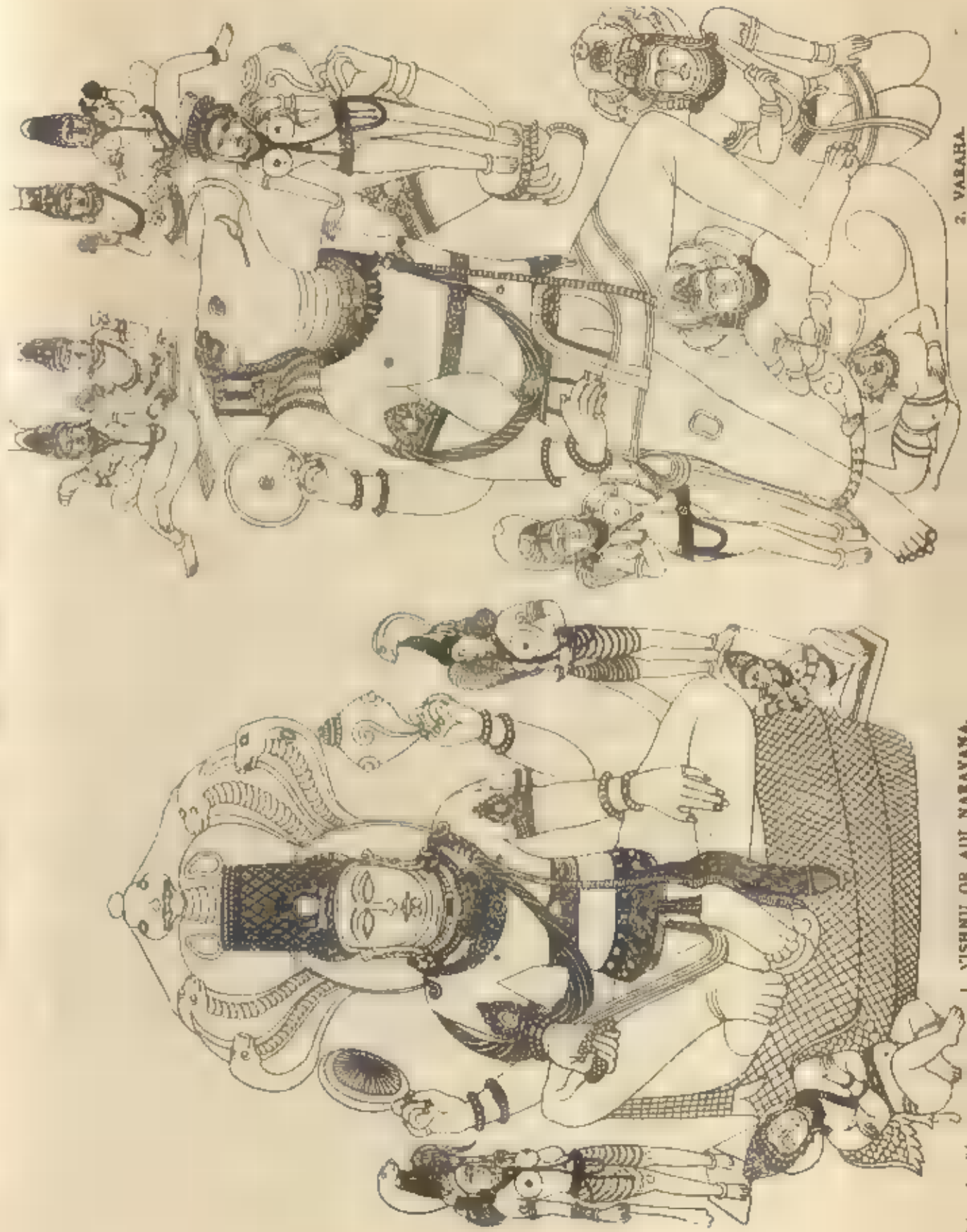
this explanation holds good for *vatāsa* also, in case this can really be proved to have the signification of 'year,' and then the etymological reference to *vat*, *vatāsa*, would

naturally become doubtful in the highest degree.

\* *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 306; vol. V. pp. 19, 51, 67, 83, 71, 174, 344; vol. VI. pp. 72, 74, 88, 127, 162, 142.



SCULPTURES IN THE GREAT CAVE AT BADÂMI.



VISHNU OR ADI NARAYANA.

2. VARAHA.



it is still a temple of considerable dimensions, the verandah measuring nearly seventy feet in length, and the cave inside sixty-five feet, with a total depth from the front of the verandah pillars to the back wall of forty-eight feet,—the shrine going into the rock about twelve feet farther, while the general height throughout verandah and hall is fifteen feet. It is considerably higher up in the rock than the other Vaishṇava cave, and is entered by an ascending stair through a door in the west end of a square court in front of it, the north side of this court being formed by a large mass of rock left unexcavated there; the east and west ends are formed by old walls of masonry, that on the east entirely precluding all access from this side to the Jaina cave just beyond it, so that the Jainas must have formed a path for themselves from the shore of the *talāu* below up to their rock-cut shrine.

The cave faces the north, and the level of the floor of it is eight or nine feet above that of the court outside. A narrow platform is built up the whole length of the front, the cave being entered by a flight of steps in the centre of it, but which have now been torn down,—probably because the long treads of the steps were found useful for some purpose or other in the village. The front of the platform has a moulded cornice, and under it a dado of blocks,—many of them seven feet in length—divided into more than thirty compartments throughout the length of it, and in each compartment two of those little fat dwarfs or *ganas* that are such favourites with the early Hindu sculptors for the decoration of basements, and which they were fond of representing in every possible attitude and in every form of grimace, even with the heads of animals. All sects—Brāhmanas, Buddhists, and Jains—seem to have employed such figures in similar positions: in fact they appear to have been conventionalities dependent more upon the taste and imagination of the craftsmen than upon the mythology of the sect for which any particular temple was constructed.

The verandah is supported in front by six pillars each two and a half feet square, and two pilasters, with deep bases and capitals,—the latter almost hidden by the three brackets attached to the lower part of the capitals on the backs and sides of each, and by the eave or drip which comes down in front. The brackets on each

side the pillars in every case but one represent a pair of human or mythological figures—a male and female standing in various attitudes under foliage, in most cases attended by a small dwarf figure; the only exception to the pair of figures is one in which Ardhanaṛī is represented, four-armed and with two dwarf attendants. The brackets on the backs or inner sides of the pillars are all tall single female figures, each with one or two small attendants. These brackets extend from near the bottom of the capitals to the roof. The necks of the pillars below the capitals are carved with broad bands of elaborate beaded festoon work, and on each of the four sides of the lower portions of the shafts are medallions carved with groups of figures within a border.

The verandah is nine feet wide, and is separated from the hall by four free-standing columns and two demi-columns in *naṭīḥ*, all with high bases, the two central pillars being of that purely Hindu type, so often met with, consisting of a square shaft with thin and slightly narrower slabs applied to each face: in this case two of these slabs are superimposed on each side, forming five exterior angles at each of the four corners. The two pillars outside these are octagons with capitals of the Elephant type. There are thus left for sculptors the two ends of the verandah, and the spaces on the back between the attached pillars and the ends.

In the east end of the verandah is a large figure of Viṣṇu seated (see Fig. 1) on the body of the great snake Śeṣha or Ananta, which is thrice coiled round below him, while its hoods—five in this instance—are spread out over and round his big *mūṇḍa* or crown as if to protect it. He is represented as four-armed (*Chaturbhuj*)—the front left hand resting on the calf of his leg, and the other holding up the *śaṅkha* or conch-shell, one of his most characteristic emblems,—being the shell that was among the fourteen precious things produced from the churning of the ocean which Viṣṇu conducted in his second or *Kūṛma avatāra*, and which was said to confer victory on whoever should sound it. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and *Hariṣmṛti*, however, it is said that when Kṛiṣṇa was getting up his military acquirements, his *āchārya* or tutor, Śāṇḍipāṇi Kṛiṣṇa complained that he had lost his only son in the sea at Prabhāsa (Somnātha). Kṛiṣṇa

plunged into the sea, but was told by Samudra that it was the Daitya Pañshajana or Sankhāsura, the chief of a race dwelling in shells, who had carried off the youth. Krishna then, descending to the bottom of the ocean, encountered and slew him, bringing up his bones (or the shell he had inhabited), of which he made the *Sankha Pañshajanya*, that he bore ever after as an emblem.†

In the front right hand he holds some object perhaps representing wealth or fruit, and in the other his *chakra* or discus—a sharp-edged heavy quoit, which seems to have been used as a missile instrument in early warfare by the Hindus, being thrown with force against the enemy, and recovered by a string attached to it. In later mythological representations Vishnu is represented as twisting it round his forefinger, when, it is said, irresistible fire flames from its periphery, destroying all in its course. It is called *sudarshana*, and is said to have been formed from the rays of *Tvashtiri* for the destruction of the *Dānavas*.‡ He has three necklaces, each represented with a mass of gems in front, among which it was perhaps intended to represent the *Kamukha* or *Bhrigulita*. Round his waist is another belt of gems, while over his left shoulder and under his right arm hangs a thick cord apparently formed of twisted strands of strings of beads or pearls; and again round his loins are other richly embroidered belts; on his arms and wrists also he wears rich armlets and bracelets. To his right and below is *Gardha*, his *udhmas* or vehicle, who carries him and attends him also as a page, sitting with folded arms leaning against the coils of *Śeṣha*. Opposite to him sits a little female figure with high *magata*, which may possibly represent *Lakshmi*, the wife of Vishnu. Above these stand two taller female figures, each holding a *chauri* or fly-flap: they have jewelled head-dresses, and large chignons, out of which rises a single cobra-hood overshadowing the head. These attendants remind us of the supporters we so often find under the *padmasana* or lotus-thrones of figures of Buddha, where the male supporters of the lotus-stalk are represented with three, five, or even seven snake-hoods shielding their heads, while their female companions or wives have only one hood.

This large sculpture fills the end compartment of the verandah. Under it is a plinth the front of which is carved with little fat gambolling figures or *ganas*.

Turning to the right we find on the back wall of the verandah another large sculpture, and one which in the early ages seems to have been a great favourite, for we seldom miss it in a Vaishnava shrine (Fig. 2). ¶ is also repeated in several of the Śaiva rock-temples of Elurá, and always in nearly the same form as here. It is the *Varāha* or third *avastā*, assumed to rescue the earth from the Asura, *Hiranyaksha*, the chief of the *Dānavas*, who had carried it off to the bottom of the ocean, when Vishnu, taking the form of a boar, dived down and rescued it, after a contest of a thousand years.¶ Here he is represented again as four-armed, similarly dressed as in the other figure, and with the *chakra* and *sankha* in his uplifted hands, but with a boar's head, standing with his left foot on the coil of a snake, the head of which is human, with five hoods behind it—seen under his thigh. In one of his left hands he holds a lotus-flower on which stands *Prithivi*,—the Earth personified,—steading herself against his shoulder. *Prithivi*, also called *Bhūmidēvi* or *Bhūdēvi*, derives her name from *Prithu*, the first king who taught the mode of cultivating the ground, and whose daughter she is said to have been. She is the wife of Vishnu in his *Varāha avastā*, and to her he delivered one of the *Purāṇas*. She is represented in mythology as a woman with two arms, standing on a lotus-flower, and holding in one hand another lotus-blossom, with a crown on her head, her long black locks reaching to her feet, of yellow complexion, and with a *tika* of red paste on her forehead. *Bhūmidēvi* is the goddess of patience and endurance, but receives no special worship.¶

In front of *Varāha*'s knee kneels a human female figure with the five *Nāga*-hoods over his jewelled *magata*, and behind stands a female *chauri*-bearer with the single hood; another figure lies between *Varāha*'s feet, holding by the long cord or *yajnopavita* that hangs down from his shoulder, but which is broken away in front of the head and shoulder of the *Nāga* figure.

† Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa*, 1st ed. p. 542; Harivamśa, adh. lxvii. ‡ Wilson in *As. Res.* vol. VIII; Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 213. § Harivamśa, adh. lx. and cxcv.

¶ On his wrist Vishnu wears the jewel called *Syamantaka*.

¶ Conf. Harivamśa, adh. xli, cccxiii, and cccxv. ¶ *Prithivi* is from *prithu*—'extended'. On *Bhūmidēvi* see Monn. iii. 55, 56; in. 211; Colebrooke's *Samsa*, vol. I. p. 127.





3. NRISIṂHA



4. VIRĀṬARŪPA

COPPER ŚĀŚANAM OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR.

This image shows a fragment of a palm-leaf manuscript. The text is written in an ancient script, likely Tamil, in dark ink. The fragment is irregularly shaped with a jagged bottom edge. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The first line is partially obscured by a circular hole at the top left. The script is highly stylized and compact.

[illegible]

Over Varāha's shoulders are two pairs of figures like the cherubs in Baddha shrines, each apparently with offerings.

On the pilaster, beside this figure, is the inscription of the sixth century of our era (A.D. 579), to which we shall again refer below.

At the west end of the verandah we have another of the *avātaras*, namely the *Narasīṅha* or man-lion (Fig. 3), which, like the Varāha, is represented as having taken place in the Satya-yuga. The demon *Hiranyakāśipu*, the son of *Kāśyapa* and *Diti*, and brother of *Hiranyāksha*, having, in consequence of severe penance, obtained from *Brahmā* the boon that he should be invulnerable to gods, men, snakes, &c., became imperious and troubled earth and heaven, when, at the desire of *Prahlāda* the son of *Hiranyakāśipu*, *Narasīṅha* bursting out of a column destroyed him, to the great joy of the *devatas*. He is here represented four-armed, one of the left arms resting on his huge club or *gada*, called *Kaumodaki*, beside which stands *Garuḍa* in human form. On the other side is a dwarf attendant, and above *Narasīṅha*'s shoulders are figures floating with garlands and gifts. Over the lion-head is a lotus, and his jewelled necklaces are elaborately carved.

On the other side of the front pilaster of the verandah from this last is a large and very striking sculpture, repeated also on a smaller scale in the other *Vaishṇava* cave here, in the *Dās Avatāra* cave and in other places at *Ellorā* (see Fig. 4). Locally it is called *Virātopa*, but, from the place it occupies among these sculptures, there can be no doubt that it relates to *Viṣṇu* in the fifth or *Vāmana* *avatāra* of the *Tretā*-yuga. He is represented in this case as eight-armed (*Aṣṭabhuja*), with the *chakra*, the *Nandaka*, the sword, the *gada* or club, and an arrow in his right hands, and the *śakti*, the bow called *Śārng*, and shield in the left, while with the fourth on that side he points to a round grinning face, perhaps *Rāhu*, to which he lifts also his left foot. Over this face is the

crescent moon, beside *Viṣṇu*'s jewelled *mugita* is a *Varāha* and two other figures, and below on his right *Garuḍa*. In front stand three figures, probably representing *Bali* the son of *Virochana* and king of *Mahābalipura*, and his wife with *Śukra* his counsellor, the first holding the pot out of which he had, against *Śakra*'s advice, poured the water on the hands of the dwarf in confirmation of his promise to grant *Vāmana*'s request for as much ground as he could compass at three strides. But scarcely was the water poured on his hands when, say the legends, "he developed all his divine form. The earth became his feet, the heaven his head, the sun and moon his eyes, the *Pīśācha* his toes, the *Gṛhyakas* his fingers, the *Viśvadevas* his knees, the *Sādhyas* his legs, the *Yakshas* his nails, the *Apasaras* the lines on his face, the lightning his glance, the solar rays his locks, the stars the spots on his person, the intermediate points of the horizon his arms, the cardinal points his ears, the *Aśvins* the interiors of his ears, *Vāyu* his nose, *Chandramas* (moonbeams) the light of his face, duty his sentiment (*menas*), truth his voice, *Sarasvatī* his tongue, *Aditi* his neck, *Mitra* and *Varuṇ* his eyebrows, *Agni* his mouth, *Brahmā* his heart, the *Vasus* his back, the *Maruts* his joints, the *Chhandas* his teeth, &c. &c. At the sight of this divine form the *Asuras*, *Bali*'s subjects, enraged dashed at him." Among them we find such names as *Viprachitti*, *Hayagrīva*, *Kētumān*, *Ugra*, *Prahlāda*, *Anuhrāda*, *Hari*, *Hara*, *Varāha*, *Virūpāksha*, *Saprabha*, *Dvichakra*, *Vāyu*, *Vikshara*, *Krodha*, *Naraka*, *Puloman*, *Rāhu*, &c. &c. They were of all animal and monstrous shapes, and armed with all sorts of instruments, their heads decked with diadems, earrings, &c. *Viṣṇu*'s form, however, grew as he dispersed them, until the sun and moon were no higher than his breast, and still he grew. "The *Brāhmanas* say that the powerful *Viṣṇu*, the conqueror of the *Asuras*, after subduing the three worlds, gave the earth to

\* *Viṣṇu*, like *Śiva*, has a thousand names (*Mahābh. Anuśāsanaparva*, vi. 6930-7056) of which the more usual are:

- 1 *Achyuta*—the undescending.
- 2 *Ananta-śayana*—who sleeps on the serpent *Ananta*.
- 3 *Daittyakī*—the enemy of the *Daityas*.
- 4 *Dāmodara*—as *Kṛishṇa*, bound with a rope.
- 5 *Goviṇḍa*—ruler of the earth, or cowkeeper.

6 *Hari*. 7 *Janārdana*—of whom emancipation is wrought.

8 *Śaṅkha*—lotus-shaped; 9 *Pandurāksha*—whose eyes are like the white lotus.

10 *Kaṭaphant*—wh. wears the *Kaṭapha*.

11 *Kṛishṇa*—black, or who gave being. 12 *Kemishādana*.

13 *Kṛishṇa*—wearing a tiara.

14 *Lakshmiṇi*—lord of *Lakshmi*.

15 *Śrīdhara*—bearer of *Śrī*.



Indra, and to Bali the sixth of the lower worlds (*Pātāla*), named *Sutala*.<sup>†</sup>

Holding by his thigh is *Garuda*, and above the heads of the three figures before him is one with sword and shield falling down, and a half-figure behind.

Facing this, at the other end of the verandah, just outside the pilaster that separates it from the first described of these sculptures, is another large one (*Fig. 5*) representing *Viṣṇu* with eight arms, with *chakra*, arrow, *gada*, and sword in his right hands, and in the left the *śaṅkha*, shield, and bow (*dāraṇa*), the fourth placed against his loin. Behind the head a portion of the head-dress is formed into a circular frill, somewhat resembling an aureole: this may be observed also both in the last described figure and in the next. He wears long pendant links hanging down from the ears, similar to what are found on many *Buddha* images, and in the lower portion of the link is hung a heavy ring or jewel that rests against the collar. From the top of his high *muguta*, or cap, springs a figure of *Narasīṅha*—four-armed and with *chakra* and *śaṅkha*. Whom this is intended to represent is somewhat difficult to say; as it occupies a position beside the entrance, it may be intended merely as a figure of *Viṣṇu* in his more active and terrible form, while the next, inside, represents him in repose seated on *Śeṣha*—or it may be for *Balarāma*, the seventh *avatāra*. It is, like the others, well cut in a close-grained rock, and the only damage it has suffered is a piece out of the long sword, and some slight injury near the ankle. The dress is knotted behind the thighs, and round his body and thighs he wears a belt,—perhaps the same as the *bāhupadda* of Southern India, represented as worn by sages and other holy beings when they sit.

The last large sculpture to be noticed in this cave is a figure of *Harīhara*, as he is locally known. (*Fig. 6*.) This name is applied to the

*Ayinar* of the south country, the alleged son of *Śiva* by *Māhinī* (a female manifestation of *Viṣṇu*), and who is the only male *Grāmadēvata* worshipped by the Tamils. But there is another legend of *Harīhara* which runs thus:—"In former times there lived an *Asura* named *Gula*, the son of a *Rishi*. He was exceedingly powerful, and performed extremely painful penances. On one occasion, after inhaling a draught of smoke, he performed the penance of standing on his head for ninety-six years, during sixty-four of which he lived solely on the leaves of trees, and for another portion of the time upon fruit, and for the rest of the period he lived entirely without food; and by this means he succeeded in bringing all his bodily senses into complete subjection. As a reward for this great penance, he obtained a boon from *Brahmā*, and this blessing so intoxicated him with pride that he became a troubler of the world. In course of time *Indra* and his attendant gods were obliged to make war upon him on account of the universal confusion which he created; but he assumed the different powers of all the gods—the power of *Sūrya*, of *Indra*, of *Agni*, of *Anila*, of *Indu*, of *Yama*, of *Varuṇa*, and of the other gods, and so succeeded in driving them out of their own paradise.

"Then those exiled gods, together with the *Rishis*, the *Munis*, the *Gandharvas*, the *Yakshas*, and the *Rākshasas*," went to *Śiva*, and "in order also to make it evident to all creatures that *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* are one," says the *Śaiva* legend, "I (*Śiva*) assumed the form of *Harī*. For a thousand years of the gods I made war upon *Gulāśura* with various divine and mighty weapons. For a while I merely hurled them at him in sport, but at last I pierced him mortally with the tremendous arrow *Mahāpaśupatiśtra*." . . . "When the gods saw the mysterious form which had been assumed to

16 *Mādhava*. 17 *Madhurādhava*—destroyer of *Madhu*.

18 *Mukunda*—passionless. 19 *Murāri*—foe of *Mura*.

20 *Nārāyaṇa*—who dwells on the waters, or in the minds of the devout.

21 *Padmanābha*—in whose navel is a lotus.

22 *Panchāyudha*—having five weapons.

23 *Pitāmbara*—wearing yellow garments.

24 *Prāṇikēśa*—god of all the members of light.

25 *Śācīya*; 26 *Śrīraṅga*—bearing the bow of horn.

27 *Svaparikṣā*—self-existent. 28 *Vāruṇa*.

29 *Vāmana*—as *Kṛishṇa*, the son of *Vasudeva*.

30 *Vaiṣṇava*; 31 *Vaiṣṇavaṅkṣa*—the destroyer of

sorrow, or lord of the heaven named *Vaiṣṇava* or *limitless*.

32 *Viṣṇu*—into whom all is absorbed, or the pervading. 33 *Viṣṇu-āraṇa*—who (in the form of *Vīraṭa*) is all eye, all ear.

34 *Vīraṇvāra*—protector of the world.

35 *Vishvakarma*—whose soldiers fill the world.

And the ten *avātāras*—1, *Māyā*, the fish; 2, *Kūrma*, the tortoise; 3, *Vārāha*, the boar; 4, *Narasīṅha*, the man-lion; 5, *Vāmana*, the dwarf; 6, *Parakṛishṇa*, the son of *Jamdagāni*; 7, *Rama*; 8, *Kṛishṇa*; 9, *Buddha*; and, 10, *Kalki* or *Dharma-bhūṣaṇa*.

† See *Harivamśa*, adh. coliv. colvii.





W. Ganga photo-etch.

7. GROUP OF SCULPTURE IN THE SIVALAYA OR LOWEST CAVE AT BADAMI.

SCULPTURES ON THE ROOF OF THE GREAT CAVE AT BADĀMĪ. *Indian Antiquary.*



destroy the Asura, they greatly wondered and were very much afraid," until Brahmā explained the mystery.† In the *Harivamśa* (adh. clxxx., clxxxi. is another account of the contest between Śiva and Viṣṇu, and of their subsequent union in one, concluding with a hymn to Harihara-5

Here the left side of the figure represents Hari or Viṣṇu with the *śaṅkha* in his uplifted hand, the other resting against his haunch, while the earring and cap are of a different pattern from that of Hara or Śiva, on which is the crescent and a withering skull, while a cobra hangs from his ear, another from his belt, a third is on the front of his *śaṅkha*, and a fourth twines round the *paraśu* or axe he holds in one hand. In the other hand he holds some oval object.

A more common double figure in Hindu mythology is that of Ardhanārīśvārī, Ardhanārī, or Ardhanārinateśvara, the union of Śiva and Pārvatī, in a half male half female form. In the *Kālikā Purāṇa* it is said—"Hara offered his wife to take half of her body and give her half of his own, or *vice versa*; and at length she took the half of Śiva and joined it to her right side, and the god took half of Pārvatī and united it to his. Thus forming only one body with his wife, Śiva has the name of Ardhanārīśvara." Other stories are given in other *Purāṇas*.

In the lowest or Śaiva cave of the Bādāmi group is a representation (Fig. 7) of this Ardhanārīśa, in pretty good preservation. It occupies the right end of the verandah, and, as is usually the case at Elephanta and elsewhere, the god is attended by his favourite white bull Nandi, which, the *Śaiva Samaya Vināyikā* says, is a form of Dharmadēva, the god of justice, who offered himself to Śiva in this form as a vehicle. Behind Nandi, with clasped hands, stands Bhṛīngī—a favourite devotee, or perhaps Kāl, the form of Rudra or Śiva himself as the author of destruction,—a gaunt and hideous skeleton. At the left or female side stands a female richly decked, and bearing some flat object in her left hand.

The right side, which is always the male half, represents Śiva,—the crescent moon and skull on his head-dress, a snake in his ear, another

coiled round his arm, a third hanging from his belt (the heads of them broken off), and a fourth twining round the battle-axe he holds in his uplifted hand: a portion of the tiger-skin in which he wraps his person hanging down on his thigh, with richly jewelled necklaces, bracelets, &c.

The left half, representing Umapāktī, has a large flat earring, necklaces, belt, armlets, and bracelets of different patterns from those on the male half. The hair is made up in a sort of chignon over the shoulder, much as it is still worn by the lower classes in the Madras Presidency, and is covered with a network of pearls or gems. A cord hangs down in front of the thigh, terminating in a small flat heart-shaped end—an ornament specially noticeable on many of the figures in the Kailāsa rock-temple at Ellorā. On the foot are two heavy anklets, and these and the very long bracelets on the wrists and also on the female companion cannot fail to remind the observer of the similar abundance of bone and brass rings worn by the Wanjāris and other aboriginal tribes to the present day. She holds up a flower, and with the other hand grasps one end of a stick, or perhaps a lute, the other end of which is held by the front hand of the male half. The attendant female wears a loose kirtle held up by a richly jewelled belt. Her earrings are different—that in the right ear consisting of a long link hanging down to the shoulder, and in the end of it a thick jewelled ring and short pendant; the other is a broad thick disc like that known in Bengal by the name of *dāśarī*.|| Her hair is done up in a very elaborate style, with a profusion of pearls over the forehead. Floating overhead on each side are two figures, male and female, with offerings, and having elaborate head-dresses.

This union of Śiva and Pārvatī in a single body personifies the principle of life and production in its double aspect—the active principle under the name of Puruṣa, and the female or passive under that of Prakṛitī. It embodies the central idea of natural worship, and occurred to the early Greeks, as we see from the old Orphic hymn preserved by Stobæus¶ beginning

Ζεὺς ἀρσεν γένετο, Ζεὺς ἀρσενος ἐγένετο θήρην.

"Zeus was a male, Zeus became a deathless female."

we have no descriptive catalogue of female ornaments used in India.

¶ Stobæus, *Eclog. Phys.* ed. Haase, vol. I. p. 43; conf. *Max. Oris. Sacra. Test.* vol. I. pp. 2, 26; vol. IV. p. 331; and vol. V. p. 348.

† Foulke's *Legends of the Shrines of Haridwar* (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1876), pp. 37-41.

|| See also Ward's *Hindoo* (ed. 1817), vol. I. p. 241.   
|| Bénédictine Mithras's *Antiquities of Orisus*, vol. I. p. 96, and plate XXVII. fig. 118. It is to be regretted that

On the male side the figure of *Ardhanārīṣa*\* is usually painted dark blue or black, and vermillion or orange on the left or female

\* The names of *Śiva* are so numerous, and the forms so various, that it is useful to know the principal names, though in almost every town and village he has a different local designation. In the Dekhan and Southern India the following are the most common:—

1. *Ānandhān*—having a snake below, or the serpent at the bottom, the nether serpent.
2. *Ānand*—the blissful; 3. *Ānandanātha*.
4. *Andhakaripa*—the enemy of *Andhaka*.
5. *Arasāhala*—lord of *Arasāhala* (the red hill).
6. *Arasāhala*.
7. *Bhāga*—the shining; 8. *Śaṅkara*—the destroyer of *Kāma*.
9. *Bhava*—the existing; 10. *Bhairava*.
11. *Bhīma*—the terrific; 12. *Ugra*—the wrathful.
13. *Bhātandila*, or *Bhātē*; and 14. *Bhātapati*—lord of *dhātā*.
15. *Bhuvanaka*—lord of the world.
16. *Chandrasākha*; 17. *Chandrasakal*; 18. *Kṛśṇādī* (P)—moon-crowned; 19. *Chandrapāla*; 20. *Chandrika* (P); 21. *Sudhātīkṣṇa*—having the nectar-producing crescent as a reel.
22. *Chidambaramūrti*—the intellectual-garment-form, the god at *Chidambaram*.
23. *Chokkhaṇḍika*—the handsome lord.
24. *Āndirānna*—twilight-coloured.
25. *Dēvānā*—the divine gem.
26. *Dhīrjyoti* (P)—who bears the worlds.
27. *Ekāmbara*—having one garment; 28. *Brahmā*—the supreme one; 29. *Kādarā* (P).
30. *Eodān* (P)—eight-shouldered.
31. *Gaṇādhipa*—master of the ganas.
32. *Gaṇādhipa*; 33. *Gaṇādhipa*—having *Gaṇa* in his hair.
34. *Giriṇa*—lord of the hills, he who dwells on the hills.
35. *Hara*—the avisor.
36. *Īśa*; 37. *Īśvara*; 38. *Mahātvara*—the great god.
39. *Paramātvara*—the highest god.
40. *Īśāna*—the universal ruler.
41. *Jatāmūdi* (P); 42. *Paṅgava* (P)—with entangled locks;
43. *Kapardin*—with braided hair.
44. *Jyoti*—the light.
45. *Kailāṣī* (P)—lord of *Kailāsa*.
46. *Kadakkaiyon*—with *Coarā fistula* garland.
47. *Kaṁḍāli*—garland-wearer.
48. *Kankāla*—bone-wearer.
49. *Kapāli*; 50. *Kapāli*—who wears skulls.
51. *Kāyārūpa*—the god at *Nagapatam*.
52. *Kaliyugārāja*—king of *Kaliyuga*; 53. *Kālmāra* (P).
54. *Kālmāra* (P).
55. *Kṛṣṇa*—who has his face with a battle-axe.
56. *Kṛṣṇa*; 57. *Dakṣa*—the destroyer of *(Dakṣa's)* sacrifice.
58. *Kṛṣṇa*—whose seed is in the fire, or placed in the fire.
59. *Kṛṣṇa*—clothed with a hide.
60. *Mahātara*—the great god.
61. *Mahābala*—lord of great power.
62. *Mahākāla*—the great *Kāla*; 63. *Kālakāla*—the *Kāla* or destroyer of *Kāla*.
64. *Mādamūdi* (P)—holding a deer.
65. *Mādamūdi* (P)—author of the *Vedas*.
66. *Mṛṣa*—who is pleased or parishes.

side, but sometimes the colours are white (*Śiva's* proper colour) and yellow.

But to return to the great cave: The roof

67. *Mṛtyuṅjaya*—conqueror of Death.

68. *Munna* (P)—the ancient; 69. *Mahāmuni*—the great ascetic.

70. *Nadaka* or *Nadārāva*—lord of rivers; 71. *Tāṇḍava*—the dancing god; 72. *Kālyāṇādī* (P)—the Janow with *Kālyāṇ*; 73. *Sudalaiyāli*—the dancer in *cometerion*.

74. *Mūṇḍarāga*—whose limbs are white.

75. *Nakha* (P)—the naked.

76. *Namban* (P)—supremely desirable.

77. *Nandīśvara*—the bull-lord; 78. *Vijayabha*—whose standard is a bull.

79. *Nārāyaṇa*—female-sided; 80. *Mangalabha* (P); 81. *Amalākābha*.

82. *Nāka*—the lord; 83. *Irāṅga* (P)—the king.

84. *Nīlakaṇṭha*—blue-throated; 85. *Nīlagriva*; 86. *Nandīśvara* (P)—having poison in the throat; 87. *Sitakaṇṭha*—of the black throat; 88. *Sitakaṇṭha*—of the beautiful throat.

89. *Nīlakaṇṭha*—the blue and red.

90. *Nirṇāṭa*; 91. *Mahātāra* (P)—spotless.

92. *Nīya*—the eternal.

93. *Nāṭhamaṇḍa*; 94. *Paṇḍita*—five-faced.

95. *Parāma*—the highest; 96. *Paramātma*.

97. *Paratāpā*—wearer of the battle-axe; 98. *Pinḍin*;

99. *Pinḍin*—bearer of the bow.

100. *Kundarāṅgi* (P)—with the (Morn) mountain-bow.

101. *Paṅgavā*—lord of cattle or the beasts.

102. *Pāṇḍaravānindā* (P)—adorned with an angry snake.

103. *Rāma*—the furious, or the dispenser of tears.

104. *Sarabha*—the good; 105. *Tārāra* (P)—self-existent.

106. *Sākara*—author of good.

107. *Sārāṅgī*—the protector of those who take refuge in him.

108. *Sarva*—who destroys; 109. *Sarva*—all-knowing.

110. *Sipriyā*—wrapped in a skin, or surrounded by a glory.

111. *Benjāyā* (P)—red-looking; 112. *Vyomakṣa*—aure-haired.

113. *Śiva*—auspicious; 114. *Mahāśiva*; 115. *Saṁhita*.

116. *Somātara*, or *Homakātha*—lord of the moon.

117. *Śaṁhita*—the creator.

118. *Sāṅgī*—the everlasting.

119. *Sāṅgī*; 120. *Sāṅgī*; 121. *Sāṅgī*—trident-bearer.

122. *Śaṅkara*—lord of heaven; 123. *Trilochana*;

124. *Vīrūpākṣa*; 125. *Mukhaṇḍa* (P)—having a third eye.

126. *Triparakata*—the destroyer of *Tripara*; 127. *Paṇḍita*.

128. *Trayambaka*—three-eyed, or of three limbs.

129. *Umāpati*—lord of *Umā*; 130. *Umāhita*; 131. *Pāṇḍita*—the god.

132. *Vāṇadēva*—who sports in a contrary way.

133. *Vāṇa*—the giver; 134. *Pillāyā* (P)—the child-giver.

135. *Vīrabhadra*—the pious hero.

136. *Vīraṇḍa*—lord of the world; 137. *Māṇḍa*—*mūrti*.

138. *Vīrāṇḍa*—the god of the round hill.

139. *Yogin*; 140. *Mahāyogin*—the mediator; 141. *Dharmā*—*Thākura*; &c. &c.

In the *Arundana* part of the *Mahābhārata* the thousand names of *Śiva* and *Vīṣṇu* are given, but a good many of the above do not occur in that list. Those in the above list that are quoted are not wholly Sanskrit, and are probably of Dravidian origin. There is one of which the Prakrit word *raja* forms a component part.



of the verandah is divided by cross beams cut in the rock into seven recessed panels each filled with sculpture. Of these, six are represented on the fifth plate to this paper. The first of these, being the panel to the left or east of the middle one, consists of a central circular compartment surrounded by four smaller oval ones, divided by bunches of water-lilies, so as to fill up a circle concentric with the first. The corners of the square are filled in with human and animal heads ending in arabesques. In the central area Śiva is represented, four-armed, seated on his bull, with his spouse Pārvati behind him. The four oval compartments outside this contain each two figures, apparently all males; and one of them being Gṇapāṭi or Pramathādīpa, the son of Śiva and leader of his retinue, they are probably all intended as *gana-nāyakas*, or principal members of his *gana*. The corner figures are—the heads of an elephant, man, *makara*, and fish, ending in floral terminations.

The second panel represented on the plate is the central one of the seven, and has Viṣṇu in the middle, as lord of the Zenith,—four-armed as usual, and holding up the *chakra* in one right hand, and the *śankha* in a left one: he wears a high square-topped cap (as in Figs. 1, 4, and 5) already described, while his wives Śrī or Lakṣmī and Bhūmidevī are huddled in beside him.† Round this central circle are eight ovals each containing some divinity, as in the usual figures of the Dikpāla-maṇḍala. Above the *śankha* Brāhmā is easily recognized, seated ecstatic-fashion on his lotus, four-armed and three-faced, occupying the place usually assigned to Śiva or Jaina. Below him is Indrā, regent of the East, holding his *vajra*, with his wife Saohi or Indrānī, on the elephant Airāvati. Next to him is Agni, god of fire and regent of the South-East, on his ram, and above him a flying figure, probably of Dhātma or Smoka. Below Viṣṇu is a figure on a lion with an attendant, which might be taken for Śūrya and his charioteer Arana, but it is probably Yama, the regent of the South, who is described in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (adh. colxi.) as seated

on a *śiṅhāsana*. The next, in the place of Nirṛti, is mounted on a horse, like Maṅgala, the Hindu Mars. The figure on the left of the panel is *śhāsana gataṁ*—seated on a sort of shark as his vehicle; the position is Varuṇa's, and as he is given this vehicle in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, instead of a stag, and here has also the *pāśa*, or snare, the emblem of Varuṇa, we must suppose it is intended for him. The next, on the deer, might be taken for Soma or Chandra, but in the *Dśakṣhaṇḍi* (adh. v.) of the *Chaturvarga: Chintāmaṇi*, Vāyu, the Dikpāla of the north-west, is described as seated on a deer; and that at the top is probably intended for Chandra, who sometimes takes the place of Kuvēra, as lord of the North.‡ Kuvēra is sometimes figured as borne by a ram, Chandra on a hare, in a chariot, &c.

The third panel represents the compartment at the east end of the verandah, where again the figure in the centre is doubtless intended for Pradyumna, the son of Kṛishṇa, an incarnation of Kāma, and one of the four Vyūhas of Viṣṇu, two-armed, with his club in the right hand, seated on a pair of *makaras*, and attended by two female *chauri*-bearers—perhaps his wives Rati and Iṛithi. The rest of the panel is filled by four square compartments in the corners, and as many oblong ones at the sides. The corners are filled with pairs, and in one case three figures—males and females much in the style of the flying attendants above both Buddhist and Hindu images; and the side compartments have pairs of figures with human and brute heads, and ending in ornamental arabesques.

The next, being the second from the end and between this last and the first described, is arranged in the usual style, having Indrā seated (rather awkwardly, it must be owned) on his favourite elephant, with an attendant holding the royal umbrella over his head as ancient king of gods. The eight smaller oval panels round him contain in five cases a pair—male and female—of *gandharvas* and *apsarasas*, and in the remaining three a single female, all apparently enjoying or contributing to revels, dance-

† If both these figures were not intended to be female, the one kneeling on Viṣṇu's right might be Śiva or Jaina as lord of the Nadir.

‡ Cf. plate in Sir W. Jones's paper on the Hindu Zodiac, *As. Res.* vol. II. p. 203; Mour. *Hind. Panth.* pl. 69. The Dikpālās, or Ashtadikpālās, with their vehicles,

are:—1. Indra, of the E., on the elephant Airāvati; 2. Agni, of the S.E.—a ram; 3. Yama, of the S.—a black bull; 4. Nirṛti, of the S.W.—a crocodile; 5. Varuṇa, of the W.—a stag; 6. Vāyu, of the N.W.—a śhūka; 7. Kuvēra, or Chandra, of the N.—a self-moving chariot; and 8. Isana or Iṣana, of the N.E.—a bull.

ing, and music: for, curiously enough, physical enjoyment is the only employment ever pictured in the Hindu *Svarga*; intellectual or moral happiness is undreamt of. The corners are filled up with other varieties of the usual figures.

The fifth panel from the east end, or that on the west side of the central one, has Brahmā as its chief occupant, seated upon his *hamsa*, three-faced and four-armed, with a very high cap, holding a sort of bottle—his *kannapala*, or drinking vessel—in his upraised left hand, and a piece of *samikh*, or sacrificial wood, in the corresponding right. In the small oval to his right is probably Varuṇa, and, according to some, the son of Brahmā, seated on a sort of shark or *makara*, and on the opposite side Indra, with his attendant, on his elephant; above is Iśāna or Śiva on a bull, with some sort of sceptre in his hand, and an attendant running after him at full speed with an umbrella; and below, Yama as lord of the South, or fourth cardinal point. In each of the four alternate spaces, which in this division are somewhat smaller, is a pair of figures—similar to those in the third panel described—probably Vidyādharas, several of them apparently with small bags, perhaps of money or other precious offerings, or possibly vessels containing something strong. The corners of the outer square are filled up in the usual way, none of them being exact copies from any of the previous ones.

The sixth panel contains in the centre perhaps Kāma, Kandaṛpa (Makaradvaja), the Hindu Cupid, or—as in the third—Pradyumna, on a *makara*, with a high cap and ornaments of very different shapes and sizes, holding in his right hand a bud with a long stalk. The eight little circular compartments surrounding this have been somewhat irregularly arranged, and the spaces between but indifferently filled up by water-lilies, sunflower, human figures, &c. The compartments themselves are occupied by Gandharvas and their mates the Apsarasas in nearly the same positions as in the last—doubtless regarded as one of love and dalliance. The two upper corners are filled with birds, and the other two with *mukasas* treated in the usual conventional way.

These by no means exhaust the sculptures of the first cave. The roof of the front aisle of the cave is likewise divided into compartments, in the central one of which are a male and female figure floating on clouds, much in the position of the pairs in the two last described panels of the verandah roof, but the male carrying a sword and shield. The panels right and left of this are occupied by expanded lotus-flowers.

The roof of the hall is divided into nine compartments, by divisions very slightly raised from the level of the ceiling. In the central one of the front row is a man or *dewa*—perhaps Agni—riding on a ram, with other figures, one before and another behind. In the compartment to the right or west of this is a pair of flying figures, the male with a sword, but the group is damaged. In the left is a male with a sword, holding a shield overhead, and with him a small female. In the next row we have, in the centre, Brahmā on a swan, which apparently pecks at a figure which touches Brahmā's hand with his. In one of his left hands Brahmā holds what appears to be a bag or bottle, and in the other a *mala* or rosary; and a male touches his cheek with his hand. In the compartment to the right of this again is a *dewa*, on a *makara*, holding up a circle or large ring. In the corresponding one on the left are three figures on an elephant, the second holding an umbrella over the first (Indra?). In the back row in the centre is a *dewa*, three-faced, like Brahmā, on a swan, and holding a *triśula* in his right hand, his left resting on his knee. Chauri-bearers accompany him before and behind. In the square to the left or east are two flying figures, the male with an offering, and the female with a round fan or mirror; in that to the right are a pair of flying figures, the male with a sword; but the group is damaged. The roofs of the side aisles are plain.

On two of the pillars of the hall are inscriptions in Kannarese characters, the full meaning of which, however, has not been made out. In one of them occur the words—*Sāṅgīrāṇa Saka varshakūḷu 1476 gūṇāḍi pramāthiśaṅkaraṇa ṣaṅgāḍhāḍa, 11*. Hence it was inscribed in A.D. 1555, in the time of Sadāśivadōvama-

§ By misreading the commencement of this inscription, Dr. Bird assumed that it was dated in an era he read as 'Bala Hala,' and which he assumed to commence from the

Nirvana of Buddha, and taking this as 543 A.C., he made the date of the cave 1478—543 or 935 A.D. See his *Historical Researches* (Bombay, 1847), pp. 80, 81.

hārāya, the successor of Kuṇḍarāja of Vijaya-nagara, mentioned below. Of the former, who reigned at least from A.D. 1552 to 1562, there is a short inscription in an old temple on the

opposite hill. Again, on one of the pillars of the verandah is an inscription in three lines, thus transcribed and translated by Mr. J. F. Fleet, Bo. C.S. :—

*Transcription.*

- [<sup>1</sup>] Śōbhakru(ka)ttu(ta)-sadvatsarada Aśhḍa(Aśhḍa). in 15-  
 [<sup>2</sup>] ta Kuṇḍarāja-maha(ka)-aravinda ka-  
 [<sup>3</sup>] ti(ta)śhida kṛta(ta)śhaka śubham=śubha) Śrī

"May prosperity attend the bastion which the great king Kuṇḍarāja caused to be built on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Aśhḍa, of the Śōbhakṛti sadvatsara[! Śrī]"

But the most important of all is the inscription,

mentioned above, on a pilaster beside the figure of Varāha. A facsimile of it has already been given (vol. III. p. 305), with a translation, but, to render this account more complete in itself, the following by Mr. Fleet may be inserted here :—

- [<sup>1</sup>] स्वस्ति                      ॥                      श्रीसामिपदानुष्ठा (व्या) ज्ञानाम्मानम्यसमोनाणाङ्कारितीपुत्राणाम्  
 [<sup>2</sup>] अपिष्टोमपिचयनराजयेयपौण्डरीकबहुसुवर्णाश्वमेधाव-  
 [<sup>3</sup>] भूयस्मानपवित्रीकृतशिरसा चन्द्रानां वसो संभूतः शक्तिवयसं-  
 [<sup>4</sup>] पद्मः चन्द्रवशाम्बरपूर्णचन्द्रः अनेकगुणगणालंकृतशरीरस्त-  
 [<sup>5</sup>] र्वशास्त्रार्थतलनिष्ठिदुदिरतिबलपराक्रमोत्साहसेपमः श्रीमङ्गलीश्वरणावि-  
 [<sup>6</sup>] कान्तः प्रवर्द्धमानराज्यसंघ(व)न्तरे द्वादशे शकनृपतिराज्याभिषेकसंघ(व)न्तरे-  
 [<sup>7</sup>] त्तिकान्तेषु पञ्चमु शतेषु निजभुजानलम्बितसङ्ग्रहपारानमितनृपतिशरोम-  
 [<sup>8</sup>] कुटमणिप्रभारजितपादयुगलभ्यनुस्सगरपर्यन्तावनिविजयमङ्गलि (लै) का-  
 [<sup>9</sup>] गारः परमभागवतो लयनो(नं) महाविष्णुगृहमतिदेवः मानुष्यकमन्यहुतक-  
 [<sup>10</sup>] र्मविरचित(तं) भूमिभागोपभागोपरिपर्यन्तातिशयदर्शनीयतमं कृत्वा  
 [<sup>11</sup>] तस्मिन् महाकार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां त्राक्षणेभ्यो महाप्रदानन्दला भगवतः प्रल-  
 [<sup>12</sup>] योदित(ता) कर्मण्डल (ला) कारचक्रवर्तिभारारिपक्षस्य विष्णोः प्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठाप-  
 [<sup>13</sup>] नाभ्युदये (य) निमिज(तं) लज्जीश्वरनाम धामभारायणबन्धुपहारार्थं योदशसंस्थेभ्यो  
 [<sup>14</sup>] त्राक्षणेभ्यश्च सन्ननिबन्धप्रतिदिनमनुविधानकृत्वा शेषं च परित्राजकभो-  
 [<sup>15</sup>] ग्यन्दत्तशान् सकलजगन्मण्डल (ला) वनसमर्थाय रथहस्त्यभ्युदातसं कुला-  
 [<sup>16</sup>] नेकयुद्धलब्धजयपताकावलम्बितचतुस्समुद्रोर्मिनिवारितयद्यः प्रता-  
 [<sup>17</sup>] नोपशोभिताय देवद्विजगुरुपूजिताय ज्येष्ठायस्मद्भावे कीर्तिवर्मणे  
 [<sup>18</sup>] पराक्रमेश्वराय तत्पुण्योपचयफलमादिभ्यापिमहाजनसमस्त-  
 [<sup>19</sup>] मुदकपूर्वं विभ्राणितमस्मद्भातुशुभू(धि)णि यत्कलन्तन्मह्यं स्वादिति ॥ त(न) कैश्चि[३]  
 [<sup>20</sup>] परिहापयितव्यः ॥ बहुभिर्बलुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपल्लिता यस्य  
 [<sup>21</sup>] यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा ये(य)-  
 [<sup>22</sup>] दादत युधिष्ठिर महीमहीक्षिता श्रेष्ठ दानाक्ष्रेयो नृपालनं ॥  
 [<sup>23</sup>] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत भुव्यरां श्विष्टायां  
 [<sup>24</sup>] कृमिर्भूजा पितृभिस्तह मज्जति ॥ व्यासगीताः श्लोकाः ॥

Probably the Saka year 1443 (A.D. 1553-4). For facsimiles of the originals of these three inscriptions see Archaeological Report, Western India, 1874, plates xxvii, xxviii, xxix.

In the original this letter, ३, is inserted below the line, having been at first omitted.

In the original the ३ and the ३ are clear, but the first consonant of the compound letter has been effaced; judging from the space left and the position of the ३, the missing letter is probably ३, but it might of course be ३, ३, or ३.



## Translation.

Hail! In the twelfth year of his prosperous reign, five hundred of the years of the royal installation of the Śaka king having expired†, Śrī-Maṅgalīdeva, who is valorous in war,—whose two feet are tinted with the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of kings who have been caused to bow down before him by the edge of the sword which is wielded by his arm,—who is the sole auspicious abode of victory over the (whole) earth as far as the four oceans‡,—who is a most excellent worshipper of (Viṣṇu as) the Holy One§,—who is born in the lineage of the Chakya¶ who meditate on the feet of Śrī Svāmī||, who are of the kindred of Mānavya, who are the offspring of Hārīti, and whose heads are purified by oblations performed after the celebration of the Agniśiṭṭoma, Agniśāyana, Vājapāya, and Pāṇḍurika sacrifices, and horse-sacrifices which cost much gold,—who is endowed with the three constituents of regal power¶¶,—who is the full moon of the sky which is the race of the Chakya\*,—who is possessed of a body which is adorned with a multitude of many good qualities,—who has an intellect which is intent upon the true essence of the meaning of all the sacred writings,—who is possessed of extreme strength and prowess and energy,—having erected a temple, an abode of the great Viṣṇu, surpassing everything which is celestial or human, fashioned with most curious workmanship, most worthy to be looked at on the surface of any primary or secondary division of the earth, and having given rich gifts to Brāhmins in it on the holy full-moon of (the month) Kārttika, granted, on the occasion of the installation of the image of the holy Viṣṇu, who destroyed the army of the enemies of the gods with his discus the shape of which is like that of the sun risen (again) after the destruction of the universe, the village called Loṅḡjīdevaṇḡ, hav-

ing made a daily observance the bestowal of food and alms upon sixteen Brāhmins for the purpose of offering the oblation to Nārāyaṇa, and (having set apart) the remainder for the sustenance of wandering religious mendicants,—saying "In the presence of the Sun, Fire, and the (guild of) merchants, the reward of this accumulation of religious merit has been made over with oblations of water to my elder brother Kirttivarmā, the lord of valour, who was sufficiently powerful to protect the whole circle of the earth, who was adorned with a canopy consisting of his fame which was propped up by standards of victory acquired in many battles in which there were millions of chariots and elephants and horses and foot-soldiers, and which was bounded (only) by the waves of the four oceans||, and who was worshipped by gods and Brāhmins and spiritual preceptors; let whatever reward belongs to (me who am) possessed of a desire to obey my brother devotee to me." (And this grant) is not to be diminished by any one; (for)—"Land has been given by many and has been continued in grant by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it. Carefully continue, O Yudhiṣṭhira, best of kings!, land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; continuing a grant is more excellent than giving. He, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, becomes a worm in the excrement of a dog and sinks (into hell) with his ancestors:"—(these are) the verses sung by Vyāsa.

It only remains to notice the 6th and 7th plates: they represent the greater portion of a frieze round the inside of the verandah of the second case, which is also Vaiṣṇava. The figures are all small, but cut with considerable care, and are in remarkable preservation.¶ The first scene represented, perhaps, begins on

† This inscription fixes the Śaka year 400 as the commencement of the reign of Maṅgalīdeva. Śaka 484 is the date obtained by Sir W. Elliot for his predecessor Kirttivarmā I. This inscription also determines, with a precision not hitherto, I think, attained, the commencement of the Śaka era. The era has been considered to date "from the birth of Śāliśthana, a mythological prince of the Dākṣiṇī, who opposed Vikramāditya, the Rājā of 'Jyauṇī.'" It is here said distinctly to "date from the royal installation or coronation of the Śaka king." (Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 154, in Thomas' edition of *Ind. Antiquities*, vol. II.)—J. E. F.

‡ i.e., the northern, southern, eastern, and western oceans.

§ "Parvata-bhāṇavata," a most excellent worshipper of Bhagavān or Viṣṇu.

¶ A name of Kārttikīya or Mahāśana, the god of war. This and the following two titles belong also to the kings of the older Kādāmba dynasty of Paṭṭāṇḡ (see Nos. XXII., XXV., and XXVI. of my series in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI.), and probably to the kings of other old dynasties also.

¶ i.e., majesty, the power of good counsel, and the force of energy.

\* This is the first instance that I have met with of the name of the dynasty being spelt as "Chakya"; the usual form is Chakuka or Chakka, and it is also occasionally written Chakika. The early Chakuka kings appear to have been very tolerant in matters of religion. In an inscription at Ailole (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 57 ff.) in the Kādāmbi district, not far from Bāḡāni, we find Puṭṭaśi II., the nephew and successor of Maṅgalīdeva, erecting and making grants to a Jain temple in the Śaka year 504, and Bāḡa or Bāḡa temples were erected and endowed by others of them.

† The meaning of the compound "bhāṇabhāṇa," &c. is obscure, and my interpretation of it may perhaps not be correct.

‡ See note \* to the transcription.

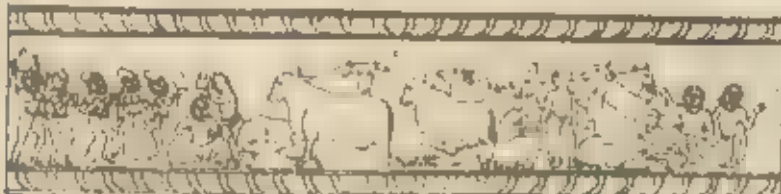
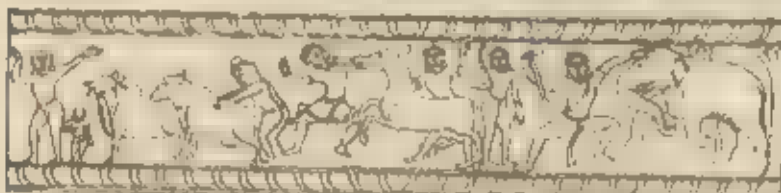
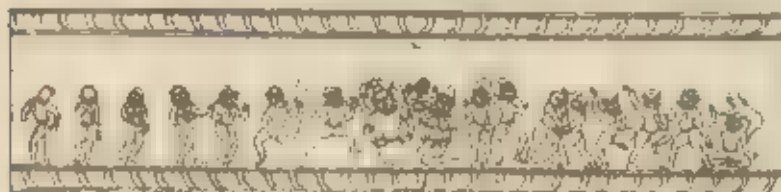
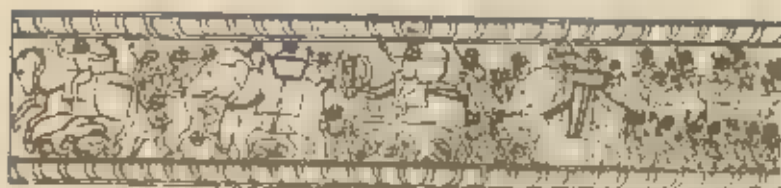
§ The merchants, or probably the chief men among them, constituted a village jury and investigated disputes, pronounced the results of trials by ordeal (see the Kādāmbi inscription of Kirtti, *Jour. As. Soc. Ind.* vol. IX. pp. 304 et seqq.), and witnessed grants with a view to subsequently proving them if required, &c.

|| i.e., which spread over and enveloped the whole inhabited earth.

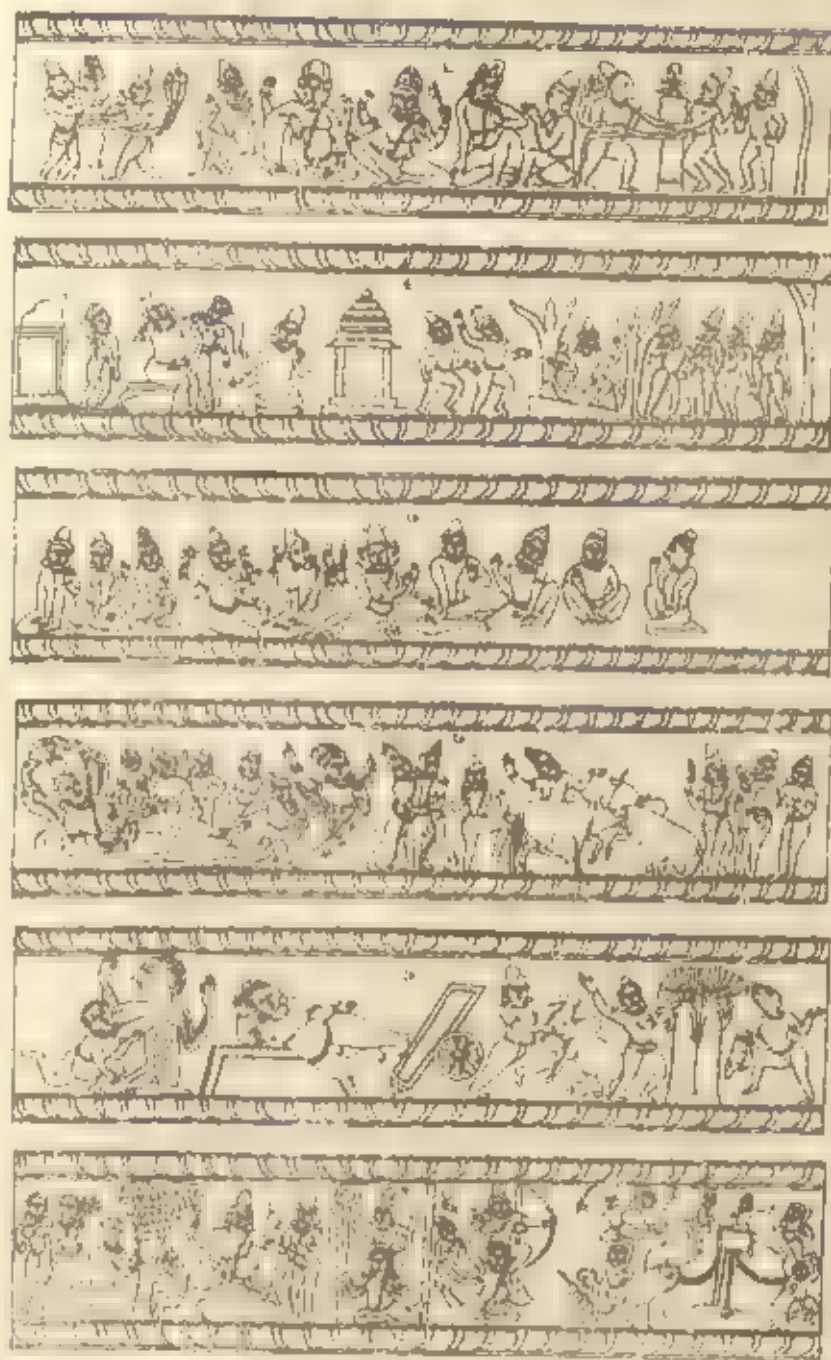
¶ The artist has unfortunately intermixed the sections from the two sides of the verandah.



SCULPTURES ON THE FRIEZE OF THE VERANDAH IN CAVE II. AT BADAMI.



SCULPTURES ON THE FRIEZE OF THE VERANDAH IN CAVE II. AT BADAMI.



W. Griggs photo-lith.

the last section of the 7th plate, where we have, first, Kṛishṇa as Viṣṇu resting beside the Pārijāta tree, with Garuḍa behind him, and several other figures, among whom are doubtless his wives Satyabhāṁā and Rukmīṇī, and the sage Nārada under the tree; then he is shown mounted on Garuḍa; and, thirdly, going out to do battle with an army of Indra, in which some of his numerous opponents are Agni, Varuṇa, Yama, &c., mounted on elephants and on horses, continued also through the first section on the 8th plate. This is clearly enough the legend of the carrying off from Indra of the Pārijāta tree by Kṛishṇa, as told in the *Harivamśa* (adh. cxxiii. to cxxiv.). After this follow in succession the 4th, 3rd, and 5th sections on the last plate. Here we have first Nārāyaṇa reclining upon Śoṣha, with the lotus springing from his navel, and Brāhmā seated upon it; Garuḍa is at his feet pointing two royal personages who are struggling to the god:—these perhaps represent the wicked kings who oppressed the earth and rendered a new *avatāra* necessary. Beyond them two persons are abusing an ox, representative perhaps of Dharmā or Religion, and a cow, of Pṛithu—the Earth. Then two others are supplicating Viṣṇu. The 2nd section on the plate, which comes next on the wall, seems to represent Kāśya between two female *chaurī*-bearers, perhaps Nānā before him, then the house of Vasudeva, then Kāśya having thrown the daughter of Yaśodā on a stone sees her assume the form of Kāśī or Durgā. The next group perhaps is the apology of Kāśya to Devakī and Vāsudeva. Passing to the 5th section, we have Kṛishṇa sucking the life out of Pūtaṇḍa\* (atrophy) sent by Kāśya as a nurse; then his waking from sleep and kicking over the cart beneath which his mother had laid him; the killing of Vātāsura or Arishṭa, who had taken the form of an ox;† the relieving of Nālakubar and Maṇigrīva, two sons of Kuru who were turned into trees by the curse of a sage; and the seizing and killing of the Asura Dhōnaka, who had assumed the form of a donkey.‡

The next four sections are the 8th, 6th, 4th,

and 2nd on the sixth plate. In the first of these Kṛishṇa is represented lying on a couch, playmates beside him, cows licking his feet, and *gopas* or herdsmen standing by. In the next are *gopis* and *gopas* with pots of milk, cows and Kṛishṇa in the midst of them stopping the way. And in the third are more of the herd, and Kṛishṇa slaying Kēśīn, the brother of Kāśya, who assumed the form of a horse and attacked the *Gopas*, and of another enemy who took the form of the elephant Kavalayāpṛāḥ.§ Then on the 2nd section on the plate we have the *Gopis* and *Gopas* on the banks of the Yamunā when Kṛishṇa brings Kēlīyā, the great Nāga, whom he had subdued, and his two wives.||

The 3rd and 1st sections on the last plate belong to a different part of the legend: In the first of these we have Brāhmā, seated, and the gods or Suras assembled to ask his advice as to how they were to get the butter of the *Daityas*. He advised them to churn the sea of milk.¶ The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* then describes a contest which arose as to which should hold the head of Vāsuki and which his tail, while they used him as a cord wherewith to twirl Mount Mandara as a churn-stick. Here they are twisting him round, a Deva being at his head, and a *Daitya*, represented with an animal's face, at the other side, but not satisfied with the tail. Next come Indra, Brāhmā, Śiva, and others seated ready to begin the task, and still further along the *Daitya* has seized on the head of the serpent-king, which he considers it more honourable for his fellows to pull by. The next scene is on the 7th section of the sixth plate, where, the *Asuras* at the head and *Devas* at the tail, with Mount Mandara for a churn-stick, and Viṣṇu in the form of a Kārmā or tortoise, as a pivot, and helping in another form above, all are working with a will to churn out the *amṛita*, or ambrosia, that is to make them immortal. In the 8th section on the same plate the gods are assembled, and Indra, who had got charge of the *amṛita*, is delivering it to Varuṇa. Under the pot is the shining *chakra* of the gods, who stand on each side, while on the left, Garuḍa, the son of Vinatā, as described in the *Mahā-*

\* *Bhāgavata Dharma-kāṇḍā*, adh. vi.; *Harivamśa*, adh. lxiii.

† *Hariv.* lv., lvi., and lxxvii.; *Bhag.*, Dar. vii.

‡ *Bhag.*, Dar. x. and xli.; *Harivamśa*, lxix., also liv., civ., cxix., cxvi., cxviii., and cxlii.

§ *Hariv.* adh. lxxx., cxviii., cxviii., and lxxx., also xli., civ., cxviii.

|| *Hariv.* adh. lxxxi., lxx.

¶ See *Vishnu Purāṇa*, Bk. I. c. ix. (B. B. Wilson's transl. vol. i. pp. 142ff.); *Mahābhārata*, *amṛitamānasa parva*, adh. xvi.; *Harivamśa*, adh. ccxix., ccxv.

bhārata, is coming to carry it off. In the next section he is seen speeding off with it, and then, having placed it at the entrance of the dwelling of the Nāgā, Indra meets him and strikes him

with his vajra, which, however, does him no harm, he having previously met Vishnu, who granted him immortality without the use of the amrita.\*

### MISCELLANEA.

#### HEMĀDPANT (ante, p. 277).

On the fall of the Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa in the end of the twelfth century, the Yādava of Devagiri established a kingdom in the northern Deccan. The kings of this line are thus enumerated†:—

1. Bhīlāma or Bhāllamādēva...Śaka 1110, 6 years.
2. Jayatugadēva or Jaitrapāla. 1115, 17 "
3. Singharā Dēva, his son ... 1132, 7 "
4. Kandarai or Kṛṣṇa Dēva. 1170 P P "
5. Mahādēva, his brother ..... 1182, 11 "
6. Rāmachandra dēva, son of  
Krishna, styled also Rāya  
Nārāyaṇa, Rāya Pīṭamahā,  
Dvādvānti parivṛddha ..... 1193, 39 "
7. Śankara Dēva ..... 1232, 2 "

At the commencement of the *Prata Khanda* of his *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi*, Hemādri gives this genealogy as far as Mahādēva, in whose reign, he says, he became "minister with possession of all the regal powers. (P) The capital was Devagiri in Setuna-dōṣa."‡ His own pedigree he gives as—Vāmana of the Vata-gotra, "from him Yasudēva, a very learned Brāhmaṇa, from him Kāma-dēva, and from him Hemādri Śārī. Dr. Bhāṭ Dēji, in a paper just quoted from, says that, "according to tradition, Hemādri was of the Mādhyanḍīnīya Śākha of the Sakla Yajur Veda." The works attributed to him are—(1) *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi*, a treatise on Dharma Śāstra, in five *Khanda*s, viz. 1 *Prata Khanda*, 2 *Dvāda Khanda*, 3 *Tīrtha Khanda*, 4 *Moksha Khanda*, and 5 *Parīksha Khanda*, but the third and fourth of these sections are as yet unknown except by name; (2) *Muktaphala*, which, however, belongs rather to Vopadēva, who was patronized by Hemādri; and (3) *Ayurvedarantya*, a commentary on Wāgbhāt's medical treatise called *Aśhtānga-Hrīdeya*, in which the author mentions that he was the Mātri of Rāmarāja. His date may therefore be fixed as A.D. 1250-1300.

\* For much help in tracing the meaning of these scenes on the frieze, as well as for some important information respecting those in the panels immediately preceding, I am indebted to Pandit Bhagvānīndra.

† *Jour. A. S. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 4; vol. V. pp. 178-186; and N. S. vol. I. pp. 411, 417.

‡ *Jour. Ro. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 164.

§ See Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 178,—who calls Hemādri 'king of Devagiri.' Conf. Weber in *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 181, note 2. H. H. Wilson describes the *Dvādaśkhanda* (*Hackensell Coll.* vol. I. p. 32) or *Dvāda-khanda* of the *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi* as "by a writer

who seems to have been a zealous temple-builder, and doubtless many of the temples known as Hemādpanthi scattered over Khândesh and the Haidarābād territory owe their origin to him; many others going by the same name derive it merely from similarity of style and age.—Ed.

#### PLATE OF A SYRIAN SĀSANAM.

This grant, now in the possession of one of the rival Syrian metropolitans at Kottayam, is written on nine sides of five copper plates; the first seven pages are in old Tamil-Mahyalam or Vāṭ-pollu characters, apparently written by different hands, the letters in places indistinct, being injured by the breaking of the plates, and corrosion. They record an endowment to the Tarsā church at Krauganor by one Marvān Sapir Išo, the church being said to have been built by a certain Išo dōṣa vīrājī. The grant was made with the sanction of the palace-major (probably the commissioner of Porumāl Nīlānāṭṭavi Gupta), and with the concurrence of the Vēnādū (or Truvankor) rāja. The two sides given in the accompanying plate contain the names of the witnesses in three different characters and languages, viz. eleven names in the Kufic character and Arabic language, ten in the Sasanian Pahlavi character and language, and four in the Hebrew character and Persian language. Among the names in the latter character are those of Hasan 'Alī, Isḥāq, Mīkīl, and Abrahām.

The grant probably belongs to the early part of the ninth century: it has been translated by Dr. Gundert (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XIII. pp. 118, 123-135), and commented on by Dr. A. Burnell (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 310ff.), Dr. E. W. West, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. IV. pp. 388-391), and the late Dr. M. Haug (*Essay in An Old Pahlavi-Persian Glossary*, 1870, pp. 80-83).

patronized by Hemādri, a man of rank, whose name is therefore affixed to the performance; in general, the works named of Hemādri are attributed to Vopadēva, who was patronized by him, and Hemādri is said to have been the minister of a king of Devagiri: in this work he is entitled Mahāśāhādhirāja." May not शारदेव, the name of Hemādri's father, as read by Prof. Weber, and शरदेव, the name of his grandfather, as read by the late Dr. Bhāṭ Dēji, have arisen out of a copyist's mistake, making शरदेव the son of Varadēva into शारदेव? The three Hemādri of Prof. Weber are evidently one and the same.



# INDEX.

|  |                   |  |                |  |                    |
|--|-------------------|--|----------------|--|--------------------|
| Abali.....   | 338, 339          | Ahura Mazda.....                         | 314-15         | Ānaleśvara .....   | 199, 203-4         |
| Abnoria .....                                      | 342               | Aigistheia.....                          | 349            | Anam .....   | 229                |
| Abaya .....  | 319               | Aiholeinsc., &c. 23, 30, 92, 138, 354    |                | Ananda .....   | 40                 |
| Abhā Sulamewan .....                               | 322-5             | Aiknyikā .....                           | 194            | Ānandasthā .....   | 162                |
| Abhā Sīri saṅg bo.....                             | 322-4, 328        | Aindra Grammarians, School of.....       | 107            | Ananta .....   | 269                |
| Abhiya .....                                       | 320-21            | Aindya .....                             | 253            | Anantabhatta .....   | 169                |
| Abhayaśrīka.....                                   | 180, 189          | 'Ata-i-Abharf.....                       | 49, 124, 331   | Anantadeva .....   | 170, 282           |
| Abhidharma.....                                    | 917               | Atareya Brāhmaṇa .....                   | 255            | Anantaśayana .....   | 357                |
| Abhijit .....                                      | 180               | Āthasika Rākṣya, by B.D. Sen.....        | 332            | Anantavīrya Ayya .....   | 102                |
| Abhimanyu .....                                    | 270, 301, 304     | Ajantā .....                             | 53, 352        | Ānāo Lānapaśka .....   | 199, 204           |
| Abhinavaguptachārya.....                           | 269               | Ajapālā .....                            | 191            | Ānarta .....   | 50                 |
| Abhir, Ābhira .....                                | 123, 184          | Ajayapāla 186, 198, 200, 208, 213-14     |                | Andhra, Andarw .....   | 337, 339           |
| Aboriginal Tribes of Bombay, by Dr. J. Wilson..... | 203               | Akṣavaraha.....                          | 60, 62, 65, 72 | Andhrabhṛitya .....  | 43-6, 154          |
| Abu .....  | 1, 187-190, 341   | Akhar .....                              | 7, 353-4       | Androkottos.....   | 114                |
| Abu'l Fazl.....                                    | 331               | Akaiques.....                            | 321, 348, 349  | Anga .....   | 176, 317           |
| Achakū .....                                       | 8                 | Akkoślei .....                           | 80             | Angaja .....   | 141                |
| Achalgadh .....                                    | 1                 | Akrāra .....                             | 291            | Āngavādājā.....  | 204                |
| Āchārya .....                                      | 27, 32, 305       | Akshamālā .....                          | 253            | Āngirasa gotra .....   | 23                 |
| Achyuta .....                                      | 347               | 'Āṅglo Nāma.....                         | 235            | Angria .....   | 298                |
| Achen .....  | 83, 215           | Ānāśira .....                            | 267            | Anhilādā, Anahillā-pāṭaka 1, 59, 60, 65, 180E., 183, 195, 198, 200-212 |                    |
| adhakira .....                                     | 107-8             | 'Ātam Kūā .....                          | 6, 7           | Anbramānaya .....  | 314                |
| Adhikotha .....                                    | 50                | Alau'd-dīn Khilji .....                  | 1, 2, 277      | Anila .....  | 358                |
| adhitya, adhiśāda .....                            | 157               | Al Bīrūnī .....                          | 58             | Ania .....   | 139                |
| Ādhivādā .....                                     | 198               | Aldeharan .....                          | 163, 173       | Antigonos .....  | 114                |
| Ada Grant .....                                    | 160               | Alora .....                              | 94             | Antigonos Karyst .....   | 129                |
| Aditi .....  | 90, 201, 357      | Alexander 114-19, 121-6, 130, 335-6      |                | Antioch.....   | 42                 |
| Āditya .....                                       | 90-91             | Alexander's Pillars.....                 | 247            | Antiochus.....   | 316, 157           |
| Ādityasauri .....                                  | 78                | Allitrochadda.....                       | 143, 215       | Antipater .....  | 115                |
| Ādityavarman .....                                 | 75-6              | Almorā .....                             | 97             | anta .....   | 21                 |
| Ādityachakramānana .....                           | 83, 87-8          | Alphabēt, Canarese .....                 | 136            | Antiaeni .....   | 44                 |
| Āgropus, riv. .....                                | 125               | Ājavarāja .....                          | 91, 93         | Anurādhapura .....   | 318-23, 327-8      |
| Āhām, Hist. Ann .....                              | 128, 133, 333     | oī .....                                 | 157            | anulāika .....   | 47-8, 133          |
| āgama .....  | 302               | Amanda .....                             | 343            | anulāika .....   | 65, 168            |
| Aganbhadā .....                                    | 187-8, 196, 198-9 | Amara .....                              | 75-6           | ayayādaya .....  | 110                |
| Agarvādā .....                                     | 53                | Amata .....                              | 342            | Aornos .....   | 247                |
| Agāyaka .....                                      | 49, 50, 66        | Āmajarmā .....                           | 189            | aputāhiyend .....  | 157                |
| Agnatya .....                                      | 281               | Amasana .....                            | 344            | Appianus .....   | 114                |
| Aghāna .....                                       | 329               | Amā .....                                | 36, 98         | Apurana .....  | 174                |
| Agni .....   | 357, 361          | Ambarsha .....                           | 175            | Ārāpikā .....  | 18                 |
| Agrahorhi .....                                    | 326               | Ambrōsius, de Moribus Brachmanorum ..... | 341            | Arabis .....   | 215                |
| agradara .....                                     | 273               | amīd, amīmā .....                        | 157            | arak .....   | 333                |
| āhā, āhā .....                                     | 157               | Anitagati .....                          | 51             | Arakhōia .....   | 115, 124, 246, 348 |
| ahakdra .....                                      | 334               | Amitrajit .....                          | 176            | Aināhaur .....   | 210                |
| Āharishti .....                                    | 32                | Anitrochadda .....                       | 117            | Ārāṭa .....  | 316                |
| Āhichchhatra .....                                 | 50, 53            | Amoghavaraha .....                       | 52, 62-6, 72   | Āravall hills .....  | 63                 |
| Āhikā .....  | 210               | Amrāvati .....                           | 105            | Archeopontanti .....   | 270                |
| Āhira .....  | 123               | amrta .....                              | 366            | Archæological Notes.....   | 61, 215            |
| Āmadāhād .....                                     | 5, 6              | Anjitrā .....                            | 35             | Archæology of Delhi, by Carr Stephen .....                             | 145                |
| Āmadnagar .....                                    | 71                | anjit, antalea, ante .....               | 157            | Architecture, Eastern and Indian, by J. Fergusson .....                | 130                |
| Āmad Shāh .....                                    | 2, 3, 7           | Āntiyogana .....                         | 143            |  |                    |
| Āhrman .....                                       | 314               | Amuktēres.....                           | 133-4          |  |                    |

|   |                    |                          |                               |   |               |
|---|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---|---------------|
| Archanāri .....                                 | 268, 359, 360      | Augustus .....           | 149, 316                      | Bānsda .....                                | 63            |
| Argyre .....                                    | 342, 344           | Aurangābād .....         | 33                            | Bappa, Bappapāda .....                      | 9, 16         |
| Arhat .....                                     | 24-5, 31           | Aurangzeb .....          | 234-5                         | Bārā-kotri .....                            | 37            |
| Ariana, Ariei, Arianoi .....                    | 125, 343, 347      | aurei .....              | 215                           | Bāramōla .....                              | 371           |
| Ariand .....                                    | 114                | Antomeia .....           | 341-2                         | Bārānsi .....                               | 102, 138      |
| Arishta .....                                   | 289, 365           | Ara .....                | 132                           | Barnomāta .....                             | 342           |
| Aristobūlos .....                               | 113, 244           | Asagrata .....           | 137, 156                      | Bārāpa .....                                | 184           |
| Aristophulos .....                              | 330                | asatadhipend .....       | 157                           | Barbara, -ka .....                          | 186           |
| Aristotle .....                                 | 130                | Aranti .....             | 49, 195, 198, 209             | barber .....                                | 50            |
| Arjuna .....                                    | 212, 261           | Atantinātha .....        | 186                           | Barhut .....                                | 105           |
| Arjunadēva .....                                | 187, 191, 213      | Aranti-varman .....      | 268                           | Bārīā .....                                 | 2, 4, 6       |
| Arjuna Rāja .....                               | 49                 | Avayānija .....          | 200                           | Barikāl gana .....                          | 214, 307      |
| army .....                                      | 239                | Ayastamanu .....         | 2                             | Barliar tribe .....                         | 41            |
| Arnorāja .....                                  | 184, 213           | Ayinar .....             | 358                           | Barodā, & platea .....                      | 3, 59         |
| arodhara .....                                  | 157                | Ayodhya .....            | 309                           | Barth, M. .....                             | 254           |
| Arrian .....                                    | 115-17, 124-6, 130 | Ayubites .....           | 216                           | Barugaza .....                              | 40            |
| Arrokhad .....                                  | 246                | Ayyāhoje (Aihole) .....  | 138                           | Basava .....                                | 139           |
| Arasgaites .....                                | 343                | Azānma .....             | 41                            | Bātkal .....                                | 42            |
| Arakai .....                                    | 131                | Azi'l malk .....         | 3                             | Battāyō .....                               | 88            |
| Arasath (Hāzara) .....                          | 329                |                          |                               | Baudhā numerals, &c. .....                  | 41-6, 280     |
| Artaxerxes Mnemon .....                         | 113                | Balagha .....            | 100                           | Baumes, J. .....                            | 160           |
| Artemidoros .....                               | 340                | Badagrīya insc. .....    | 322                           | Bea constellation .....                     | 120-7         |
| artizans .....                                  | 123                | Bādāmi .....             | 72, 99, 137, 139, 142, 354ff. | Bedherāji .....                             | 191           |
| Aruba .....                                     | 361                | Bādāsi .....             | 141                           | Bekā .....                                  | 21            |
| Arxana .....                                    | 121                | Bādāsi .....             | 139                           | Bekadīn .....                               | 312           |
| Aryulihatta .....                               | 48                 | Bādāsi-kā-sarni .....    | 147                           | Belgaum .....                               | 50            |
| Asasāra .....                                   | 274                | Bādāsi-kā-sarni .....    | 24                            | Bēlgāla .....                               | 102           |
| Asandimātrā .....                               | 151-4              | Bāeto .....              | 113, 115, 126-7, 131          | Bēljār .....                                | 100, 103      |
| Asanga, Asmagh .....                            | 341                | Bāgādage, Bāgavāli ..... | 139                           | Bellew's <i>Kashmir and Kashmir</i> .....   | 148           |
| Asāpalli .....                                  | 212                | Baghdad .....            | 211                           | Bentley's <i>Pedica and Ferocites</i> ..... | 274           |
| Asasātha .....                                  | 40                 | Bahādūr Shāh .....       | 5, 6, 214, 216                | Bernier, M. .....                           | 145           |
| Asāthia .....                                   | 179                | Bābikas .....            | 41, 316                       | Beruda .....                                | 254           |
| Asa .....                                       | 342                | Bābram Khān .....        | 3                             | Bhadanta Sthiramati .....                   | 9             |
| Ashā Mātrā .....                                | 29                 | Bahusāta, vol. .....     | 17                            | Bhadra Kāl .....                            | 8             |
| Asai .....                                      | 215                | Bahā of Lega MSS. .....  | 107                           | Bhadra-sarāvatī .....                       | 271           |
| Asa .....                                       | 343                | Bairāgi .....            | 214                           | Bhāgāpur .....                              | 127, 220      |
| Asoka 39, 105, 143, 140ff., 267, 270, 274 ..... | 274                | Bairāt insc. .....       | 149, 157                      | Bhāgavata Purāna .....                      | 170-72        |
| Asokēstara .....                                | 274                | Baka .....               | 187                           | Bhāgavati .....                             | 174           |
| Asokemānā, Asokani .....                        | 246, 343           | Bakorāli .....           | 160                           | Bhāgīrati .....                             | 130           |
| Asokamānā .....                                 | 124                | Bākūpur .....            | 217                           | Bhāgīrati Indrajī .....                     | 151-7         |
| Asokamānā .....                                 | 10                 | Bakthā .....             | 344                           | Bhājī .....                                 | 13-1, 17, 105 |
| Asthā .....                                     | 274                | Bakra Gupta .....        | 57-8                          | Bhambarda cave .....                        | 94            |
| Astom .....                                     | 131-5              | Baktians .....           | 121, 244, 344                 | Bhāmahara .....                             | 210           |
| Asuras .....                                    | 357                | Baldota .....            | 174, 288, 291                 | Bhānava .....                               | 139           |
| as-samāda .....                                 | 113                | Bālāditya .....          | 13                            | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
| Asopati .....                                   | 315, 339           | Balagānve .....          | 32                            | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
| Asvina .....                                    | 357                | Balarāma .....           | 272, 289, 291                 | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
| Asvārman .....                                  | 40                 | Balavarman .....         | 43                            | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
| Atalaga .....                                   | 215                | Balharā .....            | 61-5, 182                     | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
| at, atbam, atāi .....                           | 157                | Bali .....               | 357-8                         | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
| Atarra Fadd .....                               | 17                 | Bālāla Yādava .....      | 191                           | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
| Athenas .....                                   | 133                | Bālāri .....             | 85                            | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
| Athornan, Atharvan .....                        | 312                | Bān .....                | 61                            | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
| Atkīrīkārā .....                                | 75                 | Bānāsi .....             | 138                           | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
| Attakora .....                                  | 134                | Banāśā, Vanāśā .....     | 22, 25, 101                   | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
| Audichya .....                                  | 181                | Bandhushā .....          | 27                            | Bhānva .....                                | 139           |
|   |                    | Bani-Isrā .....          | 329                           | Bhātārka .....                              | 9, 60         |

- Bhattacharya.....54, 102, 142, 194  
 Bhattacharya Dikshita ..... 169  
 Bhavabhūti ..... 52, 144  
 Bhavāni ..... 351  
*Bhārikhyottara Parāṇa* ..... 170-73  
 Bheda, Mt. .... 271  
 Bheda, Bhasanta ..... 13  
 Bhikshu ..... 134, 218  
 Bhikṣu ..... 136, 233  
 Bhikṣu ..... 366  
 Bhikṣu, Bhikṣu ..... 63  
 Bhikṣu ..... 97  
 Bhikṣu 1, 2, 180-1, 184-185,  
 194-5, 198-214  
 Bhikṣu ..... 83  
 Bhikṣu ..... 63  
 Bhikṣu ..... 49-51, 54, 61, 61  
 Bhikṣu ..... 25, 26  
 Bhikṣu ..... 200  
 Bhikṣu ..... 96  
 Bhikṣu ..... 362  
*Bhikṣu* ..... 356  
 Bhikṣu ..... 359  
 Bhikṣu ..... 356, 361  
 Bhikṣu ..... 182-3  
 Bhikṣu ..... 182  
 Bhikṣu ..... 17  
 Bhikṣu ..... 74  
*Bhikṣu* ..... 181-2  
 Bhikṣu ..... 182  
 Bhikṣu ..... 344  
 Bhikṣu ..... 22  
 Bhikṣu ..... 230  
 Bhikṣu ..... 231  
 Bhikṣu ..... 51  
*Bhikṣu* ..... 309  
 Bhikṣu ..... 151  
 Bhikṣu ..... 229-30  
 Bhikṣu, Dr. J. .... 33, 36-7  
*Bhikṣu* ..... 60-2  
 Bhikṣu ..... 340  
 Bhikṣu ..... 129  
 Bhikṣu tree ..... 151-2  
 Bhikṣu's Mission to Tibet ..... 310  
 Bhikṣu, Bhikṣu ..... 349  
 Bhikṣu ..... 1  
*Bhikṣu* ..... 120  
 Bhikṣu ..... 9  
 Bhikṣu ..... 240  
 Bhikṣu ..... 244  
 Bhikṣu ..... 314, 361, 365  
 Bhikṣu, Brahmanas, 110, 243-4,  
 251-7, 333-7  
 Bhikṣu ..... 340  
 Bhikṣu ..... 212  
*Bhikṣu* ..... 74  
 Bhikṣu ..... 342
- Bhikṣu ..... 272  
 Bhikṣu ..... 307  
 Bhikṣu ..... 339  
 Bhikṣu, Bhikṣu ..... 342  
 Bhikṣu, 33-5, 81, 83, 149ff., 170,  
 217-19, 245, 249, 316, 321, 325-7,  
 351, 358  
 Bhikṣu ..... 321  
 Bhikṣu ..... 58  
 Bhikṣu ..... 40  
 Bhikṣu ..... 40, 218  
 Bhikṣu ..... 243  
*Bhikṣu Kingdoms, Records of*, 303  
 Bhikṣu, Dr. G. .... 160, 167-8  
*Bhikṣu* ..... 98  
 Bhikṣu ..... 342, 345  
 Bhikṣu (Vikṣu) ..... 162  
 Bhikṣu Ayya ..... 100  
 Bhikṣu, Lieut. .... 147  
 Bhikṣu ..... 6  
 Bhikṣu ..... 41-2  
 Bhikṣu, Dr. A. O. 107-8, 278, 303  
 Bhikṣu, Buddas ..... 342
- Bhikṣu riv. .... 130, 338  
 Bhikṣu ..... 331  
 Bhikṣu ..... 216  
 Bhikṣu, capo. .... 340  
 Bhikṣu ..... 338  
 Bhikṣu ..... 298-9  
 Bhikṣu alphabet ..... 135  
 Bhikṣu ..... 228  
 Bhikṣu ..... 340  
 Bhikṣu (Aha) ..... 341  
 Bhikṣu, Klesobara ..... 340  
 Bhikṣu portus ..... 115, 142  
 Bhikṣu ..... 236, 251  
 Bhikṣu, Father ..... 331  
 Bhikṣu, Catriboni ..... 341  
 Bhikṣu ..... 40, 318ff.  
 Bhikṣu ..... 2  
 Bhikṣu ..... 30  
 Bhikṣu ..... 106  
 Bhikṣu ..... 33, 35-9, 276-7  
 Bhikṣu ..... 22  
 Bhikṣu (Bhikṣu) ..... 197, 200  
 Bhikṣu (Chaulukika) ..... 182  
 Bhikṣu, 22, 52-51, 72-7, 85, 87,  
 100, 137-42, 364  
 Bhikṣu ..... 231  
 Bhikṣu ..... 97  
 Bhikṣu ..... 239-30  
 Bhikṣu, Champāvatī ... 1-7, 5  
 Bhikṣu ..... 97  
 Bhikṣu ..... 229  
 Bhikṣu ..... 74, 184  
 Bhikṣu 195, 198, 200, 213-14
- Chand ..... 1, 187, 190  
 Chandadanda ..... 37  
 Chandalla ..... 260  
 Chandanandi Ayya ..... 102  
 Chandasarma ..... 194  
 Chandasasana ..... 210  
 Chandika ..... 389, 391  
 Chandra ..... 361  
 Chandracārya ..... 301  
 Chandraditya ..... 182  
 Chandragupta 57-8, 113-16, 124-5,  
 153-4  
 Chandrakānta ..... 31  
 Chandranasa ..... 357  
 Chandranakha ..... 10  
 Chandrakānta ..... 266  
 Chandrakānta ..... 175, 187  
 Chandrakānta ..... 75  
 Chandrakānta ..... 2  
 Chandrakānta ..... 7  
 Chandrakānta ..... 177, 280  
 Chandrakānta ..... 181, 214  
 Chandrakānta ..... 342  
 Chandrakānta ..... 141  
 Chandrakānta ..... 317  
 Chandrakānta 161, 171, 366  
 Chandrakānta ..... 217  
 Chandrakānta ..... 181, 182  
 Chandrakānta ..... 234  
 Chandrakānta, Chandrakānta, 180, 182,  
 188, 200, 212-14  
 Chandrakānta ..... 229  
 Chandrakānta ..... 23, 30  
 Chandrakānta ..... 357  
 Chandrakānta ..... 309  
 Chandrakānta ..... 204  
 Chandrakānta ..... 158  
 Chandrakānta ..... 337  
 Chandrakānta ..... 50  
 Chandrakānta ..... 50, 63  
 Chandrakānta ..... 158  
 Chandrakānta, K. .... 181  
 China ..... 97  
 Chingkhutol Hsiao ..... 219-20  
 Chintakaptha ..... 78  
 Chintakaptha ..... 313  
 Chintakaptha ..... 337  
 Chintakaptha ..... 78  
 Chintakaptha ..... 300  
 Chintakaptha ..... 94  
 Chintakaptha ..... 94  
 Chintakaptha ..... 105  
 Chintakaptha (Chola) ..... 328  
 Chintakaptha ..... 1, 8  
 Chintakaptha 61, 80, 85, 87, 93, 142-3, 324  
 Chintakaptha Udayapur ..... 2, 4, 9  
 Chintakaptha, Chintakaptha ..... 341-2, 344

|                                    |               |                                      |                                  |                                      |                 |
|------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| -ka .....                          | 158           | Dāsayya .....                        | 210                              | Dhātma .....                         | 361             |
| Chaddāmani .....                   | 169           | Dastur .....                         | 312                              | Dharmadyāka .....                    | 268             |
| Chundi (Chonḍa) Rāo .....          | 8             | Dasya .....                          | 258                              | Digarchi .....                       | 261             |
| Chunnari .....                     | 213           | Dasta bhikshu .....                  | 219                              | Dikāpālaka .....                     | 361             |
| Chuyāntija .....                   | 209           | Daulatābād .....                     | 75                               | Dimari (Humraa) .....                | 342             |
| Claudius .....                     | 216           | Dehli .....                          | 145                              | Dindumēnē .....                      | 152             |
| Clemons Alex. ....                 | 243-4         | Dētmachos .....                      | 113-17, 125-7, 133-4             | Diodorus .....                       | 114-7, 122      |
| Clitarchos .....                   | 135           | Delbrück, Prof. ....                 | 228                              | Dionysios .....                      | 113, 115        |
| Cochin-China .....                 | 97, 228-9     | Dēmēter .....                        | 249                              | Dionysos 115, 117, 122, 242, 240-250 | 344             |
| Cocconadze .....                   | 342           | Demokritos .....                     | 130                              | dīrgamagharattīrīkṛitā .....         | 237             |
| Coina .....                        | 210-16, 274   | Derang .....                         | 342                              | Diti .....                           | 50              |
| Colebrooke .....                   | 146           | Desideri, Ip. ....                   | 310                              | Dīr .....                            | 5               |
| Colubus .....                      | 338-9         | Deulārādā .....                      | 196                              | Divina .....                         | 10              |
| Condochates .....                  | 130, 338      | Derabhadrapallikā .....              | 10                               | Diyādhīyan .....                     | 168             |
| Copha .....                        | 343           | Deradhara .....                      | 269                              | Duyānādeva Panthā .....              | 234             |
| Coryat, T. ....                    | 145           | Deragadh Bārā .....                  | 9                                | Duplaetari .....                     | 234             |
| Coscoqua riv. ....                 | 130, 338      | Deragiri 50, 161, 171, 191, 277, 366 |                                  | daga .....                           | 128             |
| Casyri .....                       | 337           | Doraki .....                         | 174-80, 283-5, 288-9, 350-2, 365 | Dohad .....                          | 3, 63           |
| councillors .....                  | 124           | Devamukha .....                      | 10                               | Dohdola .....                        | 369             |
| 'Cowidurga' .....                  | 63            | decalmā .....                        | 158                              | Dalmens .....                        | 230             |
| Crocala .....                      | 344           | Dēśanāmpīya .....                    | 165-6                            | Doti .....                           | 97              |
| Cyri .....                         | 244           | Dēśa .....                           | 49                               | Drāmā .....                          | 340             |
| Dābīshlīm .....                    | 184-5         | Dēśavarmā .....                      | 91                               | Dmupadi .....                        | 260-1, 275, 315 |
| Dadīs II. ....                     | 63            | Devā-sūni .....                      | 313                              | Dron's Northern Barrier of India     | 148             |
| Dāgaba .....                       | 327           | Dēśavarmā .....                      | 23                               | drona .....                          | 55              |
| dahgoba .....                      | 339           | Dēśayyā .....                        | 74                               | Drōna .....                          | 260             |
| Dāluka .....                       | 17            | Dhanapati Bhatta .....               | 50, 65                           | Dromamha .....                       | 3               |
| Dantwālā .....                     | 279           | Dhānolaka .....                      | 188, 190                         | Drolana .....                        | 270             |
| Dantya .....                       | 87            | Dhangara .....                       | 123                              | Dronis .....                         | 244             |
| Dantāri .....                      | 167           | Dhanya Yubho .....                   | 52                               | Drupadi .....                        | 262             |
| Dakhan .....                       | 30            | Dhāra .....                          | 54, 144                          | Druens .....                         | 216             |
| Dakṣiṇā .....                      | 141, 311      | Dhārīkētha .....                     | 10                               | Dubelas .....                        | 254             |
| Dala, Miranulaka .....             | 347           | Dhārapatta .....                     | 1                                | Dudhā .....                          | 13              |
| Dandam .....                       | 278           | Dhānīpūram .....                     | 215                              | Dādhuḷā .....                        | 213             |
| Dantīpāstari .....                 | 43            | Dhārasena .....                      | 9, 10, 13                        | Dado Bhāti .....                     | 6               |
| Dānmas .....                       | 10            | Dhāravajika .....                    | 194                              | Dangari, Dangarshi .....             | 1               |
| Dānāketi .....                     | 25, 27, 30    | Dhārāvāra .....                      | 62, 71-2                         | Dangarpur .....                      | 1               |
| Dānāsena .....                     | 43            | Dhāra .....                          | 256, 365                         | Danumandakanda .....                 | 318, 320        |
| Damb .....                         | 227           | Dharm .....                          | 32                               | Darya .....                          | 289, 290        |
| Dambhā .....                       | 318, 327      | Dharmamudi .....                     | 359                              | Daragana .....                       | 45              |
| Dāmodara .....                     | 260, 272, 367 | Dharmadeva .....                     | 359                              | Darīahaka .....                      | 266-7           |
| Dānānāstī .....                    | 50            | Dharmapuri, Dharmapur .....          | 50, 63                           | Darīabha 144, 195, 198, 200, 213-14  | 179             |
| Dandamis, Dandanis .....           | 246, 334-6    | Dharmasindhua .....                  | 169                              | Darāsas .....                        | 132             |
| Dandagula, Dāntapora .....         | 240           | Dharmavyādha .....                   | 254, 257                         | Darhyanta .....                      | 321             |
| Dāngaravā .....                    | 210           | dādrā .....                          | 76                               | Dar .....                            | 158             |
| dā .....                           | 153           | Dhārwal plates .....                 | 62                               | Darīnā .....                         | 167             |
| Dantidurga, Dantivarma .....       | 50-1, 72      | Dhāra .....                          | 107                              | Dārākā .....                         | 3               |
| Danube .....                       | 125           | Dhāvāla .....                        | 213-14                           | Dārāsamudra .....                    | 191             |
| Daphne conchifera, papyracea ..... | 94, 97        | Uhrā .....                           | 281                              | Dārāvatantika .....                  | 206             |
| Dāpūlā, Dappulā .....              | 323-4         | Dhāmuka .....                        | 289, 365                         | Dārīdayalaka .....                   | 180-86          |
| Dardas, Darda, Dardai 10, 242, 339 |               | Dhokestara cave .....                | 73                               | Edaral .....                         | 91, 93-4        |
| Dari, Dhāra .....                  | 341           | Dhokā .....                          | 16, 185, 190                     | Edict .....                          | 129             |
| Daryā Khān .....                   | 6             | Dhīrārāshtra .....                   | 230, 235                         | Egypt .....                          | 42, 238         |
| Dāsārutha .....                    | 149-51        | Dhīra, Dhora .....                   | 62, 68-9, 72                     |                                      |                 |
| Dāsārām .....                      | 91            | Dhīrasena .....                      | 2, 10-11                         |                                      |                 |
| Dādāya .....                       | 50            | Dhūdas .....                         | 234                              |                                      |                 |
|                                    |               | Dhūnā .....                          | 233                              |                                      |                 |



|                                       |                       |                                     |                                      |                    |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Ekakshāḥ.....                         | 431                   | Gangā, Ganges 62-3, 69, 70, 114-16, | Gubhara .....                        | 366                |
| Ekānāśāḥ.....                         | 365                   | 121, 125-6, 130-31, 272, 339        | Guhyaśāstra.....                     | 357                |
| Ekāṅgavira.....                       | 198                   | Gaṅgādātā .....                     | Gujarāt.....                         | 1-3, 63            |
| Ekapada.....                          | 134                   | Gaṅgā Permanadī.....                | Gullārīlendaro .....                 | 89                 |
| Ekagantakanda.....                    | 318, 325              | „ Rājāsvara.....                    | Gunnasatī.....                       | 9                  |
| Elāpura.....                          | 61                    | Gaṅgādai.....                       | Guntārādā.....                       | 204                |
| Elephanta.....                        | 99                    | Gardhaka-nadī.....                  | Gupta insc. and coins.....           | 43-8, 48, 57       |
| elephantia.....                       | 124, 238-41, 333, 347 | Gardabhāsena.....                   | Gūrjara.....                         | 53, 70, 186-9      |
| Ellamma.....                          | 139                   | Garga.....                          |                                      |                    |
| Elliot's Hist. of India.....          | 226-8, 234            | Gargā.....                          | Raharant insc.....                   | 31                 |
| Elumpundalē.....                      | 68, 90                | Gargakā.....                        | Hāla.....                            | 296                |
| Elarā, Verulē.....                    | 33, 74-5, 99          | Garganaka.....                      | hacha, Achā.....                     | 160                |
| Embolima.....                         | 247                   | Gargū.....                          | Haidarābād.....                      | 72                 |
| emerald.....                          | 272                   | Gargū.....                          | Haihayas.....                        | 31, 93             |
| Enōtokaitai.....                      | 133-4                 | Gauli Rājas.....                    | Haldārjya.....                       | 270                |
| Era of the Seleucidae.....            | 218                   | Gautami.....                        | Haldyudha.....                       | 294                |
| Eras insc.....                        | 46                    | gīyatrī.....                        | Hall, Dr. F.....                     | 49                 |
| Erannobas.....                        | 130-1, 338            | Gedroia.....                        | Hālōl.....                           | 6                  |
| Eratosthenēs.....                     | 116-7, 185-7, 247     | Geographi Graeci Minores.....       | Hālōl.....                           | 22                 |
| etāya, etāna, etāya, eṣa.....         | 158                   | Geneta.....                         | Hamantōṣa insc.....                  | 318, 320           |
| Etruscans.....                        | 42, 275               | Ghazālādīkā.....                    | Hamiradara.....                      | 2, 8               |
| Eurypylos.....                        | 241                   | Ghāṭiyāṭālī.....                    | Hampo.....                           | 65                 |
|                                       |                       | Ghāṭiyāṭālī.....                    | Hāmasalāpara.....                    | 199, 203           |
| Feist.....                            | 354                   | Ghōṣaṇ.....                         | Hāndarika.....                       | 74                 |
| Fajira.....                           | 230                   | Ghōṣaṇ.....                         | handcraftsmen.....                   | 287                |
| Farang Khān.....                      | 6                     | Ghōṣaṇ.....                         | Hanumān Bāhuka.....                  | 309                |
| Farukhūr.....                         | 146                   | Gipsy language.....                 | Hanumanta.....                       | 138                |
| Fatemitas.....                        | 231                   | gīṇḍr.....                          | Harabika.....                        | 40                 |
| Fatuji.....                           | 6                     | Giridiharpur.....                   | Harānūratī, Harānūriti.....          | 346                |
| Fergusson, J. 37, 41, 103, 144, 146-8 |                       | Girijā (Pārvatī).....               | Harīhapura.....                      | 91, 93             |
| Foristah.....                         | 3, 331                | Girnar.....                         | Hārī 74-5, 289, 291, 294, 301, 357-4 |                    |
| Finch.....                            | 145, 147              | Girdārī.....                        | Haridwār.....                        | 130                |
| Fitch, J.....                         | 145                   | Girdārī.....                        | Harhara.....                         | 1, 152, 250-9      |
| For-tow-ki.....                       | 136                   | Girdārī (Kokaris).....              | Hariman.....                         | 314                |
| fountains.....                        | 8                     | Gobādhārā.....                      | Haripālā.....                        | 213                |
| Freeling, E.....                      | 57                    | Gobaka.....                         | Harishandra.....                     | 176, 287           |
| Fryer's Travels.....                  | 278                   | Gobals.....                         | Hārī.....                            | 31, 32, 74, 67     |
| Funan.....                            | 228-9                 | Goldschmidt, Dr. P.....             | Harvarnā.....                        | 22, 30-31          |
|                                       |                       | Goldtucker, Dr.....                 | Hemajays.....                        | 207                |
| Gadag insc.....                       | 89                    | Golkonda.....                       | Harshaganī.....                      | 180, 189-90        |
| Gaden.....                            | 335                   | Gonanda.....                        | Harshavardhana.....                  | 61, 78, 87         |
| Gastalavihāra.....                    | 318                   | Gonardiya.....                      | Hashir.....                          | 274                |
| Gāgrāw.....                           | 1, 8                  | Gondal plates.....                  | Haslavāpra, Haslavāpra.....          | 10                 |
| Gajābhū.....                          | 318-21                | Gondā, Gondar.....                  | Hasmapar.....                        | 309                |
| Gajjanaka.....                        | 186                   | Gonikāpota.....                     | Hasings, Warren.....                 | 310                |
| Gakulam.....                          | 318, 325              | Gopālakālā.....                     | Hasīnālā.....                        | 274                |
| Gallitalute, Gahalata.....            | 342                   | Gotrābhīt.....                      | Hātāb, Astakāpra.....                | 10                 |
| Galmudroesi.....                      | 338                   | Gova, Goa.....                      | Haag, Dr. M.....                     | 150, 278           |
| Galpota.....                          | 327                   | Gowardhana.....                     | Hauram Halba.....                    | 219                |
| Galyihāra.....                        | 326                   | Govinda.....                        | Hasāra (Arasareh).....               | 319                |
| Gambhīra Deva Rāja.....               | 142-3                 | Gozan (Ghōr).....                   | Heber, Bishop.....                   | 146, 148           |
| Gambhōṭā.....                         | 198-9                 | Grishma.....                        | Hekataios.....                       | 113, 126           |
| Ganapati, Gapeśa.....                 | 34, 229               | Growce's Rdmyans of Talsidā.....    | Hemachandra.....                     | 180, 186, 232, 274 |
| Gandara, Gāndhāras 246, 269, 372,     |                       |                                     | Hemādipant, Hemādri, 161-2, 169,     |                    |
| 316, 344                              |                       |                                     | 170-71, 178, 277, 286, 366           |                    |
| Gandharvas.....                       | 174, 263              | Grueber, J.....                     | Hemanta.....                         | 216                |
| Gapeśa Puhār.....                     | 33-5, 39              | Guernsey.....                       | Hemosa.....                          | 125                |
|                                       |                       | Guharsena.....                      |                                      |                    |

- Hemodes Mts. .... 120, 125  
 Herakles ... 122-3, 243, 246-50, 344  
 Herbed ... 312  
 Herbert, Sir T. .... 146  
 herdamen ... 237  
 Hermos ... 124  
 Herodotos ... 113, 124-5  
 Hemidrus ... 115, 336-7  
 Hetairism ... 275  
*Acts, Aevan, Ai* ... 160  
 Himalaya ... 214, 274  
*Hindostanes, La Langue, &c.* ... 160  
 Hipparchos ... 126  
 Hippoklides ... 115  
 Hiranyakāśipu, Hiranyāksha 358-7  
 Hiwen T'sang 9, 10, 13, 61, 60, 320  
 hockey ... 221  
 Hodgson, B. H. ... 95, 98  
 Holi ... 79  
 Homer ... 241  
 hoopes ... 345  
 Horatio ... 341  
 Höril ... 271  
 Hormos ... 83, 315  
 horses ... 238-9  
*Actu* ... 160  
 Hōysala Bolalas ... 101, 277  
 Hsihikēsa ... 308  
 Hudaspēs ... 121, 248, 340  
 Hudrakai ... 247  
 Humāyūn ... 5, 6  
*Yādōi* ... 243-4  
 Hungund ... 140  
 hunters ... 207  
 Hupans ... 121, 125, 130-31, 330  
 Huplasis ... 115, 130, 340  
 husbandmen ... 123, 338  
 Huvishka ... 217-19  
 Hyperboreans ... 118, 134  
 Hyrcanian sea ... 116  
 Iberia ... 134, 248  
 Ibu Asir ... 185  
 Ibu Khurdāba ... 64  
 Idanthureos ... 246-7  
 Idr ... 1, 60  
 Ikhtiyār Khān ... 3, 5, 6  
 Ilanji ... 279  
*ima, indya* ... 157  
 Inaus ... 337  
 Inderjal ... 160  
 India ... 113, 120ff.  
 India, Wheeler's History of ... 329  
*Indika of Megasthenes* (13 B., 238ff., 333ff.)  
 Indilā ... 196  
 Indra ... 361-2, 365  
 Indradyumna ... 175  
 Indrāni ... 60-63, 74, 301  
 Indrarka ... 60, 63, 72  
 Indrāvājā ... 210  
 Indu ... 368  
 Indus, riv. ... 120, 339  
 inganapat, Ingnoda ... 49, 50, 55-6  
 Ingipiasahgama, riv. ... 26  
 Inscriptions ... 9, 22, 59, 72, 75, 85, 135, 180, 316, 226, 318ff.  
 Iobares ... 249  
 Iobas ... 347  
 Irāvati ... 110  
 Isari ... 337  
 Isis ... 351  
 Išvara ... 102  
 Itllā Kālharī ... 199  
*iya, iyam* ... 158  
 Iagi ... 347  
 Jarcqmont, Mons. ... 146  
 Jagaddhara ... 189  
 Jagaddikamallā ... 139-41  
 Jagadrudra, Jagattunga, 62, 64, 72  
 Jahan Panah ... 4  
 Jainas ... 149-50, 218  
 Jaitrapala ... 360  
 Jājali ... 267  
 Jalajalohana ... 357  
 Jalodbhava ... 270  
 Jālorā ... 274  
 Jamnāgnī ... 139, 201  
*Jambudīpā* ... 168  
 Jamhudrpa ... 156  
 Jambhara ... 176  
 Janaka ... 274  
*Jauhi Mangal* ... 300  
 Janamejaya ... 269  
*jānamit* ... 158  
 Janārdana ... 180, 357  
*Janadehtami-eratedydpānam* ... 169  
 Japanese Song ... 107  
 Jārakong Vāmba ... 212-20  
 Jarnandha ... 261, 269, 272  
 Jarrott's *Nalopākhyānam* ... 311  
 Jarden insc. ... 43, 46  
 Jato ... 3  
 Jaugada insc. ... 149  
*jeukir* ... 4  
 Jayabhata ... 63  
 Jayagoba ... 327, 329  
 Jayakarpa ... 104  
 Jayakirti ... 27  
*Jayantirata* ... 163ff.  
 Jayāpala ... 301, 304  
 Jayasimha ... 1-8, 65, 139-40, 187-90, 196, 198-204, 213-14, 267  
 Jayatdeva ... 76  
 Jayavarma ... 49  
 Jesalmer ... 9  
 Jetavanārāmo ... 326-7  
 Jothvas ... 191  
 Jettā Tisso ... 320-21  
 Jawa ... 244  
 Jhālor ... 8, 9, 274  
 Jhijhuvādhā ... 183  
 Jhujhar Khān Habāhi ... 7  
*Jhōdmātyd* ... 47-8, 136  
 Jinālaya ... 100  
 Jiyanta ... 25  
 Jinendra ... 24-30, 139  
 Jitkarap ... 2  
 Jivika ... 219  
 Jiyanta ... 25  
 Jodhpur ... 8, 60  
 Johannes of Naples ... 216  
 Johnson, F. ... 161  
 Jolly's *Institutes of Niroda* ... 322  
 Jonathan ... 115, 336-7  
 Joutāja ... 267  
 Josephus, Fl. ... 248  
 jug ... 388-7  
 Jundāyāh ... 1, 3  
 junglies ... 234  
 Janner Caves and insc. ... 33-43  
 Justinus ... 113  
 Jyeshthasarmā ... 74  
 Kabir ... 231-2  
*Kabirāndandā* ... 309  
 Kābul (Kabulitai) ... 116, 125, 330  
 Kachār ... 86  
 Kaebh ... 3, 184-5, 194  
 Kadambas ... 22-32, 100, 101, 364  
 Kājaroli insc. ... 139  
 Kaji plates ... 180  
 Kaduvapavēpu ... 91  
 Kahagal-vihāra ... 322  
 Kaikos riv. ... 126  
 Kāl, Kayāl ... 215  
 Kālān ... 272, 359  
 Kaishabjit ... 357  
 Kaiyote ... 107-12, 365-6  
 Kāka-bālī ... 318  
 Kākarāgo Tisso ... 321  
 Kakkala ... 60, 62, 64, 72  
 Kakuasthavarmā ... 22-7  
 Kālā ... 359  
 Kālādgi ... 85  
 Kālāmbhara ... 93  
 Kālānami ... 298  
 Kalanra, Calanus ... 245-6, 234-5  
*Kālowārya* ... 162  
 Kālāpāpātha ... 13

|  |                                  |                         |                   |                         |                               |
|--|----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Kaluda .....                           | 269                              | Kāpya Pantachala .....  | 316               | Kērakes .....           | 346                           |
| Kalidya .....                          | 154                              | Karachi .....           | 344               | Kēśava .....            | 140, 291, 357                 |
| Kakri .....                            | 246                              | Karadi .....            | 140               | Kēśava-Chakrabhūṭ ..... | 271                           |
| Kalibāga .....                         | 51-2, 216, 264-9, 301            | Karāle .....            | 274               | Kēśava .....            | 177, 365                      |
| Kāliharī .....                         | 196                              | Karmajapatra .....      | 91, 93            | Khāchar .....           | 337                           |
| Kālīdāsa .....                         | 143, 232                         | Kardā plates .....      | 60                | Khamgāvaloka .....      | 61, 79                        |
| Kālima .....                           | 141                              | Kardamapāni .....       | 29                | Khān Khān .....         | 236, 331                      |
| Kālindi .....                          | 272, 291                         | Karejil .....           | 281               | Khagendra, Khagi .....  | 273                           |
| Kālinga, Kalinga .....                 | 127, 130, 327-9, 337-8           | Karirā .....            | 140               | Khāpī .....             | 245                           |
| Kalyāna .....                          | 245                              | Karka I. ....           | 60, 62-5, 72      | Khalifs .....           | 216, 211, 303                 |
| Kalinipara .....                       | 115, 340-7                       | Karkā Chānd .....       | 310               | Khalid insc. ....       | 143                           |
| Kalivallabha .....                     | 63, 69, 72                       | Karkotaka .....         | 266-8             | Khamta and Thoibi ..... | 919-26                        |
| Kāliya .....                           | 174, 177, 288, 291, 365          | Kārle .....             | 33-4              | Kharabāt .....          | 5                             |
| Kaliyuga .....                         | 219, 272                         | Karna .....             | 60, 186, 191, 195 | Kharabihila .....       | 199                           |
| Kālka (Bhavāni) .....                  | 2, 0-8                           | Karnadēva .....         | 198, 300, 213-14  | Khamnu .....            | 220-25                        |
| Kalkin .....                           | 150, 358                         | Karmaditya .....        | 182               | Khamlesh .....          | 1, 6                          |
| Kalidāsa .....                         | 183                              | Karnaprāvarasāsa .....  | 133               | Kharapātān plates ..... | 60                            |
| Kalligra .....                         | 180                              | Karmāśaka .....         | 61, 64, 212, 227  | Kharjā nadi .....       | 60                            |
| Kallishende .....                      | 113                              | Karnāl .....            | 85, 88            | Khāim .....             | 337                           |
| Kalndā .....                           | 100, 103                         | Karāsā .....            | 123, 349          | Khāirāpur insc. ....    | 88                            |
| Kalpādrama .....                       | 101                              | Kārtikāya .....         | 27, 74, 87, 118   | Khātāgrāma .....        | 23-4, 27                      |
| Kālī .....                             | 196, 199                         | Karur .....             | 215               | Khichī Chohāpa .....    | 1, 2                          |
| Kalyāna 60-61, 72, 79, 130, 144, 181-4 |                                  | Karvāsurigōdu .....     | 94                | Khichivādā .....        | 1                             |
| Kalyāna .....                          | 245                              | Kāsinathapūthyāya ..... | 169               | Khmara .....            | 224                           |
| Kāmadēva .....                         | 141, 341-3                       | Kāwān .....             | 105, 148, 264-74  | Khānapā .....           | 246                           |
| Kāmakdevī .....                        | 2                                | Kāpāpura .....          | 343               | Khānapā .....           | 273                           |
| Kamālākara .....                       | 168                              | Kāwāpa .....            | 321-4             | Kāwāpā .....            | 164                           |
| Kamārāja .....                         | 271                              | Kāśyapa .....           | 78                | Khāyālām .....          | 274                           |
| Kāmbali .....                          | 210                              | Kāśyapa .....           | 267-71            | Kāyānādā .....          | 100, 101                      |
| Kāmbeyī .....                          | 199                              | Kāśī, Kāśī, Kām .....   | 158               | Kilakare .....          | 60                            |
| Kāmbodiyana .....                      | 378                              | Kāśīpā .....            | 122               | Kinara .....            | 230                           |
| Kāmboikā .....                         | 184, 192                         | Kāśīpā .....            | 40                | Kira .....              | 64                            |
| Kāmbuj .....                           | 114                              | Kāśīpā .....            | 183, 337          | Kirāna .....            | 114, 133-4, 337, 349          |
| Kāmad Dava .....                       | 8                                | Kāśīpā .....            | 96-7              | Kirānā insc. ....       | 323                           |
| Kānara .....                           | 42                               | Kāśīpā .....            | 234               | Kiritin .....           | 357                           |
| Kānauj .....                           | 59, 60, 181-3                    | Kāśīpā .....            | 137-8             | Kiriwehara .....        | 389                           |
| Kāñchī .....                           | 30, 61, 78, 85, 87               | Kāśīpā .....            | 112, 304, 307     | Kirya .....             | 64                            |
| Kāndahat .....                         | 185                              | Kāśīpā (Caucasia) ..... | 124-6, 133, 247-4 | Kirrhada .....          | 130                           |
| Kāndarai .....                         | 308                              | Kāśīpā .....            | 389               | Kirrahada .....         | 16                            |
| Kāndarpa .....                         | 362                              | Kāśīpā .....            | 74                | Kirrahada .....         | 30                            |
| Kāng .....                             | 220                              | Kāśīpā .....            | 367               | Kirrahada .....         | 22, 73-4, 77, 87, 90, 93, 364 |
| Kāñheri .....                          | 33, 43                           | Kāśīpā .....            | 62                | Kirrahada .....         | 91, 93                        |
| Kāñchika .....                         | 154, 218, 219, 267, 304          | Kāśīpā .....            | 80, 263           | Kirrahada .....         | 83                            |
| Kāñchī .....                           | 218-9                            | Kāśīpā (Caystrus) ..... | 125               | Kirrahada .....         | 158                           |
| Kāna .....                             | 78                               | Kāśīpā .....            | 68, 170, 356      | Kirrahada .....         | 274                           |
| Kānanur .....                          | 216                              | Kāśīpā .....            | 100               | Kirrahada .....         | 4                             |
| Kāna .....                             | 173-7, 283, 288-9, 294, 350, 385 | Kāśīpā .....            | 16, 59, 88        | Kirrahada .....         | 249                           |
| Kāñāji Kadam Bānda .....               | 7                                | Kāśīpā .....            | 80-83             | Kirrahada .....         | 135                           |
| Kāñthā, -durga .....                   | 184-5                            | Kāśīpā .....            | 257-8             | Kirrahada .....         | 142                           |
| Kāñthkot .....                         | 184-6                            | Kāśīpā .....            | 219               | Kirrahada .....         | 182                           |
| Kāpateśvara .....                      | 271                              | Kāśīpā .....            | 318               | Kirrahada .....         | 89, 100                       |
| Kāpila .....                           | 40                               | Kāśīpā .....            | 345               | Kirrahada .....         | 214-15                        |
| Kāpī .....                             | 158                              | Kāśīpā (Celts) .....    | 244               | Kirrahada .....         | 342                           |
| Kāpīlāvarta .....                      | 212                              | Kāśīpā .....            | 61, 85, 87, 93    | Kirrahada .....         | 342                           |
| Kāpī .....                             | 246                              | Kāśīpā .....            | 346               | Kirrahada .....         | 233                           |
|  |                                  | Kāśīpā .....            | 39, 218           | Kirrahada .....         | 101-2                         |



|                                     |                      |                                    |                          |                                   |                  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| Kolhāpur coins .....                | 275                  | Kumar .....                        | 115                      | Lehandāri .....                   | 35               |
| Kolia .....                         | 5, 186, 233          | Kumār .....                        | 220, 292                 | lekāpeta .....                    | 159              |
| Kolkei, Kolys .....                 | 80                   | Kumār .....                        | 270                      | Lénaios .....                     | 122              |
| Komalmar .....                      | 63                   | Kumār .....                        | 27                       | Levāra .....                      | 273              |
| Kondarāja .....                     | 363                  | Kumār .....                        | 57                       | Libya .....                       | 96               |
| Kondasakū .....                     | 344                  | Kumār .....                        | 154, 180, 186, 195, 198, | Libya .....                       | 120              |
| Kongani-Mahādhirāja .....           | 23                   | Kumār .....                        | 200, 213-14              | Lichhavi insc. ....               | 43               |
| Kongarivarnā .....                  | 100                  | Kumār .....                        | 180                      | Lidar .....                       | 273              |
| Kōgū or Ganga insc. ....            | 99f.                 | Kumār .....                        | 80                       | likāpaya .....                    | 159              |
| Kongyāmba .....                     | 221-6                | Kumar .....                        | 95, 97                   | Lilādevi .....                    | 181, 196         |
| Kōkaya .....                        | 63                   | Kumar .....                        | 95, 97                   | Lilāpura .....                    | 196              |
| Kōnōmet-Kondā .....                 | 143                  | Kumbhīpaka hill .....              | 25, 39                   | Limbāji .....                     | 4                |
| Kopūr insc. ....                    | 140                  | Kumpu Bāwal .....                  | 2                        | Linga worship .....               | 278              |
| Kopāldurg .....                     | 238                  | Kūsi .....                         | 279                      | Livingstone, Dr. ....             | 41               |
| Kōphē .....                         | 246                  | Kundia .....                       | 180                      | Loi .....                         | 229              |
| Korāribi .....                      | 344                  | Kunti .....                        | 262, 316                 | Loka-kāl era .....                | 55               |
| Korish .....                        | 231                  | Kuvalāpura .....                   | 101, 103                 | Lōkumhādēvi .....                 | 86, 91           |
| Korkoi .....                        | 80-83, 279           | Kurāl .....                        | 210                      | Lokaprasāda .....                 | 10               |
| Kortalam .....                      | 279                  | Kurambha, Kurubhara .....          | 41, 230                  | Lōkēśvarādēva .....               | 84               |
| Koringa .....                       | 130                  | Kārohaka mendicants .....          | 25, 31                   | Lolāb .....                       | 374              |
| Kōpōda, Kōlōnda .....               | 129                  | Kāma avatāra .....                 | 355, 358, 365            | Lolara .....                      | 273              |
| Kopo .....                          | 80                   | Kurupolis .....                    | 345                      | Luang .....                       | 220              |
| Kōti .....                          | 80                   | Kuro (Cyrus) .....                 | 246-7, 250               | Lucian .....                      | 338              |
| Kottāyana .....                     | 42, 216              | Kurubāra .....                     | 270                      | Lūnapasā .....                    | 199, 203, 206-12 |
| Krādcana .....                      | 249                  | Kurukshetra .....                  | 138, 142                 | Lunavāid .....                    | 0, 17            |
| Kricchāra .....                     | 78                   | Kurupakera .....                   | 94                       | Lyciana .....                     | 275              |
| Krishna 171-80, 248, 260-1, 269,    |                      | Kuras .....                        | 260, 272-3               |                                   |                  |
| 272-3, 349-53, 365                  |                      | Kusa .....                         | 273                      | Maccocalingo .....                | 337              |
| Krishnā .....                       | 88, 90, 105          | Kushaloda .....                    | 206                      | Māchhi Havēli .....               | 7, 8             |
| Krishnādāsa .....                   | 285                  | Kusinagara .....                   | 327                      | Mackenzie Col. ....               | 227              |
| Krishnājāmadakī .....               | 161f., 281f.,        | Kūsi .....                         | 314                      | Maurohij .....                    | 133              |
| 349ff.                              |                      | Kusumapura .....                   | 114                      | Mājakulam .....                   | 142              |
| Krishnāji .....                     | 7                    | Kutb-Minār .....                   | 145, 147                 | madamadakī-tāji .....             | 280              |
| Krishnā-rāja .....                  | 51-2, 60-63, 72      | Kutub'ul Malik Saiyid 'Abdu'lrah-  |                          | Mā'iz al-Aikmat .....             | 160              |
| Krishnavarmā .....                  | 22                   | 236                                |                          | Madanaratna .....                 | 169, 178         |
| Krishnavarmādēva .....              | 23                   | Kutira .....                       | 40                       | Māduri .....                      | 275              |
| Kritikā .....                       | 27                   | Kuvera .....                       | 118, 271, 301            | Mādhava 23, 161-2, 169-70, 178-9, |                  |
| Krityachintamani .....              | 167                  |                                    |                          | 358                               |                  |
| Krōda .....                         | 126, 238             | Lag Vājyainiga Kit .....           | 328                      | Madhanuti .....                   | 271              |
| Kshatrapas .....                    | 43-7, 57-8           | Lahur .....                        | 105-6, 146-7             | Madhusādana .....                 | 258              |
| Kshatriya .....                     | 252-3, 255, 263, 316 | Lāhōl .....                        | 98                       | Madonna .....                     | 351              |
| Kshemendra .....                    | 269                  | Laiharouba .....                   | 221                      | Madras .....                      | 306, 316         |
| Kahiprā riv. ....                   | 60                   | Lakedæmonians .....                | 131                      | Mādri .....                       | 316              |
| Kahiti Rāja (or Pati) .....         | 51                   | Lakkunda .....                     | 100                      | Madrid .....                      | 308              |
| Kahudakas .....                     | 247                  | Lakshmanānirtha .....              | 100                      | Maduchānā .....                   | 206              |
| Kāśia 113, 116, 118, 126, 131, 133, |                      | Lakshmi 16, 37, 262, 350, 356, 361 |                          | Madurā .....                      | 82, 280          |
| 135, 248                            |                      | Lalitāditya .....                  | 266                      | Madhyn .....                      | 247              |
| Kahja Vishnuvardhana .....          | 73                   | Lākot .....                        | 147                      | Māgnha .....                      | 318              |
| Kublai Khān .....                   | 229-30               | Lane, E. W. ....                   | 161                      | Māgama .....                      | 320-21           |
| Kuchara .....                       | 162                  | Lājīvāra .....                     | 344                      | Māga-pati .....                   | 312              |
| Kuā cava .....                      | 33                   | Lauka .....                        | 129                      | Māgha .....                       | 83               |
| Kuila .....                         | 210                  | Lassen, C. ....                    | 115, 130, 265-6          | Mahāban .....                     | 247              |
| Kokmā riv. ....                     | 35                   | Lāta .....                         | 16, 63, 184, 190         | Mahādāra .....                    | 107, 118, 131-4, |
| Kula .....                          | 275                  | Lataga .....                       | 128                      | 251-64, 313-17, 329               |                  |
| Kulāśekhara-dēva .....              | 142-3                | Laukika era .....                  | 265, 268, 272            | Mahādāshya .....                  | 301f.            |
| Kulāshavāpi insc. ....              | 323                  | Lava .....                         | 270, 273                 | Mahādēva .....                    | 161, 171, 277    |
| Kulū .....                          | 98                   | Lavanaprasāda .....                | 188-90, 213              | Mahādēvarāja .....                | 366              |



|                                       |                  |                                      |                     |                                  |                 |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Mahādārapura .....                    | 10               | Mandieur .....                       | 6                   | Mehonā .....                     | 212-13          |
| Mahākāla .....                        | 91               | Manda .....                          | 3-5                 | Mehesai .....                    | 79, 80          |
| Mahākālatiowa .....                   | 323              | Mangala .....                        | 361                 | Meithei .....                    | 220             |
| Mahākōta .....                        | 254              | Mangukāzara .....                    | 354, 364            | Menandron .....                  | 304             |
| Mahānadi .....                        | 127, 130         | Māngs .....                          | 234                 | Menolāns .....                   | 125             |
| Mahānāshtra .....                     | 170              | Manigriya .....                      | 365                 | Merkayā insc. ....               | 23              |
| mahānāśha (pāśha) .....               | 139, 141         | Manipur .....                        | 219-26              | Mérou. Mt. ....                  | 122, 217, 343-4 |
| Mahāsena .....                        | 27, 31-2, 364    | Manjūśrī .....                       | 352                 | Mers .....                       | 191             |
| mahatāta .....                        | 159              | Mānkhe (Mālkheḥ) .....               | 64-5, 180           | Mern .....                       | 151, 243        |
| Mahātantra .....                      | 320-23           | Mānmoji hill .....                   | 35                  | Merutunga .....                  | 191-4, 147-91   |
| Mahāvīra .....                        | 154              | Mannar gulf .....                    | 80                  | Messē (Mazaria) .....            | 342             |
| Mahāveśān .....                       | 270              | Manning's <i>Mission to Tibet</i> .. | 310                 | Methora (Mathurā) .....          | 249, 340        |
| Mahāvīra .....                        | 151-2            | Manoharpur .....                     | 218                 | Mevāḥ .....                      | 191             |
| Mahendrapāla .....                    | 43, 49           | Manouchi, M. ....                    | 331                 | Mhāra .....                      | 234             |
| Mahendrapratāpa .....                 | 78               | Manūra .....                         | 155-6               | Mihimā .....                     | 329-3           |
| Mahāśāradāsenaika .....               | 10               | Mantraśāstra .....                   | 48                  | Mihintala .....                  | 319-23          |
| Mahī riv., Mahīwasi .....             | 79, 80           | Manu .....                           | 30, 232-4, 329, 332 | military class .....             | 129             |
| Mahīpāla .....                        | 213              | Manuśyaśāstra .....                  | 74                  | Milyas .....                     | 275             |
| Mahmūd .....                          | 6, 184-5         | Mānyakheṭa (Mālkheḥ) .....           | 64-5, 180           | Minori insc. ....                | 326             |
| Mahmūd Bigarah .....                  | 1-7              | Māra .....                           | 326                 | Mish Jū's <i>Sirij</i> .....     | 80              |
| Mahmūd Khilji .....                   | 3                | Maradānakāḥwalakanda .....           | 318                 | Misaj plates .....               | 60, 65          |
| Mahodadhi .....                       | 50               | Marmū .....                          | 32                  | Mīrat-i <i>Ahmadi</i> .....      | 7               |
| Mahmudi .....                         | 147              | Māramangalam .....                   | 61, 83              | Mīrat-i <i>Sikandri</i> .....    | 1-5             |
| Mahāndros riv. ....                   | 125              | Mārasarva .....                      | 63, 70              | mīran .....                      | 159             |
| Māibia .....                          | 222              | Māra Polo .....                      | 80-3, 215, 229-30   | Mithila .....                    | 47, 257         |
| Māithilas .....                       | 169              | Marignoli .....                      | 229                 | Mitra .....                      | 357             |
| Moladu .....                          | 339              | Mārkaḥya .....                       | 296                 | Mlechhas .....                   | 274             |
| Mālakatari .....                      | 196              | Markham's <i>Tibet</i> .....         | 310                 | Mubāḥ .....                      | 312             |
| Mālava 2, 4, 48-56, 63, 70, 185, 191, |                  | Maroh .....                          | 341                 | Mūlherā .....                    | 192             |
| 212                                   |                  | marriage .....                       | 223                 | Modogalinga .....                | 307-3           |
| Majavas .....                         | 59               | Maru .....                           | 69                  | Modubae .....                    | 338             |
| Mālarāja .....                        | 64               | Māraśākhāḥwaman .....                | 85, 87-8            | Moghs .....                      | 337             |
| Mahayagiri .....                      | 47-8             | Marran Sapor Iāo .....               | 360                 | Mūhni .....                      | 358             |
| Mahāgāra .....                        | 233              | masi .....                           | 159                 | Mohi, J. ....                    | 161             |
| Māli, Malena Mt., Māli 127, 130,      |                  | māśakṛitya .....                     | 169                 | Moirang .....                    | 219-26          |
| 338, 340                              |                  | Māsādi .....                         | 64                  | Molinda .....                    | 338-9           |
| Mālei Arriyana .....                  | 41               | Māsāra .....                         | 194                 | Monedes (Mandai) .....           | 127, 339        |
| Mālāpas .....                         | 101-2            | Mather, Dr. C. ....                  | 84                  | monkeys .....                    | 127-8, 133      |
| Malik Asad .....                      | 3                | Mathurā 105, 154, 173, 216-9, 260,   |                     | Monomatoi .....                  | 134             |
| Malik Ayāz Sultāni .....              | 4                | 272                                  |                     | Monopedes .....                  | 134             |
| Mālkheḥ, Mālkheḥ .....                | 64-5, 180        | Mātrigupta .....                     | 268                 | Mōragollawa .....                | 318             |
| Māllinātha .....                      | 285              | Mātrisarit riv. ....                 | 25                  | Morānli .....                    | 3               |
| Māltecora .....                       | 341              | Mauliyah .....                       | 6                   | Morbi plate .....                | 59              |
| mamayit .....                         | 159              | Mauryas .....                        | 149-50, 154         | Moorcroft .....                  | 97              |
| Māmluk Babritas .....                 | 215-6            | Māyā .....                           | 174, 351            | Morkhandā .....                  | 64              |
| Mānarya .....                         | 31-2, 74, 77, 87 | Māyana .....                         | 162                 | Moruni .....                     | 341             |
| Mānāli .....                          | 200              | Māyāvata .....                       | 371                 | Mrigaśa, Mrigāśvarna 24-5, 29-34 |                 |
| Māndali 127, 184, 193, 203, 203,      |                  | Māyāng (Imphāl) .....                | 219                 | Mrigāśvarna .....                | 22              |
| Māndanis .....                        | 245, 334         | Maylagastala .....                   | 322                 | Mōdawelera .....                 | 318             |
| man-lapa .....                        | 284              | Māyārakhandi .....                   | 64, 71              | Madhol .....                     | 230             |
| Māndapāla .....                       | 253              | Māyāśvarnādēra .....                 | 23                  | Madrakāḥ .....                   | 114             |
| Māndara, Mt. ....                     | 68, 365          | Mēdopāta .....                       | 191, 212            | Mogali-putras .....              | 218             |
| Māndei .....                          | 127, 130, 338    | Mēdhurā .....                        | 203                 | Muhāḥ Khān .....                 | 4               |
| Māndelito, J. A. ....                 | 145              | Mēdi .....                           | 8                   | Muhammad Shāh .....              | 3               |
| Māndevillo, Sir J. ....               | 145              | Megallas (Māvelas) .....             | 341                 | Muhammadābād .....               | 4, 7            |
| Māndhāṭi .....                        | 60               | Megari (Mokara) .....                | 342                 | Muharram .....                   | 79, 230         |
| Māndi .....                           | 135              | Megasthenēs .....                    | 113E, 238E, 333E.   | Muktāphala .....                 | 368             |

|                                   |                    |  |                         |                               |                                |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Muktāpīḍa .....                   | 266                | Nandaka .....                                | 357                     | Nongbāl Chouba .....          | 220-28                         |
| Muktibānī .....                   | 110                | Nandāvāsana .....                            | 210                     | Nriyājā .....                 | 74                             |
| Makunda .....                     | 358                | Nandi .....                                  | 183                     | Nulā Mt. ....                 | 136                            |
| Mālapsthādava .....               | 124, 193           | Nandigad .....                               | 22                      | numerals .....                | 43, 143                        |
| Mālarāja .....                    | 181-214            | Nandikshutra .....                           | 271                     | nurhaga .....                 | 144-5                          |
| Māleśvara .....                   | 200                | Nāndipura .....                              | 63                      | Nyasa .....                   | 247, 341, 343                  |
| Malgirigala .....                 | 318, 322, 325      | Nāndul .....                                 | 188                     | O'che-to .....                | 9                              |
| Müller, Max .....                 | 154                | Nandurbār .....                              | 1                       | Odoric .....                  | 229-30                         |
| Maṇḍawarū'l-mulk Bukhārī ...      | 0                  | Nārada .....                                 | 175, 177, 179, 301, 366 | Odomburū (Udumbari) .....     | 341                            |
| Mundā .....                       | 127                | Nāramītya Dharmadātra, by Mr. J. Jolly ..... | 332                     | Ohind .....                   | 247                            |
| Mundargi Ranga Rāo .....          | 227-8              | Nāranayya .....                              | 139                     | Okupodea .....                | 134                            |
| Munis .....                       | 272                | Nasasulār .....                              | 312                     | Olostrā .....                 | 342                            |
| musical .....                     | 159                | Nārasinhā .....                              | 16, 78, 357-8           | Omkarāta .....                | 200                            |
| Munja .....                       | 49-51              | Naravarman .....                             | 49                      | Oncakratō .....               | 336                            |
| Munjāla .....                     | 169                | Nārāyana .....                               | 17, 198, 358, 366       | Oncakritas .....              | 113, 117, 126, 132             |
| Muntakhab-ul-tovarikh .....       | 160                | Nārāyan Dās .....                            | 308                     | Ophir .....                   | 81                             |
| Muntakhab-ul-lubāb .....          | 235                | Narew .....                                  | 341                     | Opisthodaktulol .....         | 133                            |
| Mura, Murāri (Kṛishṇa) .....      | 52, 358            | Narendrabhavana .....                        | 274                     | Orakuru .....                 | 341                            |
| Murangahitkulala .....            | 318                | Narmodā .....                                | 53, 283                 | Orakuru .....                 | 342                            |
| Musharrak Ḥaqīqī Bible .....      | 83                 | Narsingh Dava .....                          | 5, 6                    | Orgatungu .....               | 342                            |
| Mushāika .....                    | 289                | Nalāk inso. and eaves .....                  | 28, 13-43               | orgma .....                   | 128                            |
| Musikanos .....                   | 132                | Nāstikya .....                               | 264                     | Oriental MSS. ....            | 107, 278                       |
| Musunipaga .....                  | 88, 90             | Nāśas .....                                  | 313                     | Orison .....                  | 41                             |
| Mutahiva .....                    | 153                | Natānli .....                                | 200                     | Ormand .....                  | 314-5                          |
| Muttakulau .....                  | 214                | Nāyakā .....                                 | 213, 234                | Orodēs .....                  | 131                            |
| Muzaffar (Sulṭān) .....           | 4, 6               | Nāyakaḥ .....                                | 233-4                   | Orrhotha .....                | 341                            |
| na, nam .....                     | 158                | Nayigalvihāra .....                          | 322                     | Oxulū .....                   | 338                            |
| Nāhā Ji .....                     | 308                | Nearchos .....                               | 113, 127                | Oxuli .....                   | 343                            |
| Nahukodroor .....                 | 246-8              | Nentherda .....                              | 123                     | Ottorokorhu .....             | 194                            |
| Nāhola plates .....               | 180                | Neltōr .....                                 | 245                     | overacra .....                | 124                            |
| Nādōla .....                      | 188                | Neminātha .....                              | 36                      | Oxudrakai .....               | 247-8                          |
| Nāgā .....                        | 220, 270-71, 365-6 | Narew (Nharonta) .....                       | 342                     | Padma .....                   | 271                            |
| Nāgala .....                      | 190, 212           | Nēgiḥ .....                                  | 94                      | Padmanābhira .....            | 270                            |
| Nāgdeva .....                     | 213                | Nemi .....                                   | 342                     | Padmanābha .....              | 179, 368                       |
| Nāgdrāha .....                    | 49, 64             | Nottukunda inso. ....                        | 319                     | padmātrā .....                | 48                             |
| Nāgajhārī .....                   | 49                 | Nowberry, F. ....                            | 145                     | Padmādh Nūma .....            | 234                            |
| Nāgamānālā plates .....           | 23                 | Nigantḥa (Nirgrantha) .....                  | 160                     | Padmanayn .....               | 28                             |
| Nāgurājo .....                    | 184                | Nikāia .....                                 | 343                     | Pahānpur .....                | 63                             |
| Nāguri numerals .....             | 42-6               | Nikolas Damaa .....                          | 131                     | Pahlavi .....                 | 366                            |
| Nāgavarmādeya .....               | 23                 | Nila .....                                   | 269-70                  | Pahmābl .....                 | 63                             |
| Nāgēsa .....                      | 302, 305           | Nilāchhi .....                               | 206                     | Paijavana .....               | 252                            |
| Nāgor .....                       | 1                  | Nilakantha .....                             | 169                     | Pāithana .....                | 49                             |
| Nāhāni Umarwan .....              | 1                  | Nīlamatoparāna .....                         | 267-70                  | paka, pakate, pakamasi .....  | 168                            |
| Nahāpāna inso. ....               | 46                 | Nīlō riv. ....                               | 120, 123                | Pāla inso. ....               | 43                             |
| Naikras (Nāyakaḥ) .....           | 233-4              | Nipāl .....                                  | 43, 47, 96-7            | Palamoyova .....              | 129                            |
| Naini Tāl .....                   | 95                 | Nipāl .....                                  | 107-8                   | Pālaka .....                  | 154                            |
| Nairs .....                       | 316-7              | Nirgund .....                                | 228                     | palakamāhā, palakanise .....  | 168                            |
| Nālekar .....                     | 365                | Nirayulmīto .....                            | 160                     | Pālāikā .....                 | 22-32                          |
| Nālichh .....                     | 3                  | Nirayulmīto .....                            | 168, 170                | Palatupāna .....              | 318                            |
| Nālodā .....                      | 313                | Nirriti .....                                | 307, 361                | Palermunda .....              | 129                            |
| Nalopikhydam, by T. Jarrett. .... | 331                | Nirpama .....                                | 62, 69, 70, 72          | Pāthanningh .....             | 2                              |
| Nāl Sāheb .....                   | 230-31             | Nirvāna of Buddha .....                      | 149-1                   | Pāi inso. ....                | 216                            |
| Nāmādh .....                      | 308                | Nishāda .....                                | 252-3, 258              | Pāi .....                     | 308                            |
| Nānāghāt inso. ....               | 43-5, 154          | Nīśāika Malla .....                          | 326-9                   | Palibothra, Palimbothra ..... | 113-7, 122, 126-7, 131, 339-40 |
| Nanda .....                       | 177, 289-91        | Nīzāmū'l-Mulk .....                          | 4                       | Pālitānā .....                | 105                            |
| Nandagiri .....                   | 101-3              | Nobunda (Nubōth) .....                       | 342                     |                               |                                |

|  |                             |  |                           |  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|--|---------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| Palladius, <i>De Breymanibus</i> .....                     | 334                         | Patala .....                           | 240-44                    | Pāra.....  | 116                         |
| Pallāvas 25, 30, 62-3, 69, 71, 73, 85,<br>87, 93, 114..... |                             | Pātāliputra .....                      | 50, 114, 116, 131         | Porphyrius .....                                 | 245                         |
| Pālīya-karera.....   | 82                          | Pātāliputrakāśa .....                  | 306                       | Postum .....                                     | 342                         |
| Pāṭiyama .....   | 83                          | Patanjali .....                        | 107, 110-12, 302-6        | <i>Ivabandha Chakradhara</i> 187, 194, 214       |                             |
| Pampā riv., Pampākshētra.....                              | 35, 88                      | pati .....                             | 49                        | Prabandhāditya .....                             | 180-81, 190                 |
| Panphagol .....  | 134                         | Pātā pul .....                         | 7, 8                      | Prabāhā .....                                    | 365                         |
| Pañchajanya .....  | 358                         | Patrakēśv .....                        | 113, 115, 117, 125-6, 241 | Prabhōtavaraha .....                             | 62, 64, 71-3                |
| Panchakroshi .....   | 49                          | Pattadakal .....                       | 85, 92, 354               | Prāchras .....                                   | 114, 128                    |
| Pāndukā .....  | 50, 112, 359                | Paura .....                            | 62-72                     | Pradyumna .....                                  | 301-2                       |
| Panchaleśvara .....  | 99                          | patavara .....                         | 159                       | prahitaka .....                                  | 218                         |
| Panchatantra .....   | 290                         | patavara .....                         | 158                       | Prabhāsa .....                                   | 357                         |
| Panchayuktā .....  | 356                         | Pāvāgnibh., Pawakachal .....           | 1-5                       | Prājñapti .....                                  | 252, 259-70                 |
| Panch Mahāla.....  | 16                          | Pāvajpati .....                        | 2, 9                      | Prājñarika .....                                 | 194                         |
| Pandai, Pandu .....  | 135, 342                    | penelope .....                         | 345                       | prājñas .....                                    | 274                         |
| Pandava .....  | 249-50, 344                 | penia .....                            | 249                       | Prākāśendra .....                                | 269                         |
| Pandara .....  | 99                          | Peart-pool .....                       | 314                       | Pratir Grammar .....                             | 273, 308                    |
| Pāṇḍava .....  | 260-61, 272-3, 318          | Pedatru .....                          | 342                       | Prakriti.....                                    | 359                         |
| Pāṇḍi .....  | 322, 324, 328               | Pēdākul .....                          | 86                        | Prakambha .....                                  | 289                         |
| Pandorē .....  | 125                         | Pēgu .....                             | 100, 102                  | prasa .....                                      | 138                         |
| Pāndrothān .....   | 274                         | Penna di Bulli, Fra .....              | 310                       | Prasii, Pratii 113, 112, 127-31, 330-<br>40..... |                             |
| Pāndukābhaya.....  | 153                         | Pēnnagataliga .....                    | 100, 103                  | Pratāpāditya .....                               | 268                         |
| Pāṇḍu Lena .....   | 33                          | Pērdātu .....                          | 94                        | Pratāpamalla .....                               | 189                         |
| pangolin .....   | 346                         | Pērgāgamāni .....                      | 94                        | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 49                          |
| Pāṇḍya .....   | 61, 80, 82, 85, 87, 93, 163 | Perimela .....                         | 340-41                    | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 114                         |
| Panikkankulam .....  | 318                         | <i>Periplos Maris Erythr.</i> .....    | 75                        | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 268                         |
| Pāṇini .....   | 107ff., 306, 317            | Pērmmanadi .....                       | 100-3                     | Prati .....                                      | 338                         |
| Pania .....  | 274, 313                    | Pērm-mā .....                          | 100, 366                  | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 130, 338                    |
| panjil .....   | 79                          | Peter of Aragon .....                  | 215                       | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 31-5, 39, 40, 48            |
| Panjāb .....   | 116, 317                    | Pentakolite .....                      | 343                       | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 260                         |
| Pankā .....  | 231                         | phale .....                            | 152                       | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 316                         |
| Pāpasūdana .....   | 271                         | Phānāderi .....                        | 2                         | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 66                          |
| papoye .....   | 158                         | Phanri .....                           | 229                       | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 361                         |
| papermaking .....  | 94                          | phallings .....                        | 346                       | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 2, 160, 187                 |
| pāpotara .....   | 169                         | Philo .....                            | 244                       | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 358                         |
| Parākrantabāhu .....                                       | 326-7                       | philosophers.....                      | 123, 236, 242, 244        | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 366                         |
| Parāmanandadeva .....                                      | 141                         | Phincheall .....                       | 199, 200                  | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 100                         |
| Parāncārazabhaṭṭa .....                                    | 71                          | Phraats .....                          | 131                       | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 2-8                         |
| parāna .....   | 163                         | ph. poye .....                         | 159                       | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 51, 64, 72                  |
| Parapamias .....   | 125, 247-8, 340, 343        | Pi-lo-mo-lo .....                      | 63                        | Priya Das .....                                  | 309                         |
| Parasang .....   | 341                         | piada .....                            | 37                        | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 247-8                       |
| Parasara .....   | 253                         | Pinder .....                           | 134                       | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 113, 115                    |
| Parasurama .....   | 68, 364                     | Piṅgalā Rāpi .....                     | 49                        | Pratāpshāsa .....                                | 125, 238                    |
| Parphātānām Sāheb .....                                    | 231                         | Pinn-Kayal .....                       | 83                        | Paktu (Paktukel) .....                           | 343                         |
| Pārjāta tree.....  | 365                         | Pipperika .....                        | 53                        | Palastinagara .....                              | 326                         |
| parrots .....  | 345                         | Pishā-bay .....                        | 118, 126                  | Paktukel .....                                   | 72-3, 75-7, 87, 90, 93, 354 |
| Pārśi funeral ceremonies.....                              | 311ff.                      | Pisacha-tirtha .....                   | 50, 53                    | Paloman .....                                    | 357                         |
| Pārāvanātha, Mt. ....                                      | 340                         | Pischa's <i>Satavahā</i> .....         | 262                       | Pama .....                                       | 338                         |
| Parthalia .....  | 338                         | Pitāmbara .....                        | 358                       | Pagā .....                                       | 29                          |
| Partialis .....  | 190                         | Pithora .....                          | 145                       | Pandirākāsha .....                               | 357                         |
| Parvāris .....   | 334                         | Pitropia .....                         | 74                        | Pardella .....                                   | 219-22                      |
| Parvata .....  | 301                         | plata .....                            | 307                       | Pāramalla .....                                  | 191                         |
| Pārvaṭi.....   | 57, 273                     | Plades .....                           | 27                        | Parakāśaka .....                                 | 27                          |
| pāṭu .....   | 361                         | Pliny 114-17, 125, 127-30, 136, 338ff. |                           | Parāras .....                                    | 249                         |
| Pāśchadāngulayana .....                                    | 133                         | Plutarch .....                         | 114, 135, 333             | Parusha .....                                    | 359                         |
| Pasala .....   | 339-9                       | Polonnarawa .....                      | 326-9                     | Parushottama .....                               | 16, 17                      |
| Pātā Rāwal.....  | 2, 8                        | polyandry .....                        | 260, 275, 215             | Pashyamitra .....                                | 304                         |
|  |                             | polygamy .....                         | 275                       |  |                             |

|   |  |                                     |
|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| Pāṇā ..... 176-7, 229, 365                                    | Rāshidā'd-dīn ..... 229                                      | Sakra ..... 128                     |
| Pygnia ..... 133, 135, 340                                    | Rāshtrakūṭas, Rāṭṭas .. 10, 59-64,<br>70, 140, 180, 183, 277 | Sakā ..... 6                        |
| qablah ..... 33   | Rāsiyana ..... 71  | Sakuni ..... 274                    |
| Rābhānalla ..... 100, 102                                     | Rāṭī ..... 79  | Sakuntalā by Pischel ..... 232      |
| Rādhā Sūrasaṅga ..... 49, 50, 55                              | Rāṭajana ..... 71  | Sakya-Gūṇa ..... 96                 |
| Rādha-kīrtana Pāṇ ..... 179                                   | Rāthod ..... 8   | Sakya Muni ..... 150-51             |
| Rādhanpur plates ..... 30-32                                  | Rāthoda--see Rāshtrakūṭas.                                   | Sakhasara ..... 331                 |
| Rāghavadeva ..... 2   | Ratamāh ..... 150  | Sakhalanadāvi ..... 210             |
| Rāghobā ..... 35  | Raṇi ..... 213   | Sakharasvara ..... 190, 208-4       |
| Rāghunandana ..... 161, 167-8                                 | Ratnva hell ..... 56   | Salico, Saliko ..... 129            |
| Rāha ..... 357  | Ravilaromā ..... 90  | Sālvānām ..... 49, 332, 361         |
| Rāinighi ..... 4  | Ravivarmā ..... 22, 23, 27-30, 32                            | Salotgi insc. .... 60               |
| Rāji ..... 191-3  | reads ..... 128  | Salya ..... 342                     |
| rājadhīśajyāntasvāra ..... 54                                 | Reinard, M. .... 64  | Salya ..... 201, 316                |
| Rājagiriya insc. .... 318                                     | Rēnākā ..... 159   | Zarantia ..... 244                  |
| Rājagūha ..... 339  | Rēnā ..... 71  | Sarānā ..... 279                    |
| Rājamahādasa ..... 100  | Rhōphi ..... 115, 336-7                                      | Sārasaṅgā plates ..... 59           |
| Rājamarāṇa ..... 167  | Rinasārasaṅga ..... 212                                      | Sārājyāna ..... 274                 |
| Rājapur ..... 309   | Rishabha ..... 24  | Sāmāntasvāra ..... 181-2, 212       |
| Rājpurī ..... 210   | Rishyamāhā ..... 85  | Samarabara ..... 343                |
| Rājputkūṭa ..... 190, 199                                     | Risseli ..... 204  | Samarakūṭa ..... 196                |
| Rājasthānī ..... 208  | Rōrāṭsa ..... 116  | Samayamagāḥ ..... 168               |
| Rājasthānī 10, 49-51, 50-2, 218,<br>261-7, 301, 304, 307, 310 | Rōrāṭsa (Sar T.) Voyage ..... 278                            | Sambhāsi ..... 343                  |
| Rājsthal ..... 127  | Rōrāṭsa 103-5, 189, 280-90                                   | Sambhāsi Chāpā ..... 271            |
| Rājsthalī ..... 1   | Rudra ..... 270, 311   | Sānāgha, sānāghāpāṭi ..... 154, 169 |
| Rākṣasā ..... 208   | Rudrahāman ..... 43, 46-7                                    | Sānāghasvāra ..... 212              |
| Rākṣasas ..... 118, 129                                       | Rudrahāhāya ..... 102  | Sānāgha ..... 169, 267              |
| Rāma, Rāmanchandra 161, 171, 179,<br>186, 289, 366            | Rudrasena, Rudrahāha ..... 49                                | Sānāgha dēva ..... 366              |
| Rāmanāda ..... 2  | Rāmi Klān ..... 5, 6   | Sānāghasvāra ..... 308              |
| Rāma Gaur ..... 1   | raṇa ..... 24  | Sānāghasvāra ..... 169              |
| Rāmāyana ..... 309  | Rāpāṭi insc. .... 1407                                       | Sānāgha ..... 204                   |
| Rāmāyana ..... 140  | Sabagun ..... 247  | Sānāghāḥ ..... 708                  |
| Rāmāyana, Rāmāyana ..... 204                                  | Sabara ..... 127   | Sānāgha ..... 160                   |
| Rāmāyana-vallabha ..... 85, 89, 91,<br>94                     | Sabārahāman ..... 250  | Sānāgha ..... 37                    |
| Rāmāyana ..... 161, 277, 366                                  | Sabārahāman ..... 170  | Sānāgha ..... 93                    |
| Rāmāyana ..... 259, 329                                       | Sārahāman ..... 183, 187-8                                   | Sānāgha ..... 175-6                 |
| Rāmāyana of Tālī Dāsa ..... 100, 309                          | Sārahāman ..... 274  | Sānāgha ..... 256                   |
| Rāmāyana ..... 290  | Sārahāman ..... 307-8  | Sānāgha ..... 43, 106               |
| Rāmāyana ..... 80   | Sārahāman ..... 7  | Sānāgha ..... 211                   |
| Rāmāyana ..... 97   | Sārahāman ..... 314  | Sānāgha Kāya ..... 365              |
| Rāmāyana ..... 50   | Sārahāman ..... 362  | Sānāgha ..... 113-                  |
| Rāmāyana ..... 234  | Sārahāman ..... 159  | 117, 124, 131-2, 163, 260           |
| Rānd ..... 275  | Sārahāman ..... 167  | Sānāgha Abhaya ..... 392            |
| Rāndevā ..... 204   | Sārahāman ..... 84, 94                                       | Sānāgha ..... 40                    |
| Rāndhā ..... 150  | Sārahāman ..... 342  | Sānāgha ..... 151-2                 |
| Rāndhā ..... 97   | Sārahāman ..... 204  | Sānāgha plates ..... 60             |
| Rāndhā ..... 41   | Sārahāman Malla ..... 329                                    | Sānāgha Sīrāma ..... 160            |
| Rāndhā ..... 93   | Sārahāman insc. .... 1407                                    | Sānāgha ..... 107-11                |
| Rāndhā ..... 247  | Sārahāman Malla ..... 4                                      | Sānāgha ..... 271                   |
| Rāndhā ..... 1, 2, 8, 9                                       | Sārahāman Malla ..... 6                                      | Sānāgha ..... 366                   |
| Rāndhā ..... 341  | Sārahāman Malla ..... 7                                      | Sānāgha ..... 270                   |
| Rāndhā ..... 270  | Sārahāman Malla ..... 120, 148                               | Sānāgha ..... 78                    |
|   | Sārahāman Malla ..... 181, 166, 198                          | Sārahāman ..... 22, 26, 29          |
|   | Sārahāman Malla ..... 114, 337                               | Sārahāman ..... 200                 |
|   | Sārahāman Malla ..... 169                                    | Sārahāman ..... 184                 |



|                                     |                    |                         |                        |  |                    |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--|--------------------|
| śāradādhīśaī                        | 150                | Sārika, Sēra            | 121, 134               | Siva 37, 87, 122, 171, 180, 203, 260, 283, 291, 358-63 |                    |
| Sāpārāda                            | 203                | Sārikē                  | 337                    | Siva lako  | 63                 |
| Saptamātrī                          | 74                 | serpents                | 127                    | Sivagangai   | 143                |
| Septarāhi                           | 218, 266, 268, 273 | Seśha                   | 272, 288, 350          | Sivanāri   | 38                 |
| Śāradā alphabet                     | 48                 | Seśhadēvati             | 196                    | Sivāratha  | 23, 31             |
| Sarāmā                              | 313                | Seśhāri kinga           | 49                     | Sivāsama   | 40                 |
| Sārangādēva                         | 191, 219           | Seśhatrīs               | 245-7                  | Sivāsarmā  | 40, 91             |
| Sārangī                             | 253, 344           | Seta, Sata              | 339                    | Siva-Vijayēśa  | 271                |
| Saravati                            | 192, 271, 357      | set dārmad              | 97                     | śyā  | 139                |
| Sarmanai                            | 243-4              | Setana dola             | 356                    | Śiyaka   | 40, 51-2, 54       |
| Śāringa, &c.                        | 357-8              | Śakā-i-bardī            | 307                    | śyayga   | 337                |
| Sarophagos                          | 342                | Śakāśinga               | 91                     | Skanda   | 37                 |
| śarvotobhadramandalam               | 284, 286-7         | Shāh Johān              | 234                    | Skandabhata  | 10                 |
| Śāsanādēvi                          | 36                 | Shāh Nāmeh              | 107                    | skindapasa   | 241                |
| Śasroda                             | 4                  | Shalamar                | 140-7                  | Skirtai  | 349                |
| Sasuri                              | 338                | Shānār oash             | 215                    | Skythiana  | 121, 247, 260      |
| Sata                                | 149, 150           | Shānjikā                | 213                    | Skylax   | 116                |
| Sata, Seta                          | 339                | Shānabhara              | 27                     | Smyrna   | 125                |
| Satakarpī                           | 277                | Shaubēht                | 174, 263, 296          | Sobli  | 248                |
| Satārā                              | 88                 | shophorda               | 133                    | Sohada   | 187                |
| Sātavāhana                          | 43, 154            | Shorāpur                | 234                    | Sokpa  | 96                 |
| satavideda                          | 160                | shrimps                 | 347                    | Solanāki, Solunki                                      | 182, 199, 203, 208 |
| Sāthivoga                           | 94                 | Shunyavādī              | 234                    | Solāpur  | 215, 234           |
| satīkē                              | 169                | Sihv                    | 247-8                  | Solradas   | 343                |
| Satthara                            | 269                | Siharm, Sauvira         | 342                    | Sollus   | 115, 119, 120-30   |
| Satlej                              | 130                | Sihurtia                | 115, 123               | Solobriam  | 342                |
| Śātnānta                            | 231-2              | Siddharāja              | 185-8, 195-200, 212-13 | Solymi   | 276                |
| Śārnafayamādātmya                   | 154                | Siddhas                 | 198, 200               | Sōma   | 76, 132            |
| Sattikkara                          | 91                 | siddhā                  | 139, 141               | Sōmāchārya   | 269                |
| Satyajit                            | 176                | Siddhānta Kōsmudī       | 110, 112-13            | Somāditya  | 182                |
| Sātyaki                             | 291                | Sihur                   | 183                    | Somanāthapāthana                                       | 181, 184-5         |
| Satyārāya. 72-4, 79, 85-90, 93, 141 |                    | Sihukāra                | 91                     | Somānvaya  | 60                 |
| Satyavākya-rāya                     | 100, 102-3         | Sikandar Shāh           | 6                      | Somavathā  | 87                 |
| Satyavati                           | 266                | Silāditya               | 16, 17                 | Somāvara   | 51, 180-81, 186-9  |
| Sauraka, Saurasa                    | 274                | Silān, Sillān, riv.     | 121, 130               | Somāśvradōva   | 139, 140           |
| Sauvira                             | 343                | sildhambhāsi            | 159                    | Somamūdra  | 2                  |
| saṃbhādaī, saṃhī, savaṇe            | 159                | Siloni (Sulānā)         | 342                    | Soudra   | 343                |
| Savarāja                            | 2                  | Simha                   | 31, 190                | Sougaḍha Jhālor  | 8                  |
| Savara                              | 127                | Simhaleśa               | 318                    | Souglai Lākhāba  | 219                |
| Sāyana                              | 169                | Simhapar                | 183                    | Sonus  | 130, 338           |
| schamus                             | 126                | Shihharāja (Sindhurāja) | 49-51, 54              | sophista   | 336                |
| Schwanbeck, E. A.                   | 113-16             | Shitabhātī              | 40                     | Sorāpur  | 42                 |
| scorpions                           | 128                | Sindh                   | 3, 132                 | Sorath   | 1, 13, 341         |
| Scyrites                            | 133, 136           | Sindho, Sindhus         | 269, 340               | Sorgo  | 342                |
| se                                  | 160                | Sindia                  | 7                      | Soran  | 399                |
| sea-lure                            | 349                | Singha                  | 341                    | Spartembas   | 249                |
| seasons                             | 28-9               | Singhapa                | 191, 212, 366          | Spenta-mainyus   | 314                |
| Sekha                               | 339                | Siśhā, Sina, riv.       | 71                     | Sphinos  | 245                |
| Selenidan ora                       | 58                 | Sirasāvi                | 210                    | śraddhā  | 251, 255           |
| Selouka                             | 125, 244, 336      | Sirigōdu                | 84                     | Śrāmapa  | 32, 243-4          |
| Semiramis                           | 246-7              | Sirimaghavanno          | 320                    | Śrāvaka  | 154                |
| Sena Silāmagho                      | 326                | Siri sāig boy           | 322-5                  | Śrī  | 37, 262, 280       |
| Śēndraka                            | 31-2, 94           | Sirichūi                | 214                    | Śrībhavāna   | 63, 71             |
| Semo                                | 323, 324           | Sirohi                  | 1                      | Śrībhavillakam   | 270                |
| Sena                                | 221-6              | Śisūnāga                | 154                    | Śrībhara   | 213, 267           |
| seputohral urna                     | 299                | Sisupāla                | 281                    | Śrīharaha  | 61                 |
| Serandib                            | 129                | Sitā-pādātī             | 234                    |  |                    |

|                                   |                         |                           |                 |                       |                    |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Brikangha (Siva) .....            | 52                      | Bushaletra .....          | 274             | Thieng .....          | 220                |
| Brikangha-charita .....           | 267                     | Butala .....              | 358             | thiti .....           | 158                |
| Brimala .....                     | 63                      | Sāhitya .....             | 173, 178, 282-5 | Thobbi .....          | 220-28             |
| Bhagari .....                     | 274                     | Sāra .....                | 317             | Thok Jalong .....     | 242                |
| Bhigura .....                     | 101-2                   | Savarna .....             | 274             | Thomas, Ed. ....      | 57-8               |
| Bhisa .....                       | 60                      | Savarnavaraha .....       | 62, 72          | Thonglel Athoba ..... | 220-26             |
| Bri Śāmi .....                    | 364                     | Savara .....              | 267, 269        | Thorton, E. ....      | 160                |
| Briśāḍa .....                     | 49, 55                  | Savara, range .....       | 169, 160        | Thuān .....           | 229                |
| Briśāḍa .....                     | 64, 71, 78              | Sāmiśāmi .....            | 91              | ti .....              | 163                |
| śrīśāḍa .....                     | 285                     | Savara .....              | 362             | Tiberius .....        | 216                |
| Bhṛṅgakṛti .....                  | 23-4, 27                | śāḍa .....                | 31, 32, 35      | Tiberobas, riv. ..    | 335                |
| śāḍa .....                        | 238                     | Savambhuva .....          | 240, 358        | Ticfenthaler .....    | 146                |
| śāḍa .....                        | 62                      | śāḍa .....                | 201, 269        | Tigambi .....         | 71                 |
| Śāmbhatirītha .....               | 183                     | Śāḍa .....                | 170             | Tihonapāḍa .....      | 56                 |
| Stephen's Archaeology of Delhi .. | 146                     | Syrian bishop's burial .. | 42              | Timagena .....        | 134                |
| Stevenson, Dr. J. ....            | 33, 35                  | Syrian grant .....        | 366             | Timontheos .....      | 113                |
| Stiramatī .....                   | 9, 10                   | ta .....                  | 158             | Timovelly .....       | 81, 83, 916        |
| Stobaeus .....                    | 114, 350                | Tabak-i Akbari .....      | 2-4             | Tithazangraha .....   | 267                |
| Strabo .....                      | 115-19, 125-7, 130, 133 | śāḍa .....                | 79, 230         | Tiuchinapāli .....    | 82                 |
| śāḍa .....                        | 217                     | śāḍa .....                | 17              | Tiupāḍa .....         | 142-3              |
| Suari (Savarna) .....             | 127, 340                | śāḍa .....                | 53              | Tisa .....            | 319                |
| Subhadri .....                    | 290                     | Tagabona riv. ....        | 314             | Tishya .....          | 140, 161-2         |
| Subhadri .....                    | 61                      | Tagara .....              | 73              | Tissamahārāsa .....   | 320-22             |
| Subhāḍa .....                     | 49, 187                 | Tailapa .....             | 59, 65, 183-4   | Tol, Col. ....        | 9                  |
| Suohi .....                       | 301                     | Taittiriya .....          | 78              | Toda funeral .....    | 41                 |
| Suddhikundāra .....               | 30, 31                  | Taj Khān .....            | 3               | Togurehoda .....      | 83                 |
| śāḍa .....                        | 353                     | Tāḍa .....                | 33              | tomb .....            | 41                 |
| Sādha .....                       | 106                     | Talacta .....             | 338-9           | Tongking .....        | 229                |
| Sudrakal .....                    | 247                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tōpawma insc. ....    | 316                |
| Sādru .....                       | 174, 252-3, 269         | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Toraliba .....        | 344                |
| Sugambri .....                    | 247                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tōramāsa .....        | 56, 269            |
| Suhāsāḍa .....                    | 213                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tōramara, Tōramara .. | 34                 |
| Sokra .....                       | 357                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | torāsa .....          | 347                |
| Sulaiman Pahlā .....              | 35                      | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Totakakāsa .....      | 140                |
| Sulāḍa .....                      | 40                      | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Totokymalla .....     | 186, 198           |
| Sulāḍa .....                      | 231                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Trajan, ruins of ..   | 210                |
| Sulāḍa .....                      | 1                       | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tōrankor .....        | 306                |
| Sōmaladevi .....                  | 208                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | treasure-trove .....  | 215                |
| Samanta .....                     | 175                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tribha .....          | 210                |
| Samuti .....                      | 332                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | tribe .....           | 248                |
| śāḍa .....                        | 159                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | tribhaga .....        | 27                 |
| Sammas .....                      | 151                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tribhuvanagadha ..    | 186, 196, 198      |
| Samuchā .....                     | 135                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tribhuvanamalla ..    | 189-9, 187, 190-91 |
| Samala .....                      | 79                      | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tribhuvanapāli ..     | 187-91, 210, 213   |
| superintendents .....             | 217                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tribati .....         | 206                |
| suppers .....                     | 133                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Trikalinga .....      | 338                |
| Sura .....                        | 94                      | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Trimbak Bhupa .....   | 2                  |
| Suraseni .....                    | 249                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tripartata .....      | 23                 |
| Sara, Sāra, Saurabhira .....      | 341                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Triptaka .....        | 218                |
| Sarāḍa .....                      | 13                      | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Triptolemos .....     | 244                |
| Sarat .....                       | 6                       | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Trispathani .....     | 135                |
| Sāmyaja .....                     | 203                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Trivikrama .....      | 232                |
| Sorendra .....                    | 273-4                   | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Trogus .....          | 114                |
| Surici, Suriyana .....            | 342                     | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tropina .....         | 240                |
| Sārya .....                       | 218, 361                | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Trunp's Adi Grant ..  | 160                |
| Sāryāpura .....                   | 17                      | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tryambaka .....       | 171, 180, 183, 192 |
| sāryaprajñapti .....              | 47                      | Tāḍa .....                | 339             | Tauf, Taub .....      | 228, 230           |

|                              |                 |                            |  |                               |  |
|------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|--|-------------------------------|--|
| Taiana .....                 | 329             | Vairisūha .....            | 49, 61-2   | Vayajaladeva .....            | 206  |
| Talādhāra .....              | 257-8           | Vaisāmpāyana .....         | 269  | vayajñarśi .....              | 159  |
| Talja Leā .....              | 37              | Vaishnavi .....            | 74   | Vāyu .....                    | 357, 361   |
| Talei Dā .....               | 180, 309        | Vaiśya .....               | 238, 252-3, 257                                      | Vāra .....                    | 228, 261-6, 262, 278, 315-6                        |
| Tungabhadra .....            | 63, 71, 85, 354 | Vaiśvātara .....           | 270  | Vedagarbharāj .....           | 206, 208, 210                                      |
| Tuogaganga .....             | 25              | Vajra .....                | 61   | Vēdānta .....                 | 78   |
| Tuogavādanda .....           | 119             | Vakata numerals .....      | 45   | Vēshikaṭa .....               | 90   |
| Turka, Turashkas .....       | 187, 231        | Vakpati .....              | 16, 48-53, 143-4                                     | Vella Valla .....             | 49, 50, 55   |
| Tutikoria .....              | 80, 215         | Vidyopaditya .....         | 301-2, 304   | Vēnāda .....                  | 366  |
| Twashiri .....               | 356-7           | Valabhadra .....           | 280  | Venetian coins .....          | 215  |
| Ubora .....                  | 338-9           | Valabhi .....              | 9, 13, 43-8, 60, 64                                  | Vengi .....                   | 63, 65, 71   |
| Ūbhala .....                 | 208             | Valadara .....             | 289, 290, 293  | Vērnā riv. .....              | 88   |
| Uchchāringi .....            | 31              | Vālaṅga Pathaka .....      | 187, 204   | Vomagiri caves .....          | 318-9  |
| Udā .....                    | 158             | Vallabha .....             | 181, 184   | Vichitravīrya .....           | 253, 256   |
| Udayāditya .....             | 49              | Vallabharāja .....         | 198, 209, 213  | Vidura .....                  | 253, 256   |
| Udayapura .....              | 49, 121         | Vallabhasena .....         | 60, 61, 68   | Vidyādharma .....             | 302  |
| Udayasūba .....              | 190             | Vālmiki .....              | 180  | Vihāra .....                  | 33-8   |
| Udayo .....                  | 323             | Vāmana .....               | 357-8  | Vijaya .....                  | 153  |
| Ūdhava .....                 | 291             | Vāmanasthali .....         | 184  | Vijayāditya .....             | 88, 90   |
| Ugarāḥ .....                 | 139             | Vanaprastha .....          | 248  | Vijayanagara .....            | 85, 163, 389                                       |
| Ugra .....                   | 253, 357        | Vanavāsi .....             | 74, 87, 91, 93-4                                     | Vijayapālādēva .....          | 49, 66   |
| Ugrasena .....               | 201             | Vap Dindori plates .....   | 69, 64-5, 68-70                                      | Vijayarāja .....              | 188  |
| Ujain .....                  | 48-9, 63, 154   | Vangsa .....               | 337  | Vijayasena .....              | 43   |
| Ulamā .....                  | 330             | Vānī .....                 | 154  | Vijayavara .....              | 374  |
| Ullasana .....               | 210             | Vappika riv. .....         | 17   | Vikramāditya .....            | 40, 50, 58, 61, 75-8,<br>83, 87, 90-3, 101, 137-40 |
| Ummākti .....                | 359             | Vardha .....               | 356, 358   | Vikramādikacharita .....      | 60, 61, 267  |
| Ummarakhōla .....            | 75              | Vardhamihira .....         | 272  | Vikramorvashtya .....         | 232  |
| Umbro, Umbrina, Umrina ..... | 342             | Vardhi .....               | 74   | Vilāsa .....                  | 93   |
| Undira .....                 | 204             | Vārānāsi .....             | 138, 142, 175  | Vimalasāha .....              | 270  |
| Unjā .....                   | 210             | Vardhamāna .....           | 31   | Vinnaya .....                 | 217  |
| upādādhitya .....            | 47-8, 136       | Vardhi .....               | 187-8, 193, 198, 203-8, 212                          | Vinayāditya .....             | 75, 86, 87-8, 10-24                                |
| upāyana .....                | 314             | Varelate .....             | 341  | Vindhyakapāta .....           | 43   |
| upāśa .....                  | 158             | Vardya .....               | 88   | Vindhya .....                 | 63, 70, 75   |
| upāśa .....                  | 158             | Vāriśānāchārya .....       | 31   | Vindhya-varṇa .....           | 49   |
| Upāśa .....                  | 107-8           | Vurphi .....               | 198  | Vipāsa .....                  | 119  |
| Upāśa .....                  | 270             | Vurphā .....               | 218-19   | Vipāśa .....                  | 202, 304   |
| Urāhvaka .....               | 134             | Vārāhneya .....            | 358  | Vipāśa .....                  | 159  |
| Uri (Hauria) .....           | 342             | Vārāh .....                | 254  | Virabāha .....                | 324  |
| urva .....                   | 279             | Vatuga .....               | 308, 361-2, 365                                      | Virādāna .....                | 43   |
| Ushāvadāta .....             | 43              | Vatvaka .....              | 186, 195, 198, 200                                   | Virādharva .....              | 2, 16, 187-91, 213                                 |
| ushāsānagatam .....          | 361             | vas .....                  | 169  | virāma .....                  | 136-7  |
| Uśānara .....                | 306             | Vasabha .....              | 321  | Virāmadēva .....              | 180  |
| Uśānara .....                | 116, 125, 134   | Vasantāditya .....         | 60, 63   | Virāmagrāma, Virāmagāma ..... | 190, 196,<br>199                                   |
| Uśānara .....                | 180, 185        | Vasantavāṭaka .....        | 31   | Virāmagrāma .....             | 205, 208   |
| va, vachakya .....           | 159             | Vasabha .....              | 257  | Vidāka .....                  | 49, 50, 54   |
| Vāchāpati-Miāri .....        | 167-8           | Vāsishthi, Vāsishthi ..... | 28, 270  | Vira Pāṇi .....               | 142  |
| Vachā .....                  | 71              | Vastipāṭha .....           | 197, 199-21  | Virātenpa .....               | 357  |
| Vachā .....                  | 200             | Vastipāṭha .....           | 190-81   | Vira .....                    | 40   |
| vaḍhi, vaḍhi .....           | 159             | Vastubandhu .....          | 10   | Vira Singh .....              | 2  |
| Vaḍhi .....                  | 187, 193        | Vāśadēva, Vāśadēva .....   | 88, 141, 173-0,<br>283, 285, 286, 290, 294, 299, 358 | Virupākṣadēva .....           | 85, 337  |
| Vāḍ .....                    | 184-5           | Vasuvātaka .....           | 30   | Vishadēva .....               | 100-91, 212-3                                      |
| Vāḍ .....                    | 181, 187-8, 190 | Vātāpinagari .....         | 72, 74, 354  | visarga .....                 | 136  |
| Vahichara .....              | 199             | Vatā .....                 | 62, 69   | Vishaya .....                 | 210  |
| Vahudya .....                | 200, 204        | Vate .....                 | 367  | Vishva .....                  | 87, 264, 314, 353-61                               |
| Vajayanti .....              | 28, 25, 94      | Vatagāmani .....           | 321  | Vishva Chakradhara .....      | 271  |
| Vaikuntha .....              | 358             | Vatjajutta .....           | 365  |                               |  |

|                                       |                      |  |                         |   |                    |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|--|-------------------------|---|--------------------|
| Vishvugōpa, Vishnuvarma ...           | 30                   | Wahaba .....                               | 310                     | Yamunā .....  | 174, 177, 289, 291 |
| Vishṭarāśraya, Vishvaksena...         | 358                  | Wakinkera .....                            | 234                     | Yaññasataka .....                                       | 277                |
| Vishvamisra .....                     | 212                  | Walagam Abhā .....                         | 326                     | Yāyka .....   | 108                |
| Vishvamitra .....                     | 358                  | Wallich, Dr. ....                          | 27-8                    | Yāyca .....   | 311                |
| Vishvanātha .....                     | 180                  | Wanjāris .....                             | 359                     | Yāsodā ... 174-80, 281, 285, 288-91                     |                    |
| Vishvanātha Nāthar .....              | 82                   | Wārals .....                               | 234                     | Yāśovarmā .....   | 49, 144, 183       |
| Vitastā .....                         | 270-71               | warriors .....                             | 237                     | Yāśovati .....  | 273                |
| Vitastāśra .....                      | 274                  | whales .....                               | 346                     | Yavanas .....   | 114, 132, 304      |
| vivase, vīṇṭka, vīṇṭka. 150, 156, 159 |                      | Wheeler's <i>Travels of Fryer and Hor-</i> |                         | y/śatōkata .....  | 159                |
| Vollur lake .....                     | 271                  | .....                                      | 278                     | Yōwqr msc. ....   | 76, 227            |
| Vopulōva .....                        | 161, 171, 277        | „ <i>Hist. of India</i> .....              | 329ff.                  | yi .....  | 159                |
| Vratākhaṇḍa .....                     | 161-2, 171           | <i>Bikatriomia salicifolia</i> .....       | 97                      | yoga .....  | 260                |
| Vratārāja .....                       | 169, 177             | Wilson, Dr. J. ....                        | 23-4, 160, 233          | Yogamāyā .....  | 176                |
| Vratarka .....                        | 168, 176             | „ H. H. ....                               | 265-6                   | Yogāvara .....  | 120, 141           |
| Vṛinda .....                          | 173                  | Woodington, Col. ....                      | 7                       | yojana .....  | 126                |
| Vṛishat .....                         | 272                  | Wüstenfeld, Prof. ....                     | 308                     | Yudhisthira 50, 88, 173, 176-7, 255,<br>261-4, 267, 272 |                    |
| Vyādha .....                          | 257                  |  |                         | Yugaa .....   | 263                |
| Vyāghrapallī .....                    | 181, 187             | ya .....                                   | 159                     | yuktā .....   | 270                |
| Yājñamucāta .....                     | 118                  | Yādava .....                               | 170, 184, 191, 272, 300 | Yule, Major-General H. ....                             | 278                |
| Yājñagvīśa .....                      | 119                  | Yajnoparita .....                          | 314                     | Yuzārjya .....  | 73                 |
| Yāsa .....                            | 75, 253, 256, 260-62 | Yājñavalkya .....                          | 332                     |   |                    |
| Yāśasthā .....                        | 260                  | Yajur Veda .....                           | 160                     |   |                    |
| yaśha, yaśheva .....                  | 150, 156, 159        | yak .....                                  | 340                     | Zaba .....  | 228                |
|                                       |                      | Yaksha .....                               | 265                     | Zāvur .....   | 274                |
| Whāgala .....                         | 328                  | Yama .....                                 | 313, 361-2              | Zoraster .....  | 311, 312, 315      |



# ERRATA IN VOL. VI.

- p. 23b, l. 15, for Chālukya read Chalukya.  
 „ 23a. As regards the last two sentences of this paragraph, I have now met with a stone-inscribed inscription from Lakshmiśvar, to be published hereafter as No. XXXVIII. of this Series, which renders it necessary to abandon this identification of the two Krishnavarmas.  
 p. 23, transcription l. 6, for ब्रह्मवर् read ब्रह्मवर्.  
 „ 23b, note §§, for gaur read gaur.  
 „ 24a, l. 13, for Badāvara read Bādāvara.  
 „ 24b, note †, for *angāṭṭhāṇa*, *Siṅha*, and *anant* read *angāṭṭhāṇa*, *Siṅha*, and *ananta*; and for a Chālukya grant read a (P) Chalukya grant.  
 p. 25b, l. 12, for for the purpose of supporting the Kārchakas, who are naked religious mendicants read (for the benefit) of the Yāpaniyas, the Nirgranthas, and the Kārchakas.  
 p. 27a, note †, for Chālukya read Chalukya.  
 „ 27b, l. 10, for that ascetics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season, that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumārādatta, \* \* \*, should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of that greatness read that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumārādatta, and who are ascetics of the Yāpaniya sect, \* \* \*, should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of that greatness during the four months of the rainy season.  
 p. 30, transcr. l. 11, for भौमनाभं read भौमनाभं.  
 p. 31a, l. 35, for Vāriśāmaśārya read Vāriśāmaśārya.  
 p. 32a, note †, for the time of one of the Vikramādityas of the Chālukya family read the time of Viṣṇuāditya of the Chālukya family: and erase the words - 'probably the first of that name in Sir W. Elliot's list.'  
 p. 32b, l. 26, for temple read Chaitya hall.  
 „ 37b, last line but one, for *kāṇab* read *kāṇab*.  
 „ 48a, l. 6, for *pāṭṭhāṇa* read *pāṭṭhāṇa*.  
 „ 48b, l. 3, for *ॐ* read *ॐ*.  
 „ 48b, l. 7, for *ॐ* read *ॐ*.  
 „ 49b, l. 2, for 1123 read 1131.  
 „ 50b, l. 24, for Rāḍi Sura Sang Karmāṭa read Rāḍi Suraṅga Karmāṭa.  
 p. 50b, l. 32, for Agāṣyaka read Agāṣyaka.  
 „ 72a, l. 1 of No. XXVII., and p. 73b, ll. 15 and 17, for Chālukya read Chalukya.

- p. 74a, l. 18, for Pāṭikāśivallabha read Pāṭikāśivallabha.  
 p. 74b, note †, for *kṛpā* read *kṛpā*.  
 „ 76a, l. 34, and 76b, l. 11, for Chālukya read Chalukya.  
 p. 76b, l. 47, for Chālukya read Chalukya.  
 „ 77, transcr. l. 33, for अश्वमेधं read अश्वमेधं.  
 p. 78a, note ||, for Chālukya read Chalukya.  
 „ 81a, ll. 7 and 18, and b, l. 29, for Chālukya read Chalukya.  
 p. 89, transcr. l. 26, for *पुण्ड्र* read *पुण्ड्र*.  
 „ 92, transcr. l. 21, for *वेनाङ्ग*... *गोप* read *वेनाङ्ग*... *गोप*.  
 The original plates have been examined by the Rev. T. Foulkes of Bangalore, and some corrections have been pointed out by him, which I shall notice more fully hereafter. This is one of them.  
 p. 92, transcr. l. 27, for *द्यानसम्मये* read *द्यानसम्मये*, and cancel note †.  
 p. 93b, l. 19 for *Āṇa...ya* read *Āṇa* and *Āṇa*, and cancel note †.  
 p. 93b, l. 34, for *Sināśarmā* read *Sināśarmā*.  
 „ 133b, notes, last line but two, for *Pāṭṭhāṇa* read *Pāṭṭhāṇa*.  
 p. 134a, l. 24, for 47 read 47.  
 „ 134b, l. 20, for *Mādhava* l. read *Mādhava* 11.  
 „ 135a, in vol. 3 of the transliteration table, opposite *dhāṇmāṇa*, for *h* read *h*.  
 p. 137a, l. 18, for *dhāṇmāṇa* read *dhāṇmāṇa*.  
 „ 137a, l. 29, for *dhāṇmāṇa* read *dhāṇmāṇa*.  
 „ 138, transcr. l. 12, for *dhāṇmāṇa* read *dhāṇmāṇa*.  
 p. 141, transcr. l. 28, for *dhāṇmāṇa* read *dhāṇmāṇa*.  
 p. 182, note †, line 2, for *Leṇḍjya*, or *Leṇḍjya* (Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 72) as *Leṇḍjya*, read *Leṇḍjya*, *Leṇḍjya* (Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 72) or *Leṇḍjya*.  
 p. 212b, note ||, for *Bhāṇmāṇa* read *Bhāṇmāṇa*.  
 „ 214b, l. 21, from *bat*, for 'Pearl foot' read 'Pearl-pond'.  
 p. 214b, l. 17, from *bat*, for *crackling* read *crackling*.  
 „ 24b, Basanta \* l. 2, for *Saṇḍayasa* read *Saṇḍayasa*.  
 p. 250a, l. 29, for *regard* read *regard*.  
 „ 251b, last line, for *regard* read *regard*.  
 „ 274b, note, l. 1, for *Saṇḍayasa* read *Saṇḍayasa*.  
 „ 331a, ll. 1 and 2, for *Perishta* read *Perishta*.

ERRATA:

- p. 337b, l. 2, for † read ‡, and in l. 3 dele †.  
 „ 363, transcr. l. 2, for सुवर्णं read सुवर्णां.  
 „ „ l. 4, for पूर्ण read पूर्ण.  
 „ „ l. 5, for पराक्रमी read पराक्रमी.  
 „ „ ll. 5-6, for विक्रान्त : read विक्रान्त (का)  
 न्तः  
 „ „ l. 7, for पतिकान्ते read पतिकान्ते  
 (का)न्ते.  
 „ „ l. 8, for मकुनि(ते)-क- read मकुनि  
 (ते)क

- p. 363, transcr. l. 9, for देवर्षी मानुष read देवर्षी  
 मानुष.  
 „ „ l. 17, for वसेने read वसने.  
 „ „ l. 19, for यु२(वि)णि read यु२(वि)  
 ने.  
 p. 364b, note\*, l. 4, for early Chalukya read  
 early Chalukya.  
 p. 366a to note \*, add For the drawings that  
 illustrate this paper I am indebted to the kindness  
 of Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.



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